

RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

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THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

CHRONICA

MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOUEDENE.

EDITED

BY

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PREFACE.

PREFACE.

THE history of the first three years of the reign of Richard I. was included by the author or editor of the "Gesta Regis Henrici," or "Chronicle of Benedict," in the work which forms the basis of the Compilation of Roger of Hoveden on the same period. The present volume containing the History of England and Richard from 1189 to the end of 1195, embraces this common portion, which fills about half of it. It will be desirable in order to complete the collation of the two authors attempted in the preface of the second volume, to notice briefly their principal variations, before proceeding to the more general historical considerations proper to this place. In doing this it is unnecessary to advert to the passages omitted by Hoveden in copying the earlier chronicle, except where they illustrate some point of importance or throw light on his additions and alterations. In the notes to this edition, as well as in the notes and margin of the Chronicle of Benedict which has preceded it in the present series, these have been carefully marked, and their general bearing already stated. The same indeed may be said of the alterations and additions of Hoveden, to which, wherever they touch questions of authorship or of chronology, attention has been given in the notes. The following is an attempt only at a classification of these places:—

Contents of this volume.

Comparison of Hoveden with his predecessor.

1. The most important of Hoveden's additions are those which are concerned with the doings of Hugh de Puiset, bishop of Durham, and Geoffrey, archbishop of

Hoveden's additions.

Hoveden's additions touching Yorkshire and Durham.

York. In these, even in places where our author has added nothing substantial to our information, he has often departed from the language of the previous writer and re-written the story in his own way; and it is clear from the sequel of his history that he was personally acquainted with most of the actors in it, and familiar, so familiar as to be careless occasionally, with the details. Under this head the most important independent additions are the passage (pp. 31, 32) narrating the first outbreak of personal violence between the archbishop and chapter of York; the account of the appointment of Osbert Longchamp to the sheriffdom (p. 34); the grant of Sadberge to the bishop of Durham (p. 38); the opening of the struggle between bishop Hugh and archbishop Geoffrey (pp. 168, 169); and its continuation under the judges delegate (pp. 171, 172). There is very little in Hoveden's way of narrating these circumstances that gives any clue to his real opinions on the subject. Probably he regarded them with the eye of a judicial historian, open to the faults of his heroes, and secure of their criticism. He is occasionally severe on the violence, quarrelsomeness, or underhand dealing of both: and he must have seen that men so unquiet and fickle in their friendships and enmities, were unsafe subject-matter for the praise or blame of a partizan. On the whole we may regard him as a friend of Hugh de Puiset against archbishop Geoffrey, and of Geoffrey against the party of John or of Longchamp, but otherwise an impartial, as he is certainly an unimpassioned, judge.

His additions on the subject of the Longchamp struggle.

2. A second most important, though scanty class of additions to our earlier information is that which includes the few details of the struggle between Longchamp and his rivals for power. The most valuable of these is the copy of the treaty between the two parties chiefly concerned, made at Winchester in July 1191 (pp. 135–137). The letter of Peter of Blois to Hugh of Nunant, up-

braiding him with his treatment of the Chancellor (pp. 148–150), is valuable in its way, but the insertion of it cannot be ascribed to Hoveden, as it is not found in the best MSS., and bears marks of later intrusion in those in which it occurs. The whole details of this interesting crisis will be found examined with some minuteness in the later pages of this Preface, in which I have also embodied such remarks as seemed necessary on the variations between Hoveden and our other authorities, on Richard's plan of governing England in his absence on the Crusade.

Additional letter of Peter of Blois, not inserted by Hoveden.

3. The additional particulars touching the history of the Crusade are minute and numerous, but not very important or contributing much that is not found elsewhere, especially in the "Itinerarium" of Richard the Canon, a book which might very well be within Hoveden's reach. Some of these are interesting as indicating our author's love of the marvellous, particularly the story of the breaking of Richard's staff on the occasion of his investiture as a pilgrim at Tours (p. 36); and some of the details of the King's discussion with Abbot Joachim (pp. 75, 79). Of the actual additions to our knowledge the mention of the pope's brief, empowering Richard to grant licences of dispensation from the vow of the Crusade (p. 17); the short mention of Richard's visit to Gascony, which is also hinted at by Richard of Devizes,[1] and fixed to certain dates by existing charters (p. 35); the repairing of the ships at Messina, which had suffered from the devastations of the worm peculiar to the Sicilian Waters (p. 71); the

Additions on the history of the crusade.

[1] Ed. Stevenson, p. 12. "Regem "reversum a Vasconia, ubi latrun- "culos armis dejecerat." This must be the visit referred to by Hoveden, iii. 35., and be placed between Easter and June. Richard, according to the letter preserved by R. de Diceto, 655, was at Bayonne on the 6th of June. This must then have been a second visit to his southern provinces, and is to be distinguished from the earlier one, during which the two charters were issued at La Reole, in February, to which reference is made in the note on Ben. Pet. ii. 109.

Hoveden's additions on the history of the crusade.

story of Isaac Comnenus, preserved at page 110; the negotiations with the Mesopotamian princes before and after the capture of Acre, which do not agree with the corresponding details in Benedict (pp. 115, 118); the letters of Richard containing the account of the battle of Arsouf (pp. 129–133); and the corrected version of the news from Palestine in the winter of 1191 (p. 181), may be regarded as the most valuable. Hoveden seems to have paid very careful attention to the history of the Crusade; his version of the Assize drawn up for the conduct of the pilgrims at Messina, is more full than his predecessor's (pp. 58–60); and he likewise gives a more complete copy of the treaty between Richard and Tancred, in which the former writer had retrenched the names of the sureties (p. 62). In these points, as well as in the few additional names of places on Richard's route (pp. 39, 41), the matter is a little complicated by the fact to which in the earlier prefaces I have more than once adverted, that our only MS. of Benedict in this part of his work was written by a man who had a copy of Hoveden before him; so that it may be questioned whether the discrepancies are to be ascribed to his habit of omitting or to Hoveden's habit of expanding. The general conclusion has been already stated,[1] and the particular cases are remarked upon in the notes as they occur. Of points of coincidence between Hoveden's additions and the Itinerarium, the chief are the identification of Alberic Clement[2] on the occasion of his martyrdom (p. 117), and the lodging of Philip in the Templars' palace at Acre[3] (p. 123). In the numeration of the Saracens massacred after the capture (p. 128), Hoveden nearly doubles the computation of the Itinerarium[4]. His account of Richard's narrow escape from capture at Joppa in September, 1191, is perhaps borrowed from

Points of agreement with the Itinerarium.

[1] See the Preface to Benedict, vol. i. p. xxvi, note [3]. Preface to Hoveden, vol. i. p. lvi.

[2] Itin. R.R., 223.

[3] Itin. R.R., 234.

[4] Itin. R.R., 243.

Hoveden's agreement with the Itinerarium.

the same work.[1] But it is not necessary to press these cases, in which there is no correspondence in verbal detail, and in which both writers may have drawn from a common source. Hoveden's list of the deaths of the Crusaders varies in some important points from Benedict's, which is both more full and more accurate, so far as we have the means of judging. Two or three obscure names are added, but several more, and those, curiously enough, which are especially connected with Yorkshire and Lincolnshire are omitted.[2]

Eleanor's visit to Rome.

4. Closely connected with this subject are the details preserved by Hoveden of the journey of Eleanor to Messina and her return by way of Rome. The fact of her undertaking to plead the cause of Geoffrey with pope Celestine III. (p. 100) is especially interesting[3]; but the importance of the story depends chiefly on its bearing on Hoveden's authority for the particulars touching the coronation of Henry VI., and the destruction of Tusculum (pp. 100–105). In these, as is well known, his testimony stands alone, and is scouted by the foreign historians who have examined the subject. Without venturing to disagree with them, I may say that, after all, Hoveden's informant probably picked up his information on the spot; that not only the queen's retinue, but a number of York clergy must have been at the time at Rome;[4] and that the recital is not to be regarded as a mere fable, but as one of those traveller's tales, perversions or misrepresentations of real events, of which the

Coronation of Henry VI.

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[1] Itin. R.R., 286. Bohadin, *V. Saladini*, 203.

[2] Hoveden, iii. 87–89. Ben. Pet. ii. 149.

[3] I must here correct an error which I made in editing Benedict, as to the purpose of Eleanor's visit to Rome, B. P. ii. 161 note [1]; where for *prevent* should be read *procure*.

[4] See Gir. Cambr. V. Galfr. : *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 387. The mere improbability of an event which could be witnessed only by a very limited circle of bystanders is no objection to its truth. What could be more improbable than that the peer who rolled down the steps of the throne at Queen Victoria's coronation should be Lord Rolle ?

Information about Rome.

Roman cicerone has been in all ages somewhat prolific. That Hoveden, moreover, had information about and took interest in the secular government of Rome appears later on from his account of the senatorship (p. 270).

Spanish geography.

5. Next to these may be noted the numerous particulars of Spanish geography and history, which are given by our author in addition to the somewhat full details of the same sort found in the work of his predecessor. They are too numerous and far too remote from our immediate subject to be considered here; but considering the scarcity of our information on the point and the poverty of all attempts at a map of Mediæval Spain, the perfect survey of the seaboard given at p. 47 and the following pages, and also at p. 177, must be of considerable value. The story of the loves of Sancho of Navarre and the Moorish princess is less important, except as showing how very short a time is taken in the process of the circumstantial elaboration of a myth.[1]

Statements anticipating Richard's captivity.

6. It is not necessary to do more than refer here to the passages in which the events that preceded Richard's captivity are read by Hoveden by the light of those which followed it; especially the visit of Philip to Rome and his negotiations with Henry VI. On these points, as they affect the relation between Hoveden and the earlier writer, enough has been said in the prefaces to Benedict and to the first volume of Hoveden.[2]

Hoveden's habit of massing his information.

7. I have called attention in the notes to several places in which Hoveden, by massing the information which he abridged from his predecessor's work, has either run into error, or at all events given a different impression from that given by the earlier writer. The most important instances are those at p. 7, touching the honours bestowed on John, and at p. 23, in which the dates of the consecrations of the new bishops of 1189 are confused. It is more than probable that some such carelessness has led to

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[1] See pages 90–92.

[2] Hoveden, i. pref. lxxi. Ben. Pet. i. pref. xxviii, xliii, xliv; ii. 229. Itin. R.R. pref. xxxix.

the difficulties attending his account of the committees of regency appointed at different times by Richard before his departure on the Crusade, on which more will be said by-and-by.

It has produced confusion here and there.

8. I may mention here one place in which Hoveden seems to have corrected a mistake of his predecessor. The latter writer giving an account of the council held by Richard in London, in November 1189, mentions William Mandeville as one of the persons who swore in the king's name to observe his engagement with Philip for the opening of the Crusade. Now William Mandeville had in the previous month been sent to Normandy, where he died on the 14th of November. It is then almost certain that in substituting the name of William Marshall for that of William Mandeville our author has made a decided improvement on the text of his exemplar. At the same time it is quite possible that the error is merely one of transcription. The singularity of the case speaks highly for the authority of the earlier book.[1]

An error corrected by Hoveden.

9. There remains a class of small additions not referable to any single head, such as the mention of the confiscation of the goods of Geoffrey Ridel,[2] bishop of Ely, who died intestate (p. 7), and the bestowal of the deanery of S. Martin-le-Grand on William of S. Mere l'Eglise (p. 16). These may fairly be considered as contributions from Hoveden's personal knowledge of the facts, as they are not noticed in Benedict. Closely akin to these are such minute additions, as the explanation of the name of Finisterre, as "de fine Posternæ."[3] The older writer contented himself with the obvious explanation "de finibus Terræ." Hoveden possibly had drawn his new one from Jordan Fantosme, who makes

Minute additions.

[1] Hoveden, iii. 20. Ben. Pet. ii. 93.

[2] It is mentioned also by R. de Diceto, 647; and by Gervase, 1549, who remarks that the bishop's treasures were squandered on buffoons; 3,200 marks being spent on the coronation.

[3] Hoveden, iii. 42. Ben. Pet. ii. 116.

Derivation of Finisterre.

Henry II. say in one place that the barons of Brittany are in his power, "tres qu'en fine Busterne."[1] He has, however, if this be so, confounded Finisterre in Spain with Finistère in Brittany. In his account of the coronation of Richard, Hoveden interpolates two or three particulars: the spreading of woollen cloth all the way from the king's chamber to the altar (p. 9); the offering of a mark of gold as the regular oblation of the king on such occasions (p. 11);[2] and the explanation of the anointing in its symbolical meaning (p. 10). Of these the first is possibly a fact of his own knowledge; the second he would find in the rubric of the coronation service; and the third is a repetition of an explanation laid down by S. Thomas in a letter given in a previous part of the work.[3] The discrepancies occurring in the two accounts of the ceremony are remarked on in the notes. Some little attention is required in the examination of such minute points, in which it will be found that Hoveden generally adds only matter of extremely small importance; and even where he seems to be adding, often only quotes from another page of his original. An instance of this habit will be found at page 167,[4] where his fixing the position of Godstow as between Oxford and Woodstock, is not an addition made from his knowledge of the country but simply to be ascribed to the transposition of the clause from another part of Benedict's work.[5]

Account of the coronation of Richard.

Hoveden's additions unimportant.

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[1] Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle, v. 141 (ed. Michel, Surtees Soc., p. 9.)

[2] Compare the rubric "Deinde "offeret marcam auri" in the early coronation office given by Maskell, Monumenta Ritualia, iii. 42. The order for the coronation may also have contained the mention of the cloth spread for the procession to walk on, as is the case in the office for the coronation of a queen (*ibid.* p. 53), and in the order for the coronation of Richard II. (*ibid.* 68).

[3] Compare the letter of Becket, Hoveden, i. 234.

[4] See Ben. Pet. ii. 231.

[5] Benedict, ii. 240. The same may be said of his notice of the death of Ralph Hauterive, archdeacon of Colchester, Hoveden, iii. 87. The name had been given before, p. 70, from Benedict, ii. 142.

10. The two largest independent additions made to the earlier book are the two chapters on Antichrist (pp. 80–86), of which enough is said in the notes; and the hymn on the opening of the Crusade, at page 37. After careful investigation of the probable sources of the latter I have been unable to form any other conjecture as to the authorship than that it may have been the work of that Monachus of Florence, who wrote the much longer poem on the siege of Acre, in the same metre, which I have reprinted in the appendix to this preface.

Chapters on Antichrist.

Poem on the crusade.

This very valuable relic of contemporary history was unknown to me when I edited the Itinerarium of Richard the Canon, with whose work it has much in common, and might have been published in connexion. On finding a portion of it in an Oriel manuscript, and almost immediately after, the poem in its integrity, in Herold's Appendix to the continuation of William of Tyre, I determined to prepare it to accompany, by way of commentary, the present account of Richard's Crusade. Between that time and the present it was printed privately by M. Paul E. D. Riant, at Lyons; and I have had the benefit of his collations and valuable literary researches as to its authorship. Whilst I am obliged to differ in some respects from his conclusions, I think it right to put on record how very much I admire his careful investigation, and the exhaustive manner in which he has treated the subject.

Appendix to the Preface.

1. Monachus Florentinus.

A second appendix will be found to contain an extract from the chronicle of Ansbert, giving the Austrian account of Richard's capture, transfer and release; and comprising also a document necessary to the completion of the series given by Hoveden on the subject.[1]

2. Extract from Ansbert.

[1] I had intended adding a third appendix from the early French Chronicle extant in the MS., C.C.C.C., 432, which may be called a romance of the History of Europe during the period of the crusades. The MS. is of the thirteenth century and is a better version of the little

Notice of the MSS. of Hoveden.

The mutual relations of the MSS. used in the preparation of this edition of Hoveden, and described in the preface to the first volume, continue to be throughout the present portion of the work much the same as before. MSS. B., D., and I., generally agree, except where D. has omitted or abridged, often from carelessness. MS. G. continues to be a faithful and intelligent transcript of A., until nearly the close of the volume, where it begins to abridge documents in a way that detracts much from its value, and which becomes more marked as we approach the end of the work. MS. C. is so much abridged, and so imperfect, as to be absolutely useless for the purpose of collation.

A mistake noted by Sir F. Madden.

Before finishing the literary portion of the preface I must be allowed to thank Sir Frederick Madden[1] for having pointed out a mistake into which I had fallen through too hasty generalization: I said in the preface to the first volume that the work of Hoveden was unknown to Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris.[2] This is a misstatement. I believe that it is true to say that for the portion of history common to Hoveden and Benedict, that ending in 1192, these two authors used the latter only. For the later years of Richard's reign they must have used Hoveden, as will appear in detail in the fourth volume. Having carefully examined into the former point, I had unwittingly overlooked the passages towards the end of Hoveden, the language of which is identical with that of Matthew Paris.

How far Hoveden was used by Matthew Paris and Roger of Wendover.

known work published at Paris in 1837 by M. Louis Paris, under the title of "Chronique de Rains." The portion I had selected was the story of the discovery of Richard by the minstrel Blondel; for which this is first authority. On reading over, however, my MS. for the press, the work appeared to me to be too fabulous and frivolous for any part to be introduced into a book of real history, and I content myself with referring the curious reader to M. Paris's edition.

[1] Preface to the Historia Minor of Matthew Paris, vol. iii. p. 23.

[2] Preface to Hoveden, vol. i., p. lxxii.

§

The interest of the internal history of Richard's reign is only very slightly indebted to the personal action of the king. His influence is felt only as a remote and varying pressure, affecting the amount and impact of taxation, the placing and displacing of ministers. The island kingdom, irrespective of its function as supplying revenue, lies very much out of the sphere of his political plans, and owes nothing to any paternal care or special exercise of sagacity on its behalf. He originated no reforms; he did not even interest himself in such things so far as to reverse the measures of his father. He had no policy of government, and for his policy of aggression England satisfied him by contributing money.

Sketch of the early history of Richard I.'s reign.

His personal interest in England.

Henry's early idea of dividing his dominions among his sons had this, among other indirect effects: Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey were exposed to all the temptations of a sovereign position without the absolute liberty of action which would have left them free to find work for themselves. Whilst other princes of their age were learning experience and sowing wild oats in the Crusades, they were exercising substantial power as the colleagues or vassals of their father in England, Normandy, Aquitaine, and Brittany. Their education, such as it was, was carried on amidst the people whom they were to govern, and, as is usual in such cases, their characters were formed by the moral and political tone of their provincial courts. Henry became the ally, the hero and the victim of the feudal party in England and Normandy; Geoffrey developed the Ange-

Early education of Henry's sons.

Provincial influence on their characters.

Richard, his mother's child.

vinity—the dishonesty, turbulence, and general want of principle which marked his grandfather's line; Richard, the faults and the brilliancy of the Poictevin. Throughout his life he is amenable in a remarkable way to the personal authority and national influences of his mother.

His birth, nurture, and early prospects.

Richard was born in England,[1] and nursed by an Englishwoman;[2] but there his personal interest in England seems to determine. At a very early age he was marked out as the heir of Eleanor.[3] When he was two years old his father planned for him a marriage with the daughter of the queen of Arragon, one of the terms of which was the settlement of the duchy of Aquitaine on the infant couple.[4] In 1165 his mother brought him from England into Normandy.[5] At Epiphany 1169 he did homage to Lewis VII. for the duchy of Aquitaine;[6] the following year he received it as his share of his father's dominions, when,

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[1] His birth at Oxford is asserted by Ralph de Diceto, c. 531. The event is placed at Windsor by the author of the chronicle quoted in the next note, but Oxford is more likely. Windsor might easily be substituted for Oxford by one ignorant of the circumstances; not so Oxford for Windsor. The month September, 1157, is mentioned by Robert de Monte, 890 (ed. Struve), and the day "Sexto "Idus Septembris" is given in the Chronicon Andegavense, published by Labbe, *Bibliotheca MSS.*, I. 276, from a MS. of the monastery of S. Albinus at Angers.

[2] "Mense Septembri natus est "anno MCLVII°, regi filius Ricar-"dus nomine apud Windleshore; "eadem nocte natus est Alexander "Necham apud Sanctum Albanum; "cujus mater fovit Ricardum ex "mamilla dextra, sed Alexandrum "fovit ex mamilla sua sinistra." MS. in the Lord Arundel's collection, quoted by James in his collections now in the Bodleian, vol. vii. 34. The name of Richard's nurse, whether she was Alexander Neckham's mother or no, was Hodierna. She had an estate in land of seven pounds a year at Chippenham, and the parish of Knoyle Hodierne in Wiltshire still preserves her name. Rot. Claus. Hen. III. (ed. Hardy) i. 416. This could not have been the whole of her property, for her land in 30 Hen. III. was talliaged at 40*s*.

[3] Gir. Camb. De Inst. Pr. lib. iii. c. 8.

[4] Rob. de Monte (ed. Struve), 892.

[5] *Ibid.* 900.

[6] *Ibid.* 905.

in the expectation of death, Henry, at Mote de Ger, divided them among his elder sons.[1] In 1171 he joined with his mother in laying the foundation of the church of S. Augustine at Limoges.[2] On Trinity Sunday the same year he was installed as duke in the abbatial seat of S. Hilary at Poictiers, receiving the lance and banner from the bishop John of Poictiers, and the archbishop of Bourdeaux, and having the hymn, "O princeps "egregie," sung in procession. The same year he was invested at Limoges with the ring of S. Valeria, the protomartyr of the Gauls;[3] and in 1173 he received the homage of the count of Toulouse, being then sixteen.[4]

He becomes Duke of Aquitaine in 1171.

By that unhappy fate which attended his family, he fought his first campaign as duke of Aquitaine, against his father, under the influence of his mother and her advisers Ralph de Fai and Lewis VII.[5] From the time of the pacification Richard, unlike his elder brother, recovered his hold on his share of the inheritance, and from his eighteenth year administered Aquitaine with very slight control from his father.[6] In the apparently

His wars with his father.

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[1] Ben. Pet. i. 7.

[2] Geoff. Vigeois, Labbe, Bibl. Manuscr. ii. 318:—"Monasterium "Sancti Augustini Lemovicis in-"ceptum est construi. Tempore "illo Regina Alienor cum filio "Ricardo Lemovicæ forte cum esset, "lapides in fundamento primos "jecerunt."

[3] Geoff. Vigeois, Labbe, ii. 318:—"Tempore illo rex Henricus senior "filio Ricardo ex voluntate matris "Aquitanorum tradidit ducatum. "Post hæc apud Sanctum Hilarium "Pictavis Dominica post Pentecos-"ten, juxta consuetudinem, in "abbatis sedem elevatur, sed a "Bertramo Burdegalensi et Johanne "Pictavensi præsulibus lancea ei "cum vexillo præbetur, et ad "processionem cantatur *O prin-"ceps egregie* . . . . Procedenti "tempore Ricardus Lemovicas "veniens in urbe cum proces-"sione suscipitur, annulo Sanctæ "Valeriæ decoratur novusque dux "ab omnibus proclamatur."

[4] Ben. Pet. i. 36. Geoff. Vig. (ap. Labbe, ii. 319) gives the day Feb. 25.

[5] Ben. Pet. i. 42.

[6] In 1175, Ben. Pet. i. 81. Ralph de Diceto places the date of his creation as duke of Aquitaine in his 23rd year 1179, R. Dic. 675; but he was in active employment there long before.

Richard's government of Aquitaine during his father's life.

conflicting statements of Giraldus that during this period he showed great powers of organization, reducing the disorderly nobles to subjection, extending the boundaries, and improving the laws of his states;[1] and those of Benedict and Thomas Agnellus,[2] that he governed capriciously and tyrannically, that he was "malus omni- " bus, suis pejor, pessimus sibi,"[3] we trace an element of agreement. His policy was, like his father's, directed to the humiliation of the barons who had enjoyed under the weak and luxurious princes who preceded Eleanor an almost unbridled licence; and to the creation of a really independent sovereignty. The complaints of his treatment of the wives and daughters of the nobles, show, if they were true, that he followed in other respects the traditions of his mother's house too faithfully. By the barons of Aquitaine the younger Henry, who had been the stalking horse of the baronage in Normandy and England, was called in against Richard.[4] His death opened the way for his brother to higher honours, but Richard's relations with the great vassals of the duchy were throughout his life the same; and the stand which during his father's life he made against them without help from abroad abundantly vindicates his character for perseverance and military skill. The lords of Saintonge, the counts of Angoulême, the viscounts of Limoges,[5]

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[1] De Inst. Pr. iii. 8 :—" Terram " hactenus indomitam in tenera " ætate tanta virtute rexit et domuit, " ut non tantum ipsam per omnes " ejus anfractus longe plenius et " tranquillius solito pacificaret, " verum etiam mutilata dudum et " dispersa reintegrans, strenua " virtute pristinos in status singula " revocaret. In formam igitur " informia redigens, in normam " enormia quæque reducens, fortia " confundens et aspera complanans, " antiquos Aquitanniæ terminos et " jura reformavit."

[2] See the passage quoted in the preface to Hoveden, vol. ii. p. lvii.

[2] Ben. Pet. i. 292.

[1] Richard's enemies are the same throughout his career. They are enumerated by Benedict, i. 115, and much of their history may be learned from Geoffrey of Vigeois. The barons of Poictou seem to have had an admitted right of making private war; at least Richard on

with a wide network of alliances amongst the almost inaccessible lordships of the Pyrenees, afforded him work and discipline enough, not to speak of the claims on Auvergne and Toulouse, which could, if enforced, have brought only an empty homage. Two short visits, one in 1176,[1] and another in 1184,[2] seem to be the sum of his opportunities for making acquaintance with England, during the twenty years that preceded his accession to the crown.

He visits England only twice before his accession.

Untrained to English ways, and exempt for the most part from the influence of English factions, Richard must have seen that his best policy was to leave the kingdom alone, to be governed on his father's principles, and to develop resources which might enrich him without giving him trouble. But he must have underrated the personal influence of his father if he trusted that the institutions which he had created would act by themselves, or answer to the handling of new, inexperienced workmen. Henry's influence had been felt directly everywhere, and his servants had been educated under him, or had grown with him into the knowledge of their work. Richard's first attempt was to manage by new men a system which was far from maturity, and would not bear rough or indiscriminate usage. The elements which had supplied Henry's early difficulties survived, although weakened and disarmed. Much of

He attempts to rule the kingdom by new ministers.

one occasion alleged it to Philip as an excuse for not using compulsion with them (Hoveden, iii. 255); but this must be distinguished from the constant trouble which the *malæ consuetudines* of the Pyrenean counts and barons gave him, who were really patrons of banditti who lived on the plunder of pilgrims to Compostella. See Ben. Pet. i. 132. Ric. Devizes, p. 12. Hoveden, iii. 35, 36.

[1] In 1176 he landed on Good Friday at Southampton, spent Easter at Winchester, and almost immediately returned to Poictou. Ben. Pet. i. 115, 120.

[2] In 1184 he came to England in November, stayed over Christmas, which he spent at Windsor with the king, and sailed from Dover before New Year's Day 1185. Ben. Pet. i. 319, 333, 334.

His system was a rude test of his father's policy.

the influence which his great ministers exercised over the baronage was personal quite as much as official. It might be a question whether after his guiding hand was removed, the old administrators could have successfully maintained their position and his policy. Richard's initial measures, and the results which followed them during the years which he spent on crusade and in captivity, were such as to try very cruelly the fabric which his father had raised.

The history of the reign is really the history of the ministers.

The English history of the reign is then the history not of Richard, but of his ministers; of the administrations of his four successive justiciars, William Longchamp,[1] Walter of Coutances, Hubert Walter, and Geoffrey FitzPeter. The importance of the first two of these is of a political, that of the latter, of a constitutional character. But the survey of a period which coming between Henry II. and John, must necessarily have witnessed a great growth of national life, and which contains other elements of interest which have engrossed the attention of contemporaneous and later historians, to the exclusion of the less romantic topics, deserves examination in detail.

His imprudent choice of ministers, and provision for John and Geoffrey.

The seeds of the difficulties of the first three years of the reign were sown by Richard himself during the few months that followed his coronation, in the choice of the ministers who were to govern England during the crusade, and in the measures taken for securing the good behaviour of John and Geoffrey. In neither of these respects can Richard be charged with any greater fault than political short-sightedness. The events that illus-

[1] William Longchamp was chief justiciar either solely or with colleagues from Dec. 11, the day of Richard's departure, to October 10, 1191, when he was compelled to vacate the post. Walter of Coutances held the office from Oct. 10, 1191, to the time of his departure to Germany in January 1194. Hubert Walter from January 1194 to July 31, 1198. Geoffrey FitzPeter from that time to his death in 1213.

trate them begin from the very moment of his father's funeral.

Richard's treatment of his father's friends and enemies.

No sooner was the body of Henry consigned to the tomb at Fontevraud than the question arose how were the new and old relations of his successor to be reconciled; how was he to treat those who had been faithful to his father on principles which would make them not less faithful to himself, and how to reward those who had been his friends on principles which would from the moment of his succession make them his enemies. First and foremost of these classes came his brothers, the faithful Geoffrey and the faithless John; after them the whole roll of the baronage; on the one side, Ranulf Glanvill and Stephen of Turnham, with the rest of Henry's servants; on the other, Ralph of Fougeres, Juell of Mayenne,[1] and the rest who had deserted the father to make capital in the service of the son. Richard's first thought was to revenge himself on his father's friends; but it was a short-lived idea, and gave way so soon to better feelings that the two on whom the first brunt of his hasty anger fell, seem to have become, as soon as their punishment was over, his most faithful friends.[2] Stephen Turnham[3] and Ranulf Glanvill[4] were compelled to purchase his goodwill by heavy fines; but those paid, the former was restored to his post as steward of Anjou, and Glanvill, although he was not suffered to retain the justiciarship, attended the court as a counsellor until his departure for the crusade, on which he died. Towards those who had deserted Henry in his last difficulties, Richard adopted different conduct: dispossessed them of their estates, and treated them as his own enemies. The lords of Fougeres and Mayenne continued during his

He exacts money from the former, and punishes the latter.

[1] Ben. Pet. ii. 72.

[2] See Ben. Pet. ii. 76.

[3] Ric. Devizes, pp. 6–8. See also Ben. Pet. ii. 71, 72, where the king is said to have broken off the marriage of Stephen's son on account of the inferiority of his birth.

[4] Ric. Deviz., pp. 6–8.

Opposition in Anjou.

reign, as they and their ancestors had done constantly before, to lead the baronial opposition in Brittany, Maine, and Anjou.

He attempts to make peace the interest of all parties:

The requirements of revenge and justice being satisfied, the new sovereign seems to have determined to bind to himself by gifts and promises all the leaders, or would-be leaders, of the parties which his own quarrels with his father had, if not created, at least furnished with opportunities for organization. As soon as he was invested with the duchy of Normandy he began

provides for John and Geoffrey:

to make a lavish provision for John; he renewed the promise of the archbishopric of York to Geoffrey, and he proposed to pay to Philip not only the 20,000*l.* with which Henry had purchased peace, but 4,000*l.* more to indemnify him for the expenses of the war;

and pays money to Philip.

this done, the two undertook to meet early in 1190, and proceed to the crusade together. The provision made for John on this occasion was the bestowal of the county of Mortain, in Normandy, which had been

Liberality to John.

the property of king Stephen, and had escheated on the death of his son William in 1159,[1] and the promise of a revenue of 4,000*l.* a year [2] from lands in England, with

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[1] I have remarked at vol. ii. p. 6, on the difficulties attending the statement that John had the county of Mortain before his father's death, made by Hoveden (as an addition to Benedict), and also by Richard of Devizes, who says, "præter "comitatum de Moritonio, quem "dono patris pridem perceperat." p. 7. William of Newburgh (iv. 8.) describes Richard as ratifying his father's gift. The truth seems to be that Henry had promised the county and that Richard actually bestowed it. Although Count William died in 1159, his sister who married Matthew of Boulogne, carried the claim on the county to him. He died in 1173, and his daughters do not seem to have made any claim; it was in the king's hands in 1180, and he had in fact bought off Count Matthew's claim in 1168. See Stapleton, Norman Rolls, i. pp. lxiii., cxxiii. Benedict distinctly says that the county was given by Richard to John on the occasion of his investiture as duke of Normandy, July 20, 1189. B. P. ii. 73.

[2] Ben. Pet. ii. 73. M. Paris, 152. This promise of 4,000*l.* a year in land, was not regarded as fulfilled by the bestowal of the counties shortly after mentioned, although it is nearly the sum at which their revenues may be valued; we find that in 1195, when John

the completion of the marriage contract with the daughter of the last Earl of Gloucester, the son of Robert, who had been betrothed to John in 1176, and who brought with her by way of dowry the honour of the earldom of Gloucester.

John's marriage.

To all this were added, as soon as the brothers arrived in England, the several castles and honours of Marlborough, Lancaster, Ludgarshall, and the Peak, the castle of Bolsover, the town and honour of Nottingham, the honours of Wallingford and Tickhill, and the county of Derby with the Peverell fee.[1] It is to be observed that this enumeration of the endowments should be construed exactly as detailed by Benedict and abridged by Hoveden. In a few cases the castle and honour are given together, but in the more important ones, Tickhill, Wallingford, and the impregnable one of Nottingham,[2] the honour is given without the castle; the hold of the crown is maintained on these castles as well as that of Gloucester, a matter that has much significance in its relation to later events.[3] Not content with this enormous accession of territory, John received in addition, before Richard's departure from England, the counties of Devon, Dorset, Somerset, and Cornwall.[4]

Bestowal of honours and castles on John.

Castles of the honours withheld.

Bestowal of counties.

had been removed from the government of the counties, his income from the exchequer was 8,000*l.* Hoveden, iii. 286. But unfortunately for Richard's character as a liberal brother, the 8,000*l.* are in Angevin money and only equal to 2,000*l.* sterling. However, it is clear that whilst he was in charge of the counties, he was receiving a large sum from the exchequer. R. Devizes, p, 26.

[1] These honours were given before the coronation, Ben. Pet. ii. 78. The money value may be estimated roughly by reference to the roll of the 3rd of John, when Wallingford is worth 80*l.*, Tickhill, 85*l.*, the Peverell fee, 232*l.* 10*s.*; and to the Pipe Roll of 1 Richard I., when the honour of Gloucester is worth 548*l.* 17*s.* 11*d.*, and Lancaster, 251*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*

[2] R. Devizes, 30.

[3] It is especially noted by Hoveden, iii. 6.

[4] Bestowed in December. Ben. Pet. ii. 99. The gross values of all these counties, for Richard bestows

Appointments made at the council of Pipewell, to propitiate all sides.

Immediately after the coronation Richard held a great council at Pipewell, at which he filled up the vacant church preferments, and changed the sheriffs of the counties in contemplation of the Michaelmas session of the Exchequer. In the former class of appointments we trace the working of several natural influences. His father's servants, Hubert Walter, the nephew of Glanvill; Richard FitzNeal, the treasurer of the Exchequer; Godfrey, the son of Richard of Lucy the loyal,[1] were secured by bishoprics; and William of S. Mere l'Eglise, the prothonotary, by a rich stall at York. To his own personal servant, William Longchamp, he gives a bishopric; to the brother of William Marshall, who had been the intimate friend and companion of his brother Henry, the deanery of York. The old bishop of Durham is propitiated by the bestowal of the treasurership of the same church, which had been held by his cousin S. William and himself, in succession, on his nephew Bouchard de Puiset; and the services of the Champagne connexion, still so strong both in France and in England, were further secured by the nomination of Henry de Soilli,[2] to the abbacy of Glastonbury. In all these, a prudent regard to existing personal or political interests is distinguishable.

Church appointments.

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not only the ferms, but all the profits of administration, were in the 1 Rich. I., as follows:—

	£	s.	d.	
Devonshire - -	2,041	12	11	In all 4,081*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.*
Dorset and Somerset -	1,153	15	1	
Cornwall - -	512	3	11	
Notts and Derbyshire-	373	17	9	

or if the ferms alone be counted,—

	£	s.	d.	
Devonshire - -	312	7	0	In all 1,345*l.* 7*s.*
Cornwall - -	233	4	1	
Dorset and Somerset	480	0	0	
Notts and Derby -	319	15	11	

[1] Jordan Fantosme, p. 71. "Godefridus filius memorandi Ricardi illius de "Luci." R. Devizes, 9.

[2] Ben. Pet. ii. 85. Hoveden, iii. 15, note 5.

Secular preferments.

The secular appointments were not bestowed with similar circumspection, although the marriages and wardships in the hands of the crown were distributed on much the same principle. Amongst the latter class of preferments, William Marshall got the heiress of the earldom of Strigul; the son of Roger FitzRainfrai, the heiress of the barony of Kendal;[1] William Longchamp, the wardship of Stephen Beauchamp.[2] But with the official posts it was otherwise. The place of Ranulf Glanvill was filled by two old statesmen, Hugh de Puiset, bishop of Durham, and William Mandeville, earl of Essex and count, in the right of his wife, of Aumâle, the most faithful servant of Henry II.;[3] and this change of the head of the administration was followed by a clean sweep in the sheriffdoms. It is not clear whether this was done at Pipewell, or a fortnight later at the Michaelmas exchequer; probably it was arranged at the former place, and carried into execution in the latter. The changes seem to imply an imprudent desire on Richard's part to carry with him most of the leading members of his father's government; a desire that was aided by the fact that most of these were already under a vow of crusade, which under a king who was himself an ardent crusader, and who had obtained from the pope the privilege of commuting the vows of his subjects for a money payment, was not likely to be re-

New justiciars.

New sheriffs.

Most of the barons were under vow of crusade

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[1] Ben. Pet. ii. 73, 76.

[2] I mention this because it seems to have been a lucrative piece of preferment. It had been bought by Bertram de Verdun for 200 marks; he sold it to Longchamp for 20 marks' profit. Madox, Hist. Exch., 691. After the chancellor's death his brother Henry had the wardship of the heir of Stephen, and paid 100*l.* for it in the first year of John. Possibly it was in this way that he became sheriff of Worcestershire, the hereditary sheriffdom of which belonged to the Beauchamps. Rot. de Finibus, 1st John, p. 15.

[3] Hoveden adds to Benedict's information that Geoffrey FitzPeter, William Briewere, Robert de Wihtefeld and Roger FitzRainfrai, were associated in the office. See Ben. Pet. ii. 87. Hoveden, iii. 16.

The old king's friends displaced for the new.

deemed without enormous cost.[1] In a few cases some method may be traced. In Yorkshire Ranulf Glanvill gives way to John Marshall, the old king's friend to the new;[2] in Herefordshire Ralph Arden, Glanvill's son-in-law, is replaced by Henry Longchamp, the chancellor's brother. Such appointments strengthened no doubt the hands of the king's personal friends. Others, however, must have seriously weakened the administration.

Purchase of sheriffdoms and castles.

Amongst these the foremost are the purchase of sheriffdoms by three of the bishops: Hugh de Puiset, of Durham, buys Northumberland for 2,000 marks;[3] Godfrey de Lucy, by a single fine, obtained for himself the county of Hampshire, with the castles of Winchester and Porchester, his own inheritance, and indemnity for the treasure of his church;[4] Hugh of Nunant, bishop of Coventry, was allowed to take for a smaller fine the sheriffdoms of Leicestershire, Stafford-

[1] Of the barons and justices of Henry II.'s reign, Ranulf Glanvill, Bertram de Verdun, Roger Glanvill, Gilbert Pipard, and others, went with the king. Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, William Briewere, and Hugh Bardolf bought of the king a licence to stay at home. R. Dev., p. 8. Hugh Bardolf is mentioned as being at Messina in November, 1190; Hoveden, iii. 62; and even William Marshall must have been there early in 1191, if we are to take literally the words of Benedict, ii. 158, Hoveden, iii. 96. Yet he was acting as a judge in England very shortly before (Mon. Angl. i., 391); perhaps he accompanied and returned with Eleanor.

[2] Glanvill had administered Yorkshire by his steward Reiner, who went with him on crusade, and died in Cyprus. Ben. Pet. ii. 150. He had rendered account of a fine of 1,000 marks on his own account in the second of Richard I. (Pipe Roll); another proof of the way in which as Richard of Devizes describes, the Glanvill connexion was plundered at this time.

[3] "Pipe Roll, 2 Ric. I.:—"Hugo "episcopus Dunelm, debet MM. "marcas pro comitatu Northum-"briæ habendo." He gave 1,000 "marks for the justiciarship, Ben. Pet. ii. 90; 600 for Sadberge; Hoveden, iii. 39. Richard of Devizes raises the sum of money invested by him to 10,000*l.*, p. 8.

[4] For 3,000*l.*, R. Devizes, p. 10. Another 3,000*l.* he paid for the restoration of Meon and Wargrave, Rot. Pip., 2 R. I.

shire, and Warwickshire.[1] The counties bestowed on John were withdrawn from the ordinary administration of the government. Gerard Camville, one of his sworn followers, for 700 marks, entered on the sheriffdom of Lincolnshire;[2] Hugh of Nunant was also his personal adherent. Of the other counties, only seven or eight retained their old sheriffs, and only five of the old sheriffs[3] found places in the same capacity: these were old servants of the State, not likely to become politically dangerous. But the changes in the sheriffdoms are not to be imputed solely to Richard's wish to carry with him to Palestine all the men of mark; in some cases the office was doubtless bought. Those officers who were removed were not disgraced, for out of them, after making them pay heavily for the commutation of their vows, Richard chose the chief advisers of the regency.

Weakening of the government in consequence.

The great offices of State were, moreover, paid for by their fortunate holders; Hugh de Puiset paid at least a thousand marks for his share of the justiciarship,[4] and William Longchamp, although the king's confidant, paid three thousand for the chancery, notwithstanding that the bishop of Bath bid a thousand more.[5] Other very large sums were levied on the barons and bishops for the ratification of rights and confirmation of their tenure of estates, the greatest bargain being that made by the king of Scots, who, for a payment of 10,000*l.*, emancipated himself from the conditions imposed on him by Henry II. in 1175. But the object of these latter sales was merely the raising of money.

Sale of the Justiciarship and Chancellorship.

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[1] For 300 marks, Madox, *Hist. Exch.*, 316.

[2] "Gerardus de Camvilla reddit "computum de 700 marcis pro "vice-comitatu Lincoln. et castello "civitatis habendis." Rot. Pip., 2 Ric. I.

[3] Oger Fitz-Oger, Henry de Cornhell, William Ruffus, William Fitz-Hervey, Robert de la Mara; others, however, probably acted under John in his counties.

[4] See above, p. xxviii., note 3.

[5] R. Devizes, p. 9.

Theory of Richard's policy.

By such means Richard endeavoured to secure peace during his absence from Europe; his policy was to work the governmental machinery by men who were not likely to be dangerous, to bribe by large benefactions those whose claims might have made them so, to bind those who had invested their treasure so largely in public appointments, to the maintenance of public security, to carry away with him as much as possible of the money which might have sustained private wars, and as many as possible of those members of the feudal baronage whose possessions were so large or their traditions so continuous as to render them jealous of royal authority. But before he left England he had reason to see that all this would be futile. The death of William Mandeville in November left the justiciarship vacant, for Hugh de Puiset could not be trusted to act alone—nay, it was a question whether the king ever seriously intended him to act in this capacity at all. The archbishop-elect of York had quarrelled with his clergy and fallen into disgrace with Richard, and it was found necessary to secure John with further gifts. The king was, however, in a hurry to embark, and perhaps not unwilling to leave matters to settle themselves. The bishop of Durham was left as justiciar, but with the chancellor, Hugh Bardulf and William Briewere as colleagues.[1] Further questions were to be settled at a council in Normandy before the pilgrimage to the East began.

Early indications of its failure.

The justiciars quarrel.

Richard left England on the 11th of December. Almost immediately after his departure the chancellor and justiciar quarrelled. The bishop of Durham saw

[1] Ben. Pet. ii. 101. Hoveden makes the chancellor co-justiciar, and Hugh Bardulf, William Marshall, Geoffrey FitzPeter, and William Briewere, associates; a different committee from that appointed at Pipewell. It is not improbable that Hugh was really the chief justiciar for the short time that intervened between the king's departure and his summons to Normandy.

The seemingly arbitrary conduct of the Chancellor dictated by policy, perhaps prescribed by Richard.

that the bishop of Ely was intended to hold the substance of power, whilst, even if faith were to be kept with himself, there would be left him only the shadow, the expense, and the responsibility. To him the castle of Windsor had been intrusted; but to the chancellor the Tower of London.[1] Longchamp was not indisposed for a struggle; he declined to admit the presence of the bishop of Durham at the Exchequer,[2] or to recognize him as in charge of the county of Northumberland. No reason is given for this, but the probable one is, that the bishop had not actually paid the money offered for the county,[3] and that the chancellor acted under Richard's orders. At the same time, however, he dispossessed the bishop of Winchester of the honours he had purchased, and even of his own inheritance, on which he had so lately entered.[4] In this case the desire of getting both the sheriffdom and the castles into the hands of the government probably operated. As for the bishop of Coventry, it was thought sufficient to proceed against him in the ecclesiastical court, and obtain an injunction from the archbishop of Canterbury against his holding a sheriffdom.[5]

The Chancellor quarrels with the bishops of Durham, Winchester, and Coventry.

Complaints laid before the king.

When in the month of February or early in March the king held his council in Normandy, complaints on all these grounds were laid before him. Most of the leading men in England attended; the chief business

[1] Benedict, ii. 101. Hoveden, iii. 28.

[2] R. Devizes, p. 11.

[3] The money is still a debt, in the Pipe Roll of 2 Rich. II., that is, at Michaelmas, 1190.

[4] R. Devizes, 11.

[5] See the letter from Archbishop Baldwin to the Bishop of London, in R. Diceto, 652: Hugh had at Rouen promised to resign his sheriffdom within a fortnight after Easter. In the Roll of the 2nd of Richard I., he renders account for Warwickshire and Leicestershire for half a year, and Hugh Bardulf for the second half, and in 1191 Hugh Bardulf accounts for the whole year in Warwickshire and Leicestershire, whilst the Bishop has had Staffordshire for a whole year. It would seem then that he had obeyed the Archbishop's command as long as he lived. In 1192 he accounts for all the three counties.

The justiciarship divided.

done was the appointment of the chancellor as justiciar of England, the bishop of Durham's jurisdiction being confined to the north of the Humber;[1] John and Geoffrey were sworn not to return to England for three years. Hugh of Nunant undertook before the archbishop to give up his secular office. Measures were also taken to obtain for the chancellor the office of legate in the absence of archbishop Baldwin.

Longchamp to be legate.

Difficulties of Longchamp's task.

Notwithstanding the great powers with which Longchamp was now invested, the task which he undertook was probably as difficult a one as ever fell to the lot of any minister. He was, indeed, trusted by his master, but he could have hardly trusted Richard out of his sight, knowing how uncertain were the expedients of his fickle policy, how easily he was imposed upon, and how his inveterate extravagance laid him open to intrigues in which money would be too powerful a temptation for him to resist. The condition of England was anything but bettered by Richard's policy. The great earls of Chester and Leicester, the great minister Glanvill, and his colleagues Bertram de Verdun, Gilbert Pipard, and others, the great bishops Hubert of Salisbury, and Walter of Rouen, were indeed gone; and John and Geoffrey were sworn to stay away. But the uneasiness was not removed with them; the sources of disturbance were in the very atmosphere of society. The removal of the great men made the country more difficult to manage, the balance more difficult to adjust. Hugh de Puiset had made himself a comfortable principality in the north, where the justiciarship of the whole province was added to his ordinary and palatine jurisdiction as bishop, and the newly-purchased earldom or sheriffdom of Northumberland. John had an equally compact, though less extensive, dominion in the west; and in

Removal of the great earls and bishops.

Power of Hugh de Puiset.

[1] Ben. Pet. ii. 106. Hoveden, iii. 32. Longchamp is now "summus justitiarius." R. Devizes, 14.

the middle of England, he and his friends possessed a band of jurisdictions and castles reaching through the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, Warwick, and Stafford. Although many, if not all, the towns in this midland territory were faithful to the crown, and some of the castles were still retained by the king as a check on his brother, the whole of the ordinary jurisdiction was withdrawn from the direct action of the justiciar. John's own counties rendered no account at the Exchequer, and their judicial business was managed by his own justiciar; in the shires under Hugh of Nunant and Gerard Camville, the influence of the justiciar could not be available without the co-operation of the sheriff. The chancellor could regard only the east and south-east of England as really amenable to his authority. Any attempt to exert it beyond these limits would necessarily lead to a complication with one or all of his rivals.

Localization of parties.

Withdrawal of John's counties from the ordinary jurisdiction of the justiciar.

Hugh de Puiset was a man whose ancestors had been accustomed to deal on an equality with kings, and to give them no small trouble. He was, in all probability, the son of that Hugh de Puiset,[1] viscount of Chartres,

Ancestry of Hugh de Puiset.

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[1] It is impossible to speak with entire certainty of the parentage of Hugh de Puiset, but I believe the following to be the truth. I should say that the whole pedigree of the Puisets is difficult to make out. The Puisets were lords of the castle of that name, near Chartres, and the head of the family was hereditary Viscount of Chartres. I. Ebrard, Viscount of Chartres and his wife Hunbergis were the parents of Hugh de Puiset, Viscount of Chartres, and Adelaide the wife of Roger Montgomery the ally of William the Conqueror (*Cartulaire de S. Pere de Chartres*, 159. Ord. Vit. v. 13.) II. Hugh de Puiset, viscount of Chartres, married Adelaide of Montlheri, sister of Guy de Rochfort, dapifer to the king of France. He was viscount in 1096 and had three sons, Ebrard, Hugh, and Guy, and a daughter Hunbergis. *Cartulaire*, &c. p. 240. III. Of these three sons, Guy was viscount of Etampes; Hugh married Mamilia de Roucy and went to the Holy Land about 1106. (Will. Tyr. xiv. 15.) Ebrard went on the first crusade and took part in the siege of Antioch in 1097. (W. Tyr. vi. 4. Alb. Aq., 236, 255.) IV. The next viscount of Chartres is Hugh

Inheritance of turbulent traditions.

who had for many years defied the power of Lewis VI. Another Hugh de Puiset, his cousin,[1] had nearly produced a revolution in Palestine; another ancestor, Bouchard of Corbeil, had attempted to wrest the crown of France from Philip I.[2] Hugh himself was a great-grandson of William the Conqueror; nephew of Stephen, of Henry of Winchester, and Theobald of Champagne; cousin to both Richard I. and Philip II. Adelidis, the mother of one at least of the bishop's children, was a lady of the great house of Percy,[3] and this connexion added the

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de Puiset, the enemy of Lewis VI., who is described by Abbot Suger as the nephew of Guy of Etampes, and son of the countess Adelaide of Corbeil. (*Opp. Suger.* ed. Le Coy de la Marche, p. 70.) His father had gone on the first crusade. He was, then, the son of Ebrard who died at Antioch, and as viscount, agrees with the abbot of S. Pierre for the commemoration of his father Ebrard as soon as the day of his death is known. (Cartulaire, &c., 452.) V. This Hugh had a wife Agnes, and two sons, Ebrard and Bouchard. (*Cart.*, p. 412.) Of whom Ebrard was viscount of Chartres 1143. (*Cart.*, 644; Bouquet, xv. 493.) VI. The next viscount is Hugh de Puiset, count of Bar, son of Ebrard (Ben. Pet. i. 278) and nephew of Hugh de Puiset, bishop of Durham. Therefore bishop Hugh must have been a younger son of Hugh and Agnes, and Agnes must have been an unknown daughter of Count Stephen of Blois and Adela the daughter of William the Conqueror. This pedigree which has given me a good deal of trouble, will be found to agree with the charters and historians, but not with the deductions of the French genealogists, who rather ignore bishop Hugh. In addition to the references given above, compare Martene and Durand, *Amplissima Coll.*, i. 774; Bouquet, xv. 493; Duchesne, iv. 528. The identification of Hugh the viscount, as the son of Ebrard, is proved by the charter of the abbey of S. Pierre, in which he refers to his imprisonment; *Cart.*, &c., 452; Suger, pp. 73, 76; and that of his son Ebrard by the letter of Lewis VII. *Cart.*, &c., 644.

[1] Hugh the younger, son of Hugh and Mamilia de Roucy, count of Joppa. See W. Tyr. xiv. 15.

[2] Suger, V. Ludov. VI. p. 80. He was slain by Stephen of Blois. *Ib.* 81. He was father of Adelaide the wife of Ebrard, and grandmother of the bishop.

[3] According to William of Newburgh, v. 11, the bishop was father of three sons by three different ladies before he took priest's orders, but as one of the persons called by the historians his sons, was his nephew Bouchard, archdeacon of Durham; the rest of the story may be apocryphal. Two sons he is known to have had, of both of whom

influence of her family to the other sources of the bishop's strength. One of his sons, also Hugh de Puiset, had been chancellor to Lewis VII.[1] Hugh had had now a longer tenure of power than any man of his mark in Europe. At an early age he had been made treasurer of York, in which capacity he had styled himself Hugh, "by the grace of God, treasurer and archdeacon"; had fought the battles in court, council and chapter, of his cousin S. William, and had headed the garrisons and trained the soldiers of Henry of Winchester when Henry II. was yet a child.[2] He had every opportunity and many qualifications for becoming a very great man, and in spite of his failures, he left a mark upon the north of England which is not yet effaced. He was a man of grand stature, and singularly noble face,[3] eloquent, energetic, a mighty

Family of Bishop Hugh.

His early promotion, versatility, and experience.

Adelaide may have been the mother, as she certainly was of his son Henry. This Henry gave Stockdale to Sallay Abbey "pro salute "animæ meæ et Adelidis de Perci "matris meæ et Dionysiæ sponsæ "meæ . . . . Sicut in cartis "Ricardi de Morevill et Willelmi "de Perci continentur." Mon. Angl. v. 510. Adelidis de Percy had another son named Alan de Morvill, who confirmed a donation which Adelidis de Percy his mother had made to Henry de Puiset his brother, of all the land of Settle and the church of Giggleswick. Whitaker, *History of Craven*, p. 111. She probably had married a Morvill after Hugh became a bishop. Henry de Puiset's wife Dionysia was a daughter of Odo de Thilli, of the family to which Randulf de Thilli, archbishop Roger's constable belonged. Madox, *Hist. Exch.*, p. 356, from Pipe Roll of 31 Hen. II. It is clear that the connexion of the Puisets and Percys was very close, and that the former had gained a strong position in Yorkshire. Henry de Puiset was a great benefactor of Finchale priory.

[1] See Ben. Pet. i. 241, W. Newb., v. 11. He is to be distinguished from Hugh the count of Bar on the Seine, the bishop's nephew, who comes more into English history and was buried in the Galilee at Durham, Ben. Pet. ii. 92. The bishop's son, who was chancellor in 1180, died before 1185. He was the youngest of the family.

[2] John of Hexham, ed. Raine, p. 155. "Qui Hugo thesaurarius "interim episcopales possessiones "Wintoniæ et castra cum militari "manu ipse militans defensabat." *Ibid.* p. 158. Mon. Angl. v. 494.

[3] Geoff. Coldingham, *Scr. Dunelm*, p. 4. This writer makes bishop Hugh only 25 at the time of his election to Durham in 1152; if this

Character and policy of Hugh de Puiset.

hunter,[1] a great shipmaster,[2] a magnificent builder, an able defender and besieger, a consummate intriguer, and a very wary politician[3]. Against great odds he had retained his position through all the struggles of Henry's reign. Of the Becket quarrel he kept himself comparatively clear, sympathizing, doubtless, as his uncle of Winchester and his cousin of Sens did, with the ecclesiastical principles of the martyr, but unwilling to risk anything by taking a decided part against the king.

His earlier career.

The death of the bishop of Winchester in 1171, and his own close connexion with the French court, induced him in 1173 to take a more hazardous part, and although not actually to rebel, to attempt the position of mediator which had been held by his uncle in the contest between Stephen and Matilda, but which Matilda's son was little likely to regard as loyal. His temporizing policy on this occasion drew down on him the severe animadver- of Henry,[4] but he was not like Arnulf of Lisieux, a prelate who could be driven into resignation. Henry

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is right he must have been trained early to the use of arms, as he was early preferred in the church. But he was probably older.

[1] On his "caza" or chace in the forest of Weardale, which was quite on a royal scale, like everything else about him, see *Boldon Buke*, ed. Greenwell, pp. liv., lv. His hunting hall, built for each chace by the villains of Auckland was 60 feet long, chapel and kitchen, &c. in proportion.

[2] On his ships see Surtees' account of him in the Hist. of Durham. Coldingham, p. 13:—"Naves "pulcherrimas . . . ut majorum "episcoporum sive ducum gloriam "superaret." Also Madox, Hist. Exch., 493.

[3] His character is drawn by William of Newburgh, v. 10.

[4] Ben. Pet. i. 64, 67. His policy is, I think, quite that of the Champagne counts and bishops; resistance to the royal authority on ecclesiastical grounds, in all other matters thoroughly secular. Hugh is always found on the clerical side, although he had very little that was clerical about him; and so helped to thwart archbishop Geoffrey, and was always on the best terms with the popes. Without being a great man, he was always in a great position, and seldom unequal to the occasion. His biography, if it could be written in detail, would be a diplomatic or political history of at least 50 eventful years of English national life.

doubtless saw that his own policy was to make it the bishop's interest to be faithful, and not to risk on the side of Scotland the substitution of a weaker, even if more trustworthy, champion. By every turn of affairs, then, he had gained power, and could he have realized the authority apparently entrusted to him by Richard, he would have exercised during the remaining years of his life a rule more exactly resembling that of the great ecclesiastical princes of Germany than anything that has ever existed in England. We picture him as like one of those grand stern figures that look down in stone from the walls and piers of the cathedrals of Mentz, Würzburg, and Bamberg. He was very ambitious, not more than commonly unprincipled or unscrupulous, and with the exception of the shortsightedness inseparable from a narrow personal selfishness, an able, as he was a very experienced, man. He seems to have possessed strong affections, and, notwithstanding their constant ill usage of him, to have been personally a friend of both Henry[1] and his sons. His charm of manner and good nature, perhaps, did as much for the permanence of his power as did the versatility of his policy.

Hugh de Puiset the nearest approach in English history to the imperial type of prelate.

Such was the first enemy, for he was an enemy by the very necessity of the case, whom William Longchamp had to encounter; a man whose position, character, and history stood in the most marked contrast with his own. William Longchamp was a *novus homo*. Without crediting the ill-natured statement of Hugh of Nunant[2]

Contrast of Hugh de Puiset with William Longchamp.

[1] So far as Henry is concerned this is an inference from the treatment he received from him. Richard, although he sometimes made a jest of him, and certainly plundered him cruelly, seems to have been as fond of him as of any one; interfered promptly when Longchamp went beyond his orders, and treated him personally with great regard. See Hoveden iii. 239. Coldingham mentions that Richard used to call him his father, p. 14; and both he and John always recognized the near relationship. John even carried it on to the next generation, calling Henry de Puiset his cousin. Rot. Cart. (ed. Hardy), p. 126.

[2] See Ben. Pet. ii. 216. Hoveden, iii. 142.

Family history of William Longchamp.

and Giraldus[1] that his grandfather was a run-away serf who had escaped from the Beauvaisis into Normandy, it may be considered as certain that that grandfather was the founder of the family. William was a son of Hugh de Longchamp,[2] who, so far as we can see, was the person to whom, early in the reign of Henry II., lands in Herefordshire had been given by the King;[3] who held in the same county a knight's fee under the house of Lacy,[4] and in Normandy the office of fermer of the Honour of Conches.[5] He took his name from the ducal demesne and castle of Longchamp, one of the four castles in the forest of Lions, in which he occupied a small holding. He seems to have married a Lacy,[6] and perhaps was one of those knights who made their fortunes in the service of the younger Henry. In the year 1180 he was in disgrace, being greatly in debt to the exchequer of the duchy, and having failed to present himself before the justiciar when he was summoned. His balance of account unpaid for the Honour of Conches was upwards of 700*l.*, and he owed besides for purprestúres in the forest, for the rents of the carpenters of Longchamp, and an amercement of 100*l.* for non-appear-

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[1] Gir. Camb. *V. Galfr.* in *Ang. Sac.* ii. 404.

[2] "VIII. kal. Nov. obiit Hugo de "Longocampo, et Willelmus filius "ejus Ehelyensis episcopus." Necrology of Rouen, among the Rolls' Transcripts: "Archives of "Normandy, No. 412, excerpta ex "necrologio ecclesiæ Rothomagen- "sis de obitu principum Angliæ."

[3] "In terris datis Hugoni de "Longocampo 16*l.* 10*s.* in Lintuna "et in Wiltuna." Rot. Pip. 3 Hen. II., p. 93, also pp. 51, 144. I am aware that Dugdale decidedly denies the connexion of the chancellor with this family, but the following notes will probably be thought to be proof enough.

[4] Liber Niger Scaccarii (ed. Hearne,) p. 155: — Among the knight's fees of Hugh de Lacy, "et "feodum unius militis de feodo "antiquo quod oblitus sum, feo- "dum Willelmi de Burehopa quod "tenet Hugo de Longo Campo in "maritagio," and p. 159:—"Hen- "ricus de Longocampo tenet Wil- "ton per unum feodum." "Rex "pater regis Johannis dedit Wilton "Hugoni ob gen." Testa de Nevill, p. 70.

[5] Stapleton, *Rolls of the Norman Exchequer*, i. 74, &c.

[6] See note [4] above.

ence and waste.[1] That his difficulties were the result of political misconduct appears from the statement of Giraldus, that the chancellor had been spoken of by Henry II. as a traitor on both father's and mother's side.[2] The date of his appointment to Conches would tally very nearly with the period of the younger Henry's ascendency in Normandy. That he was a man of mark may be inferred from the fact that Ralph Tesson, Reginald of Pavilly, and Richard Vernon, three of the great barons of Normandy, were amongst the sureties for the payment of his debt, a fourth being his son Hugh de Longchamp the younger.[3] To this Hugh the estate of Wilton in Herefordshire is stated to have been given by his father,[4] although the person whom we first find administering it was named Henry. The elder Hugh must have had a large family; amongst his sons were, besides the chancellor and the second Hugh,[5] Stephen,

Difficulties of Hugh Longchamp.

Brothers of the Chancellor.

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[1] "Rob. de Stoteville debet 23*s.* 4*d.* de censibus porpresturarum in Longo Campo recuperatis per juream, quas Hugo de Longo Campo tenebat . . . . Præter hæc LI acræ et dim. virgata terræ quas Hugo et homines ejus tenebant sunt recuperatæ per juream . . . . Hugo de Longocampo debet 706*l.* 17*s.* vid de rem̃. computi sui de honore de Conches. Et 8*l.* 8*s.* de porpresturis forestæ de Leons de septem annis, de unoquoque anno 24*s.* Et 66*l.* 10*s.* de censibus carpentariorum de Longo Campo de septem annis et xi. mensibus. Et de hoc anno 7*l.* 10*s.* Et 100*l.* de misericordia sua pro prædictis porpresturis et quia non venit ad submonitionem justitiarii. Et pro wasto de districto de Longo Campo." R. *Stapleton*, Rolls, &c., i. 74.

[2] V. Galfr., p. 390. "Impropera-" bat enim eidem pluries quod " proditorem suum et proditionis " hæredem ex utroque parente " familiarem habebat." See also p. 405. It would appear from the Pipe Roll, 1 Ric. I., that both Walter de Lacy and Henry Longchamp had been kept out of their Herefordshire estates by Henry II., and only restored to them on his death, pp. 141, 145.

[3] Stapleton, *Rolls*, &c., i. 64, 80, 96, &c.

[4] Rot. Cart. R. Joh. p. 146 :— " Sciatis nos concessisse . . . Hen-" rico de Longo Campo, assensu et " concessione Gaufridi fratris sui " primogeniti, Wilton in Hereford-" siria cum castello . . . . quæ " Hugo avus suus dedit Hugoni patri " ejusdem Henrici." Mar. 7. 1205.

[5] This Hugh, if he was the father of Geoffrey Longchamp, son of Emma of S. Leger, who afterwards married Walter Baskerville, must have died before 1195, as in that year Geoffrey fines as his mother's

Brothers and sisters of the Chancellor.

Steward of Normandy,[1] Henry,[2] Sheriff of Herefordshire, Osbert,[3] Sheriff of Yorkshire, and afterwards of Norfolk and Suffolk, and Robert, who was abbot of S. Mary's at York. Of his daughters, one, Richenda, was married to Matthew de Cleres, castellan of Lions and Dover; and another to the head of the Herefordshire house of Evreux.[4]

Description of Longchamp's person.

At its best the origin of the chancellor was very humble compared with that of the bishop of Durham. His personal qualifications were scarcely less so. That he was the monster of ugliness that Giraldus depicts,[5] more like an ape than a man, deformed and lame, we may safely set down as an exaggeration; but the utmost that a tolerant critic could say for him was that his person was respectable,[6] and that it required all the greatness of his mind to compensate for the shortness of his body. And the careers of the two statesmen were in strong contrast; whilst Hugh de Puiset had

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heir. Anyhow Geoffrey was one of the family, for Osbert Longchamp is his pledge. Madox, *Hist. Exch.*, 356. See more of Geoffrey below, p. cii. note.

[1] Stephen Longchamp had Frome Herbert in Herefordshire of the gift of Walter de Lacy, and Mutford in Suffolk in right of his wife Petronilla, daughter of Osbert de Cailly, and Hildeburga, lady of Baudemont. This connexion accounts for the mention of him in the treaty between Philip and Richard in 1195; and for his relations with Henry de Vere. See below p. lxxv. Stapleton, *Rolls*, &c. II. cxi. &c. Rot. Pip., 3 John, &c.

[2] Henry the chancellor's brother is identified with the sheriff of Herefordshire by the mention of his imprisonment at Cardiff. Gir. Camb. V. Galfr., p. 399. The sheriff was prevented by imprisonment from rendering his accounts in 1192, and released before the Exchequer session of 1193.

[3] Osbert's career will be found worked out further on, and Robert's also.

[4] Stephen Devereux in 1205 had Frome Herbert by the gift of his uncle Stephen Longchamp. *Rot. Cart. R. Joh.*, p. 156. He was a nephew also of the chancellor. See Eyton's Hist. Shropshire, v. 21.

[5] V. Galfr. part ii. 19, p. 405:—"Statura exigua despectaque . . . "claudus . . capite grosso . . "simiam simulans . . . facie canina " . . . mento reflexo . . collo con-"tracto, pectore gibboso, ventre "præambulo, renibus retrogradis, "tibiis tortis, et in modico corpore "pes immensus."

[6] R. Devizes, p. 11:—"Persona "spectabilis, brevitatem corporis "animo recompensans."

Career of William Longchamp.

been plotting and warring, William had been working as a clerk in the chancery, first under Geoffrey, who had made him his official in the archdeaconry of Rouen[1], then under Richard, who had made him his confidant and chaplain before he came to the crown.[2] His rise from such a post to that of chancellor, justiciar, and legate was very sudden, and shows that he possessed in an extreme degree the confidence of his master as well as great ambition and confidence in himself. The horrid accusations of immorality brought against him by Giraldus[3] defeat themselves; they are the utterance of a spiteful and defeated antagonist, one, moreover, whose words on a question of personal interest are never worthy of consideration. All that we really gather from his description is, that William was a plain, short, lame man, who did not understand English, and who was very imprudent in showing his dislike to the nation that he had to govern.[4] Against the charges of immorality, so easy to bring and so hard to repel, which both his chief assailants allege against him, we must set the panegyrics of the

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[1] Gir. Camb. V. Galfr., p. 390.

[2] R. Devizes, p. 6. :—" Ante " coronam comitis Pictavorum " fuerat cancellarius."

[3] V. Galfr., p. 406 :—It is impossible if there were any truth in such charges, that John should have charged him, as his most offensive crime, with introducing into England the foreign custom of serving on the knee, R. Devizes, p. 31. The whole may be based on the story of Eleanor's refusal to entrust her grandson to his care. *Ibid.* p. 403; and on the mere insinuations of Hugh of Nunant in his letter against him. Hoved. iii. 142, &c.

[6] Although there is no reason whatever to believe Giraldus, he states this in a circumstantial way; and it is at all events important, as showing that although the leading men in England were still all of Norman blood, it was beginning to be regarded as an unwise thing to despise the English. He is arguing so as to excite odium amongst a people who felt themselves English :—" Anglos autem cum " tota curia sua tanto et tam ex- " orabili est odio persecutus, ut " usuali verbo in eorum oppro- " brium et improperium dicere " consueverint; 'Anglicus fiam, si " 'hoc fecero. Pejor sum Anglico " 'si illud admisero.' Ad injuria- " rum quoque cumulum, et dedecoris " argumentum cum ad exquisita " naturæ pergere parabant, dicere " solebant 'Eamus facere Angli- " 'cum.'" V. Galfr., p. 407.

Improbability of his being a vicious man.

monks of Canterbury who dared not have taken as their patron a bishop of notoriously evil life;[1] of Peter of Blois, who had nothing in common with the monks,[2] but was a sincerely pious man; and of Nigel Wireker, of whose sincerity and desire of reform there can be no doubt, and who actually dedicated to him his satire on the manners of the age.[3] It is, however, simply impossible that such a man as Giraldus describes should have been tolerated in an age and country in which S. Hugh, of Lincoln, was religiously all powerful. S. Hugh does not seem to have liked the chancellor's policy; their political principles were opposed, and the Saint took part in the proceedings against Longchamp in defence of Archbishop Geoffrey; but their personal relations were not unkind, and the chancellor seems to have trusted implicitly to the bishop's good will.[4] The man who would not tolerate the dead bones of Fair Rosamond within the choir of Godstow, would not have hesitated to denounce a profligate in the sacred offices of legate and bishop.[5] Setting aside, then, these calumnies, his character seems to have been this:—He was a strong-minded, ambitious, self-confident, resolute man; faithful to his master, ready and active in his service; unsparing of labour, energetic, and unwearied; relentless in exactions and oppressions where his master's interests could be advanced by such means; fearless to rashness in his undertakings; greedy of advancement for his family; intolerant of opposition or equality; devoid of tact in dealing with his peers and of sympathy with his inferiors; probably, as appears

Theory of his character.

Character of Longchamp.

[1] Epp. Cantuar., p. 354; and see the introduction to that book, pp. lxxxv, lxxxvi, &c., also Wharton's note in *Anglia Sacra*, i. 632.

[2] Hoveden, iii. 148–150.

[3] Leyser, Hist. Poetarum, p. 754; and compare the note in *Epp. Cantuar.*, pp. lxxxv., lxxxvi.

[4] Hoveden, iii. 152–154. Bened. ii. 223, 224.

[5] The same argument is available in defence of Richard himself, against whom the like charges are insinuated. S. Hugh of Lincoln heard his confessions and declared that his most crying sins were his unfaithfulness to his wife, which was notorious, and his carelessness in the use of church patronage. Magna Vita S. Hugonis, p. 255.

from the general tone of his history as told by neutrals as well as by enemies, elated by the greatness of his position beyond the ordinary exaltation of the upstart. He was thus a man whose nobler as well as meaner qualities would lay him open to attack from the king's enemies and his own competitors for power.

After the council in Normandy he returns to England

William Longchamp had been consecrated to the see of Ely on the last day of 1189 and enthroned with great pomp on the feast of the Epiphany 1190.[1] Before the end of February,[2] having quarrelled with the co-justiciar, he joined the king in Normandy, where he stayed till Easter, and immediately after the festival returned to England with full powers; the Bishop of Durham remaining behind to secure his grant of the justiciarship of the north, and the Bishop of Winchester to obtain the restitution of his purchased honours.[3] The first event of the chancellor's government was untoward. The Jews of York, alarmed by the riot which had taken place at London on the occasion of the coronation, and was followed by similar outbreaks at Norwich in February, at Stamford in March, at Bury St. Edmund's on Palm Sunday, and at almost every large town except Winchester,[4] had obtained, in expectation of a general rising, permission from John Marshall, the sheriff of Yorkshire, to occupy a tower in the castle of York. Thither they had removed their families. Before the alarm had blown

Panic of the Jews at York.

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[1] Anglia Sacra, i. 632.

[2] Benedict, ii. 106. He was at Westminster on the 24th of January, where he attested a charter together with the bishops of London, Durham, and Coventry, with the other justices. Eyton, *Hist. Shropshire*, vii. 12. In Normandy on the 14th of March, John of Alençon the vice-chancellor was acting for him, but on the 20th he is at Rouen with the king, also on the 22nd and 23rd; on the 27th he was at Lions. Fœd. i. 51.

[3] R. Devizes, p. 11–13. Benedict, ii. 109.

[4] R. Devizes, p. 5. W. Newb., lib. iv. cc. 7–11. It is a curious coincidence that whilst the Jews were being persecuted in the towns, Richard was issuing charters of protection for them, especially on Mar. 22. *See* Fœd. i. 51.

Frightful catastrophe of the Jews at York.

over, the sheriff ordered the Jews to quit the tower, and on their demurring, called out the force of the county against them. The knights of Yorkshire besieged the castle, and the Jews, on the Friday before Palm Sunday, slew their wives and children ; shut themselves up in the tower, set it on fire, and perished in it. The citizens and knights thereupon seized the Jews' houses in York and burned them, destroying with them the bonds by which the debts due to them were secured, and on which the whole banking business of the north depended.[1] The leaders of the knights in this exploit were Philip of Falconberge, Richard Malebysse, William Percy, and Marmaduke Darrell.[2]

Conduct of the Yorkshire knights.

Longchamp visits York,

Immediately on the chancellor's return from Normandy, early in May, he visited York with a military force under his brother Henry.[4] The citizens denied all complicity with the persecutors, several of whom had fled to Scotland.[5] Longchamp, unable or unwilling to use harsh measures, accepted a fine from the citizens,[6] and took hostages of them, who were sent in custody to Northampton.[7]

and punishes the knights.

He inflicted, however, severe penalties on the knights who had taken the lead in the transaction. John Marshall he removed from the sheriffdom, appointing his own brother Osbert [8] in his place. It was unfortunate, that

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[1] Benedict, ii. 107. Hoveden, iii. 33.

[2] Chron. de Melsa, i. 251.

[3] " Circa Dominicæ Ascensionis " solemnia." W. Newb., iv. 11.

[4] " Henrico de Longo Campo et " aliis militibus qui abierunt Ebora- " cum propter occisionem Judæ- " orum, lx. *li.* per breve Cancellarii." Rot. Pip., 2 Ric. I., Lincolnshire.

[5] " De exitu terrarum et catallo- " rum hominum qui aufugerunt " pro assultu Judæorum in civitate " Eboracensi." Rot. Pip., 2 Ric. I. W. Newb., iv. 11.

[6] W. Newb., iv. 11.

[7] Rot. Pip., 5 Ric. I. :—" Cives " Eboraci reddunt computum de x " marcis pro habendis obsidibus suis " qui fuerunt Norhantoniæ propter " occisionem Judæorum." This was in 1193, when Longchamp was out of the way and the affair had blown over.

[8] Hoveden, iii. 34. In the Pipe Roll, 2 Rich. I. John Marshall accounts for Yorkshire for half a year, and Osbert for the other half Osbert had also Westmoreland, which had been held, like York, by Ranulf Glanvill.

whether justly or not the punishment fell most heavily on the adherents of the Percies, the relations and allies of the bishop of Durham. The lands of William Percy and Richard Malebysse, his kinsman,[1] with those of their squires, were seized to the King's use: the entire property of the fugitives was also confiscated, and the money due to the Jews was collected where it could be by the king's officers. On the same occasion the cathedral was put under interdict and the clergy suspended, because they declined to receive Longchamp as legate, although he had not yet received his commission.[2] It was clear to the bishop of Durham and his friends, both in the county and in the chapter, that the chancellor had jumped at an opportunity of infringing his jurisdiction as justiciar, and that his sense of right had been

The punishment falls heavily on the adherents of the bishop of Durham.

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[1] Rot. Pip., 4 Ric. I.:—"Ricardus "Malebysse reddit computum de "xx. marcis pro rehabenda terra "sua usque ad adventum domini "regis, quæ seisita fuit in manu "regis propter occisionem Judæo-"rum Eboraci; et ut ipse et "Walterus de Carton et Ricardus "de Kukeneia, armigeri ejus, ha-"beant pacem regis usque ad ad-"ventum ejus." Madox, 334. Also William de Percy, knight, and Picot, Roger de Ripun and Alan Malekake "debent v. marcas pro eodem." These are probably nominal compositions made after Longchamp's deposition. Richard Malebysse, the ancestor of the Yorkshire clan of Beckwith, is called nephew of Agnes Percy in a charter of Sallay; Mon. Angl. vi. 513. Picot is a family name among the Percies; Mon. Angl. vi. 93. Picot the sheriff was grandfather of William Percy, whose charter is attested by Henry de Puiset. Alan Malekake and Picot de Percy are found attesting a grant of Henry de Puiset to the monastery at Bakestanforde, in Raine's *Priory of Finchale*, p. 10, and Henry de Puiset and Richard Malebysse sign another together, p. 15. On the other hand, the Fauconbergs and Cukeneys were closely connected and were fellow benefactors of Welbeck; Mon. Angl. vi. 873. Marmaduke Darrell also attests a charter of William Percy; Mon. Angl. vi. 1190. I should not like to accuse the Puiset and Percy connexion of a deliberate attempt to get rid of the evidence of their debts on this occasion, but so it may have been. These details are not unimportant, if we consider Roger Hoveden's own relation to Hugh de Puiset, and that many of these charters are attested by William of Hoveden.

[2] Ben. Pet. ii. 108, 109.

quickened by his desire of injuring the supporters of his rival.

Interview of the bishops of Durham and Ely, ending in the arrest of the former.

As soon as the examination was over, William Longchamp set out towards Lincoln, where he had a like work to do; but he had only reached Blythe,[1] in Nottinghamshire, when he met Bishop Hugh bearing his commission, and hastening to secure himself in the territory in which he was now scarcely less than sovereign. Hugh was not without suspicion of the chancellor's double dealing, for in passing through London he had presented himself to the barons of the exchequer and suffered a rebuff at their hands.[2] Now he delivered his credentials. Longchamp professed himself most happy to obey the directions of the king: Hugh talked largely of his new powers: the chancellor was more reserved. At last the commission was read and proved to be less formidable than he expected.[3] He agreed to meet the bishop a week later at Tickhill.[4] On the appointed day he received him alone in the castle there, and, to the bishop's disgust, produced a commission to himself dated some days later than his rival's. Hugh felt that he had been shamefully treated, but he had no chance of retreating. The chancellor arrested him, and swore by the life of Richard that until the old bishop surrendered everything that he had purchased of the king,—castles, justiciarship, earldom, and sheriffdom, he should remain a prisoner.[5] In vain he protested; he was taken back to London and there compelled to surrender all and to give up, moreover, his son Henry and another knight, Gilbert de la Leya,[6] as hostages for his good behaviour. This done, he was allowed to return northwards; but when

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[1] Ben. Pet. ii. 109.

[2] R. Devizes, p. 12.

[3] R. Devizes, p. 13.

[4] R. Devizes, p. 13.

[5] R. Devizes, p. 13. Benedict, ii. 109.

[6] Benedict, ii. 109. Gilbert de la Leya held a fief in Craven under the Percies, as did Henry de Puiset, Bolton in Bolland. Whitaker, *Hist. Craven*, p. 110.

he reached his manor of Howden he was stopped by the sheriff Osbert and William Stuteville,[1] and obliged to give security for residing there during the chancellor's pleasure. He forwarded his complaints immediately to the king, who was now at Marseilles. Richard, thinking, perhaps, that his minister had been too zealous, and that it was hard treatment for so old and dignified a man, wrote to Longchamp ordering him to restore the manor of Sadberge and the castle of Newcastle-on-Tyne.[2] But Hugh was kept still at Howden. The fruits of victory remained with the chancellor. He had effectually rid himself of his chief competitor: and in this matter his appointed counsellors in the exchequer were at one with him. He saw himself at the summit of his ambition: and he now received the legatine commission from Clement III., which made him supreme in church and state; a letter of Richard, from Bayonne, dated the 6th of June, which was perhaps the document which had confounded Hugh de Puiset, gave him full power to act in all things as the king's lieutenant.[3]

He is kept under bond at Howden.

The barons of the exchequer connive at Longchamp's treatment of him.

The measures which he next took were dictated partly by the king and partly by his own instinct of self-defence. His brother Stephen accompanied the king; but Osbert and Henry remained with him: to Osbert he entrusted the sheriffdoms of Yorkshire and Westmoreland—he had already received from the king the keeping of the palace of Westminster and the prison of London.[4] He himself undertook the fortifying of the Tower, which he entrusted to one of his dependents, William

Longchamp strengthens his hold on the royal fortresses.

[1] Ben. Pet. ii. 109.

[2] Hoveden, iii. 38, 39.

[3] R. de Diceto, 655. The letter of legation is dated June 5, that of the king June 6.

[4] That is, the Fleet prison. The appointment is printed in the Fœdera, i. 50, dated Nov. 30, 1189, Canterbury. That the prison in question was that "de Ponte de Fliet" appears from an entry in the Pipe Roll of the 9th Ric. I., Madox, Hist. Exch., 356. Osbert has 10*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.* for his trouble at Westminster and 7*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.* for the charge of the gaol in 2 Ric. I. See the Pipe Roll of that year.

His proceedings at the Tower and at Dover.

Puinctel, as constable, and on the repairs of which he laid out 2,881*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.*[1] On Dover Castle, which was held by his brother-in-law, Matthew de Cleres, he expended 1,068*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.*, through the hands of William Maunsel.[2] The ten months which followed were the heyday of the chancellor's prosperity. He traversed the country with a large retinue, levying contributions from the barons as justiciar, and as legate exacting procurations from the clergy. He was attended by a court of clerks and knights, the latter anxious to connect themselves with so successful a man by marriages with his kinsfolk, and the former singing his praises as a liberal and magnificent patron.[3] It was probably at this time that he secured for the son of Henry Longchamp the heiress of the great family of Croun :[4] he placed in his brother's hands also Stephen Beauchamp, whose wardship he had purchased from Bertram de Verdun: for another brother, Robert, he intrigued that the monks of Westminster might choose him as their abbot.[5] He made use of his position also to strengthem himself in the good graces of his colleagues. By a transaction which seems scarcely less than fraudulent, he allowed Geoffrey FitzPeter to be received as heir, in right of his wife, of William Mandeville, Earl of Essex.[6] He formed

Character of his administration.

He strengthens his position by new alliances among the barons.

[1] Ben. Pet. ii. 101, 106. Rot. Pip., 2 Ric. I. This William Puinctel is doubtless a relation of Alexander Puinctel who captured archbishop Geoffrey at Dover.

[2] Rot. Pip., 2 Ric. I.

[3] Benedict, ii. 143 ; and see Hugh of Nunant's account. Hoveden, iii. 142, &c.

[4] William, son of Henry Longchamp, married Petronilla daughter of Guy de Croun, and got through her large estates in Lincolnshire. He died before 1207, and she afterwards married Henry de Mara and Oliver de Vaux. The identity of her father-in-law is established by the suit which she and her second husband brought against the lord of Wilton for dower. Rot. Fin., 9 John, p. 410.

[5] R. Devizes, p. 34.

[6] Beatrice de Say was aunt of William Mandeville, last earl of Essex, and his heiress. She had two sons William and Geoffrey. William died leaving two daughters, one of whom married Geoffrey FitzPeter. The inheritance was disputed between this lady and her uncle Geoffrey de Say. Longchamp first adjudged the whole to Geoffrey

a strict alliance with the earl of Arundel, to whom, for 2,000 marks, he restored the honour of his earldom, which had been for sixteen years retained in hand by the crown;[1] and with William de Braiose [2] and others who had the power to serve and defend his family on the Welsh border, where the family estates lay.

Alliance with the earl of Arundel and William de Braiose.

The country was at peace, and only troubled with those heavy exactions, which, as being a part of Richard's necessary policy under all his ministries, cannot be ascribed to the influence of the chancellor, although they tended doubtless to make him unpopular. Complaints from the co-justiciars that their advice was systematically neglected are said to have been conveyed to the king; but they continued to act with him, and Richard gave no sign of believing them, or of a design to modify his minister's commission to please men whom he less trusted. Longchamp found time to hold solemn meetings of the clergy. On the 1st of August he held a council at Gloucester, the object of which may not have been entirely ecclesiastical, as Richard of Devizes ascribes his presence there to a wish to besiege the castle.[3] It is not clear, however, who could be holding the castle against him. Here the bishop of Winchester met him, and received back his patrimony, but not the purchased sheriffdom. The reconciliation seemed to be perfect. Longchamp took the bishop's advice in not pressing for entrance into the castle. This is the first sign of difficulties to

Conduct of the co-justiciars.

Council at Gloucester.

de Say, at his mother's wish, for 7,000 marks, and gave him seisin. There was some difficulty about the payment, and in consequence the chancellor, for 3,000 marks down, transferred the barony to Geoffrey FitzPeter. See Mon. Angl. iv. 145, and the Pipe Roll of the 2nd of Richard I.

[1] Dugdale's *Baronage*, 120. This was done by Richard's order, dated at Montrichard, June 27. *See* Fœd. i. 48.

[2] Gir. Camb. V. Galfr., p. 396, an *affinity* with William de Braiose the younger. Can this refer to the marriage of Walter de Lacy with Margaret de Braiose which took place a few years later, but may have been arranged now? Dugdale's Baronage, p. 98.

[3] R. Devizes, p. 13. R. Diceto, 655.

Council at Westminster.

come. On October 13, he held a legatine assembly at Westminster,[1] in which the bishop of London sat on his right hand and the bishop of Winchester on his left. In November, on the 18th, he visited Canterbury and was entertained with great honour by the monks of Christ Church.[2] Little is known of the business transacted on these occasions. Gervase, the Canterbury Chronicler, preserves an account of a discussion relative to the consecration of the bishop-elect of Worcester, and Richard of Devizes mentions the quarrels of the bishop and monks of Coventry as a topic at Westminster; but there is no trace of any important act of constitutional policy during this time; and the sole political move which is mentioned, is the negotiation with the King of Scots, carried on, doubtless, with Richard's sanction, for the recognition of Arthur of Brittany, as heir in case of the king's dying childless.[3] The charters of towns granted so freely by Richard at a later period, which form the mark of his reign on domestic history, are scarce under this administration;[4] and although the chancellor acted as judge in the courts both in London and in the country, there is no trace of any improvement introduced by him, such as had distinguished year after year the rule of his predecessor.

Obscurity of transactions at these councils.

Long-champ's rapid movements in 1190.

The few notices we have of his acts during this period show that he was in constant progress, and confirm the statements of the historians as to the burden of entertaining him. A visit of a single night cost the house which received him three years' savings.[5] He entertained a train of a thousand horsemen.[6] He moved through the kingdom, Richard of Devizes says, like a

[1] R. Diceto, 656. R. Devizes, 14. Gervase, 1566.

[2] Gervase, 1566.

[3] Will. Newb., iv. 14.

[4] One to Winchester is printed in the Fœdera, i. 50, 51, dated at Nonancourt, March 14, 1190.

[5] Bened., ii. 143.

[6] Will. Newb., iv. 14. "Procedebat "cum mille equis."

flash of lightning.[1] Unhappily, the collection of revenue to satisfy the ever-increasing demands of Richard seems to have been his principal occupation.

His occupations.

So the year 1190 ends. Early in 1191 we find him at Northampton witnessing, with the other judges of the Curia, a final concord between the abbot of Peterborough and one Roger de Torpel, relative to the advowson of the church of Maxey.[2] This seems to have been about the last peaceful transaction in which he was engaged.

Complaints forwarded to Richard.

His misfortunes came upon him all at once. Complaints had been carried to Richard, who was now at Messina, in unbroken succession, and he had refused to listen; now the queen-mother herself undertook the task of remonstrance. She started on her journey to Sicily in February;[3] one part of her errand was to forward the consecration of the archbishop of York. The same month brought from Messina the news of the death of the archbishop of Canterbury.[4] As soon as the two metropolitan sees should be filled up, the legatine power would almost to a certainty be withdrawn from the bishop of Ely, and with it a large part of the influence which made him for the time invulnerable.

Vacancy of the see of Canterbury.

Eleanor's visit to Sicily.

But Eleanor's journey to Messina seems to have had another more speedy and more fatal consequence. Unfortunately the want of exact dates prevents us from ascertaining the period of John's return to England; but if it was before February 1191, his mother's influence, whilst she was within reach, must have kept him within bounds. As soon as she departs, we find him in active mischief.

John begins to move.

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[1] R. Devizes, p. 14, "in similitu-"dinem fulguris coruscantis."

[2] Mon. Angl. i. 391. :—"Coram "W. Elyensi episcopo, domini regis "cancellario, et Willelmo Comite "Arundel et W. Marescallo, "Galfrido filio Petri, Hugone Bar-"dulf, W. Briwerre, Simone de "Pateshill, Roberto de Whitefeld, "justitiis domini regis." Thursday after S. Vincent's day, *i.e.* Jan. 24.

[3] R. de Diceto, 654.

[4] The letters containing the news are given in the *Epp. Cantuar.*, pp. 329, 330; one of them dated Messina, Jan. 25.

John had tasted the sweets of power.

John was not inclined to wait for his succession ; the foolish policy of Richard in attempting to conciliate by the gift of real power, an enemy whom he knew to be faithless and whose weakness of character he despised too much for his own safety, had given John a taste, too tempting by far, of substantial sovereignty. After he had returned to England he set up his own court in the castles which had been given him, with scarcely less than royal pretension. He had his own justiciar, Roger de Plasnes,[1] lord of Eastthorpe and Birch in Essex ; his chancellor, Stephen Ridell,[2] afterwards archdeacon of Ely and always a thorn in Longchamp's side ; a member of one of the great ministerial houses of Henry I.'s reign, nephew to the archdevil of Canterbury: his seal bearer was Master Benedict,[3] probably the same who became in after years bishop of Rochester ; William of Kahannes was his seneschal ;[4] Theobald Walter his butler.[5] With these ministers he taxed and judged the tenants of his estates and the inhabitants of his franchises. The counties under his control were administered by his own sheriffs, and their revenues were a loss to the exchequer of the king. Extravagant as he was, he was rich enough to dispense with the oppressive measures taken by the chancellor; his magnificence made him popular, and his court became the headquarters of all

His court and ministers.

His wealth and magnificence.

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[1] R. Diceto, 664.

[2] Ben. Pet. ii. 224. Ang. Sac., i. 634. Longchamp deprived him of his preferments after Richard's return, Gir. V. Galf., 404. The date of his appointment to the archdeaconry is not settled, but it was probably after this. He was many years later the papal candidate for the see of Ely. A letter from the pope's chamberlain, Stephen, to John is in existence, asking for his promotion. *4th Report of the Deputy-Keeper of the Records*, App. ii. p. 141. This must have been in 1215. He died before the see was filled up.

[3] Ben. Pet. ii. 224.

[4] Fœdera, i. 55.

[5] Fœdera, i. 55. This is the brother of Hubert Walter, chief butler to John as Lord of Ireland, and ancestor of the Butlers of Ormond. He was also constable of Lancaster castle, and fermer of the honour. Madox, Hist. Ex., 412.

who had grounds of complaint against Longchamp. He lived at Lancaster, where Theobald Walter was his castellan, or at Marlborough, and waited for a chance of supplanting the minister. The leading man in his counsels was Hugh of Nunant, bishop of Coventry, who, much as he hated Longchamp, had not yet quarrelled with him. John himself, until the outbreak, seems to have been on good terms with him, and it was from him as legate that he had received absolution from his vow of absence from England for three years.[1]

He waits for his opportunity.

Hugh of Nunant his chief adviser.

Hugh of Nunant was sprung from a family the head of which held the barony of Totness by gift of King William Rufus. He was sister's son and adopted child of Arnulf of Lisieux,[2] the pertinacious schemer of Henry II.'s reign, and had inherited from him the diplomatic abilities of his race. He had travelled and negotiated, and under Henry II. had been ambassador to Frederick I. and Alexander III.[3] He had tried his hand also at the work of a legate; had been sent in that capacity to Ireland for John's coronation, in 1187;[4] and on his way had insulted the church of Canterbury by carrying a cross and wearing a mitre whilst yet unconsecrated, in the presence of Archbishop Baldwin. Since his consecration, on the other hand, his aim had been to play the part of a temporal lord; he had bought, as we have seen, the sheriffdoms in three counties. He was possessed with an extreme hatred of monachism, which was amply repaid by the monks. He was a thoroughly unprincipled man; very vain and ambitious; clever, eloquent, and adroit, but jealous of all pre-eminence and unscrupulous in word and deed. Gervase of Canterbury, with some discrimination, represents him as an able and spirited man of business; captious in word;

Character and career of Hugh of Nunant.

[1] Gir. Camb., *De rebus a se gestis.* Ang. Sac. ii. 496.
[2] Arn. Lexov., ep. cxxvii.
[3] Ben. Pet. i. 322.
[4] Ben. Pet. ii. 4. Gervase, 1486.

His death-bed confession and repentance.

ready to curse where a curse would frighten; apt enough with soft words where the object was to subvert the strong.[1] I have already referred to him as the author of the vile charges brought by Giraldus against Longchamp. If the monks might be believed, his own character was no better. It was said that when lying on his death-bed he recounted the sins of his life, he found no confessor who would venture to appoint him a penance.[2] Giraldus[3] adduces this as a proof of the greatness of his penitence; but the story proceeds to say that he sentenced himself to purgatory until the day of judgment. It was he who advised Richard to send the monks to the devil; devils was the best name he ever found for the fraternity; and the great object of his episcopal policy was to substitute for them canons, not only at Coventry but in the other conventual cathedrals.

His quarrel with the monks.

The whole details of his contest with his own monks, which was as long and lively as that of the archbishop with those of Christchurch, are not preserved; but it is not unlikely that part at least of his hatred of Longchamp was caused by the conduct of the latter in this respect. Longchamp was a favourite with the monks and possibly exerted himself on their behalf with a view to the promotion of his brother Robert. Before Baldwin's departure, in a council at Westminster on the 22nd of October 1189,[4] Hugh had shown himself to the bishops black and blue with the blows the monks had given him; and Baldwin, whose feelings were easily excited, and who had no love of monks who were not Cistercians, had joined in a sentence of excommunication against the assailants. The chancellor had so far yielded to the same pressure as to order, in the council at Westminster

[1] Gervase, 1487.

[2] M. Paris, 192. Chron. de Melsa, i. 249, from Higden.

[3] Gir. Camb. *de Vita H. Nonant*; Ang. Sac. ii. 353, 354.

[4] R. Devizes, p. 9.

in October 1190[1], the removal of the monks; but it is probable that he hesitated to sanction the oppressive means by which the change was carried out, or that when the see of Canterbury became vacant, he adopted the more promising policy. Whether Hugh had kept terms with him until he gained his object, or had quarrelled with him on the subject, does not appear; but now the close friendship which the world had seen between the two bishops, broke up suddenly,[2] and Hugh of Nunant became the intimate friend of John.

Longchamp at first connives at his treatment of the monks for a time.

Subsequent events showed the line of argument by which John's fears and mistrust of the chancellor were aroused. Richard whilst at home had avoided any recognition of John as his heir, and the very liberality with which he had dealt with him was clogged with restrictions that showed his mistrust. The prospect of the succession of Arthur was intolerable; yet it was understood that that was a settled thing between Richard and his minister. The king had in the November just past, arranged for a marriage between Arthur and a daughter of King Tancred, and had written to the pope about Arthur as his heir.[3] Possibly the news of this negotiation may have prompted Eleanor's visit to her elder son, and her anxiety for his speedy marriage. She cared little for Arthur, and her love for John probably made her desirous that his state of suspense should be terminated by the birth of a direct heir. In pursuance of the king's plan, Longchamp had negotiated with William the Lion,[4] who was the nearest kinsman, on the side of his mother, to the young duke. Besides, the vacancy of the see of Canterbury laid open to the legate the highest constitutional position in the realm: if Richard were to die on the crusade, there could be no doubt whose voice would be most potent in the nomination of his successor;

Causes of John's hostility to Longchamp.

The probability of Arthur's succession.

The probability of Longchamp becoming archbishop.

[1] R. Devizes, p. 14.

[2] Will. Newb., iv. 18.

[3] Ben. Pet. ii. 137. Hoveden, iii. 65.

[4] Will. Newb., iv. 14.

Influence of the archbishop in the determination of the succession to the kingdom.

there could be no doubt either that the chancellor was tampering with the monks to obtain the election for himself. The bishops as a body were sure to accept the king's nominee, and the king was certain to nominate the chancellor; the monks who alone could impede or delay such a consummation were being prepared to look to him as their protector; he would soon be archbishop; then John's chance of the crown would be gone. Richard's object in nominating the archbishop of Montreal could only be guessed. It might be that he had sold the appointment, or that he had sold the promise; or that he merely wished to waste time, and shut out other competitors. It could be scarcely thought that he intended the nomination to be sustained. In the meantime some blow must be struck that would disgrace or disable Longchamp, nor would it be difficult to find an occasion. He had offended all classes and all parts of England by his exactions, his arrogance, and his contempt for the nation at large. He had rejected the advice of John himself, had virtually imprisoned his fellow justiciar the bishop of Durham; he had shown a provoking disregard of the counsel of the barons whom Richard had associated with him in the regency. There is so much truth unquestionably in these accusations that we cannot be surprised that John acted upon them. And an opportunity soon presented itself.

Longchamp had offended all classes.

The immediate cause of the outbreak was this:—Gerard Camville, son of that Richard who commanded the English fleet on the crusade and was afterwards viceroy of Cyprus, had married Nicolaa of Hay, the heiress of the castellanship of Lincoln, and shortly before the king's departure had bought the sheriffdom of Lincolnshire, with a promise of seven hundred marks. The impolicy of allowing the sheriff's jurisdiction and the possession of the castle to be in the same hands was an admitted principle of administration; even John himself had not been suffered to hold both castles and

Behaviour of Gerard Camville.

He does homage to John and defies Longchamp.

provincial jurisdictions together: but Gerard Camville's position was not in itself illegal. He had, however, allowed his castle to become a den of robbers, and then, to avoid judicial inquiries, had done homage to John.[1] On hearing of this, the chancellor ordered him to give up both castle and sheriffdom. This he refused to do and prepared for resistance. Nearly at the same time Roger Mortimer, lord of Wigmore, got into difficulties with the government and held his castle against the chancellor's men.[2]

Interview between John and Longchamp. (March 24, 1191.)

It is impossible to say whether the interview which was held between John and Longchamp on Mid-Lent Sunday at Winchester, preceded or followed this outbreak of revolt.[3] But it is certain that an estrangement had by this time taken place, and that the two had then and there a serious discussion as to the tenure of certain castles belonging to the honours which John enjoyed, that were yet withheld from him, and as to the pensions settled upon him out of the exchequer. Unless, however, events followed very rapidly, we may place the revolt of Lincoln after this meeting; and it was probably a result of it. If John had not quarrelled with Longchamp, Gerard Camville would not have dared to put himself into his power on the chance of being protected.

John gets possession of Tickill and Nottingham castles.

The interview certainly settled nothing, and John, for once in his life, prompt to action, hastened to the north. Longchamp had to go first to Wigmore; long before he could reach Lincoln the castle was in a state of defence, and worse still, the castles of Tickhill and Nottingham, which had been purposely withheld from John, had been

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[1] R. Devizes, p. 30. Will. Newb., iv. 16. Hoveden, iii. 242:—"retatus " fuit de receptatione prædonum:" the sum of the charges only appears after the king's return, when they were heard before him at Nottingham.

[2] R. Devizes, p. 30. The charge against Roger was that he was contriving rebellion against the king with the Welsh. I believe this fact is noticed by no other writer than Richard.

[3] R. Devizes, p. 26.

Treachery of the constables.

surprised by him.[1] John de Lacy, the constable of Chester, who had undertaken to hold them for the chancellor, had entrusted them to Robert of Croxton, and Eudo Deiville, and had gone to the crusade, during which he died at Tyre.[2] Roger, his son, had placed two other knights as companions of these two, and all four had turned traitors. John won the first move of the game, and when Longchamp arrived in Lincolnshire, after taking Wigmore and sentencing Roger Mortimer to three years of exile,[3] he found his forces weary and an attack impossible. At the same time two other pieces of news reached him.[4] Clement III. was dead, and his legation would require the confirmation of the new pope; and Walter of Coutances, archbishop of Rouen, the trusted minister of Henry II., who had accompanied Richard to Messina, was returning to England with unknown instructions. A proposal for pacification was only too welcome: the legate returned to Winchester, and there, on the 25th of April, an agreement was drawn up for an arbitration.

Longchamp's first discomfiture.

Arbitration at Winchester (April 25, 1191).

The management of this was entrusted to three bishops, Winchester, London, and Bath. The bishops summoned three barons to represent each side: for the chancellor, the earls of Warren, Arundel, and Clare; for John, his chancellor, Stephen Ridell, William of Wenneval and Reginald of Wasseville; and in addition to these, each party chose eight other knights. The choice of the three earls,—old Hamelin of Warren, the brother of Henry II.; William of Albini, son of Queen Adeliza, and his stepson Richard of Clare, shows that the chancellor's position still recommended itself to those who might be supposed to have the

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[1] Hoveden, iii. 134. Benedict, ii. 207. Will. Newb., iv. 16. R. Devizes, p. 30.

[2] Ben. Pet, ii. 232. Hoveden, iii. 172.

[3] R. Devizes, p. 30.

[4] Will. Newb., iv. 16 (ed. Hamilton, p. 46.)

king's interest most at heart. They had been among the most faithful friends of Henry II.; John's representatives, on the contrary, were three of his own creatures. Both parties swore to act fairly, and the arbitration was pronounced, as follows:—Gerard Camville is reconciled with the chancellor and allowed to retain the castle of Lincoln. John is formally to restore the castles of Tickhill and Nottingham, but the chancellor is to entrust the command of them to Reginald of Wasseville, and William of Wenneval, liegemen of the king but partizans of John; each of whom is to give security for the surrender of them to the king, if he shall return; if not, to John. As for the other castles belonging to the honours of John, the chancellor is to change the wardens if John can show due cause for such a measure. In case of the king's death the chancellor is to do his best to secure the succession for John. All the articles, it will be seen, are decided in favour of John,—a proof either that his cause was regarded as superior, or that the chancellor's fortunes were sinking in the estimation of his friends; for the two main points of his policy, so far as we can discover, were the maintenance of the king's hold on the castles and of the succession of Arthur.[1] Two days after the pacification, the archbishop of Rouen landed at Shoreham, furnished with a batch of instructions from the king.[2]

Articles of arbitration.

Its practical meaning.

Walter of Coutances, "the Pilate of Rouen,"[3] was a man of fair abilities, noble birth,[4] sound religious character, and great experience. He was, however,

Arrival of Walter of Coutances.

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[1] R. Devizes, pp. 32, 33. See also the notes to Benedict, ii. 208. Hoveden, iii. 135.

[2] R. Diceto, 659. Gervase places the arrival of the archbishop two months later, about Midsummer c. 1571.

[3] This is the name given him by Longchamp after his deposition; Ben. Pet. ii. 224. Hoveden, iii. 155.,

[4] Gir. Camb., V. Galfr., ii 10, p. 399:—"Galterius iste ab antiqua "et authentica Britonum prosapia "Trojanæ nobilitatis apicem præ- "ferente originem trahens."

Instructions given by Richard to Walter of Coutances.

somewhat wanting in resolution, and scarcely strong enough to be entrusted with the almost unlimited discretion with which Richard accredited him. He left Messina with Queen Eleanor on the 2nd of April,[1] glad to escape by the sacrifice of his treasure, the further perils of the crusade. Richard, in a characteristic way, although in the utmost need of his services, made him pay heavily for the relaxation of his vow.[2] But hastily as he had made his way home, his commissions were dated as far back as the 23rd of February.[3] It would seem that the king had not been able to make up his mind to discard the chancellor until the arrival of Eleanor; and that even when, in consequence we may suppose of her representations, he at last confided the instructions to the archbishop, it must have been with a verbal command to use them as the occasion might seem to warrant. Unless there were some such private direction the conduct of the archbishop is inexplicable. He was far too honest a man to conceal an order given peremptorily by the king; unquestionably his mission was in the first place to investigate, although after investigation he had full power to act. It must, however, be considered that Richard's conduct was puzzling to all parties; at the very moment he was entrusting the widest powers to the archbishop, he was writing to urge John and others to act in unison with the chancellor.[4] On his arrival he found that John had gained a decided advantage over the chancellor, and that to produce the letters which superseded the latter would be to throw all power into the hands of the man whom

Richard's curious vacillation.

State of affairs on the archbishop's arrival.

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[1] Itin. R.R. 176. Hoveden, iii. 100. Ben. ii. 158, 161.

[2] R. Devizes, p. 27.

[3] R. Diceto, 659. Gir. Camb., V. Galfr. p. 396.

[4] R. Devizes, 29. This may account for his hesitation in acting. Longchamp had utterly foiled the bishop of Durham by producing instructions of later date than his own. Walter of Coutances' letters were dated in February. Many letters of later date must have reached England before the end of April; and these were favourable to the chancellor.

his master most reasonably distrusted.[1] He saw also, it seems likely, that the humiliation which Longchamp had gone through would be enough to cut him off from the hope of the primacy, and his legation had already expired. John was at the moment the most dangerous of the two, and Longchamp's authority must be sustained.

Probable reason for his not acting.

The chancellor, on the other hand, finding that the archbishop produced no new instructions, and that the mercenary force which he had introduced into the country was daily increasing,[2] took heart and prepared for another struggle. Before attempting this, however, he had to visit Canterbury, where the bishop-elect of Worcester was waiting for consecration. There on the 5th of May he met the bishops of Winchester, Bath, Chichester, and Rochester,[3] and his great enemy Hugh of Nunant; and by these the consecration was performed. On the following day the legate, for so he still called himself, presented to the monks of Christ Church the king's letters, recommending them to elect the archbishop of Montreal.[4] The monks expressed surprise at the urgency of the

Longchamp prepares for a second struggle.

He visits Canterbury.

[1] The letters subsequently produced by the archbishop are given in part or entire by R. Diceto and Giraldus Cambrensis. Of these, one is a fragment of a letter addressed to William Marshall, Hugh Bardulf, Geoffrey FitzPeter and William Briewere; placing in their hands the supreme power, in case the chancellor shall have not acted faithfully; it is not dated and contains no mention of the archbishop. R. Diceto, 659. A second, also given by R. Diceto, is dated Feb. 23 at Messina addressed to the chancellor and the four barons above-mentioned, associating the archbishop in the government of the kingdom, and speaking of an especial commission given to him relative to the see of Canterbury. A third, dated Feb. 20, and addressed to William Marshall alone, contains words nearly identical with those of R. Diceto's first fragment, but directing that in case of the chancellor's unfaithfulness, the justices are to act "secundum "prædicti archiepiscopi dispositio-"nem." Richard of Devizes mentions other instructions, no doubt addressed to the convent of Canterbury; and one in particular giving Longchamp leave to manage by himself the election to the abbacy of Westminster. R. Dev., p. 29. See notes on Benedict, ii. 157, 158, Hoveden, iii. 96.

[2] W. Newb., iv. 16, p. 46.

[3] Gervase, 1568.

[4] Gervase, 1569.

Longchamp's transactions with the monks of Canterbury.

legate's behaviour, and asked leave to present their answer to the council of bishops which was to sit a few days later at Northampton. The permission was granted by Longchamp readily enough, for although he might have preferred the election of a stranger to the translation of any of his brethren, he was better pleased that the archbishopric should be vacant still. It is to be suspected that on this occasion there was some underhand dealing between Longchamp and the monks, for immediately on the departure of the legate,[1] they displaced their prior, Osbert, whom Baldwin had appointed against their will, an act for which they were never called to order by Longchamp: from this moment also

Fear of his being elected archbishop.

the idea recovered ground that he himself intended to be the new archbishop. The report reached John, who wrote urgently against him to the convent,[2] and the archbishop of Rouen allowed so much of his instructions to transpire, that it was known that one part of them at least was to settle the business of the election.

Successive postponements of the election.

The meeting at Northampton followed shortly,[3] and a further postponement of the election. The monks required further evidence of Baldwin's death and of the qualifications of the aspirant. The justices urged that the election should be proceeded with instantly, but the monks as usual contrived to gain their point, this time probably with the direct support of the chancellor.

Hostilities resumed.

Shortly after this arrangement was made, the hostilities between the chancellor and Gerard Camville were resumed. Immediately after Midsummer,[4] having taken measures to secure his reappointment as legate, one of which was the forwarding of urgent letters in his favour from the bishops and from Walter of Coutances amongst

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[1] Gervase, 1570.
[2] Epp. Cantuar., 330, 346.
[3] Gervase, 1570.
[4] "Post festum Sancti Johannis "Baptistæ." Ben. Pet. ii. 207.

them,[1] he brought together his forces and again advanced on Lincoln, this time taking permanent possession of the sheriffdom, which he handed over to William Stuteville.[2] The castle, however, still held out, and on the first report of the chancellor's march, the garrisons of Tickhill and Nottingham, as might be expected, opened their gates to John. But again both parties avoided a battle, although Longchamp had called up a third of the feudal levy of England for his defence.[3] The moderate counsels of the archbishop of Rouen prevailed, and at another conference at Winchester on the 28th of July, a somewhat fairer arbitration was arranged.[4] In this the bishop of Durham also took part, having, it would seem, been liberated from his forced inactivity by the arrival of Walter of Coutances; and besides the three who had arbitrated in April, the bishops of Coventry and Chichester were present. Preserving in some measure the lines of the former agreement they decided that John was to place Tickhill in the hands of William of Wenneval,[5] and Nottingham in those of William Marshall, to be held by them for the king, but in the event of his death or of a further attack on John by the chancellor, to be surrendered to the former. The other castles of John's honours are entrusted to the archbishop of Rouen, the bishop of London, and others, to be surrendered to him in case of the king's death. The castle of Windsor is handed over to the earl of Arundel, Winchester to Gilbert de Lacy,[6] and Northampton to Simon Pateshull, all partizans of the

Longchamp marches against Lincoln.

Second pacification at Winchester.

[1] So Pope Celestine III. states distinctly, "omnes Anglicani episcopi pro eodem legationis officio confirmando *mihi* proprias litteras transmiserunt." Ben. Pet. ii. 242, 243. Hoveden, iii. 190.

[2] Hoveden, iii. 134. Ben. Pet. ii. 207.

[3] R. Deviz. 32.

[4] Hoveden, iii. 135.

[5] He had held Nottingham under the earlier treaty, R. Devizes, 33, and he was constable there again in 1194. Hoveden, iii. 240.

[6] Another of the numerous proofs of the connexion of Longchamp with the Lacies; as indeed was the fact that he entrusted Nottingham and Tickhill to the constable of Chester, above p. lviii.

Result of the second arbitration.

chancellor. Gerard Camville is to be replaced in the sheriffdom. In all these points the chancellor gave way somewhat more than was wise, but less than he had done in April. When these arrangements should be completed, the complaints of the chancellor against Gerard Camville were to be heard and John was bound not to interfere. Oaths were taken on both sides, for Longchamp, by the earls of Arundel, Salisbury, Norfolk, and Clare, William FitzRobert, William de Braiose, and Roger FitzRainfrai: for John, by his chancellor Stephen Ridell, William of Wenneval, Robert de Mara, Philip of Worcester, William of Kahannes, Gilbert Basset, and William of Montacute. Among Longchamp's jurors were some who very shortly showed themselves to be his enemies, especially the earl of Salisbury and Roger FitzRainfrai.[1] It is possible that his interests were intentionally betrayed, and it was certainly a puerile piece of lawyer's work to pretend to regard the main question as one between Gerard Camville and the chancellor. But the archbishop of Rouen probably sacrificed other considerations to the maintenance of his own position as mediator, and to the obtaining the omission of any terms which would have openly asserted John's claim to the succession.

Sureties on both sides.

Influence of the archbishop of Rouen.

Break up of the conference.

After the party broke up the chancellor returned to London,[2] and John removed to Marlborough,[3] whence a little later he went to Lancaster.[4] The archbishop of Rouen now again attempted to carry out the king's

[1] These were both excommunicated by him after his exile. Ben. Pet. ii. 223. Hoveden, iii. 153.

[2] Two days after the pacification, July 30, the chancellor writes from Preston to the sheriff of Sussex to secure Geoffrey of York. Gir. Camb., V. Galfr. p. 390. On the 2nd of August he writes to the bishop of Bath from the Tower of London; "teste Radulfo Archidia-"cono Herefordiæ."

[3] Hence he dates his letter to the monks of Canterbury against the chancellor. Epp. Cantuar., 346.

[4] Gir. Camb. V. Galfr., p. 393.

directions as to the election at Canterbury, but was met by a positive prohibition from Longchamp.[1]

Return of Geoffrey, archbishop of York.

Another cloud was rising, not now in the distance. After two years of struggling, the archbishop-elect of York had received permission and an order to be consecrated by the archbishop of Tours.[2] Immediately on his consecration, urged by John and perhaps not discountenanced by Eleanor,[3] he gave out that he was determined to proceed to his see, and that he, as well as John, had been allowed by their brother to withdraw his promise to absent himself for three years from England. The chancellor had received no such instructions; it was his duty to prevent his return, or at least to compel him to swear fealty to the king: as early as July 30,[4] he had ordered the sheriff of Sussex to arrest him if he should attempt to land within his jurisdiction,[5] and about the same time had obtained a promise from the countesses of Boulogne and Flanders to forbid his embarkation. Having satisfied himself with these precautions he moved northwards, and having visited probably Ely and St. Edmunds,[6] he is next found at Norwich.[7]

Precautions of Longchamp.

Geoffrey Plantagenet, the eldest surviving son, if not the first-born of Henry II.,[8] is not like William Long-

[1] R. Diceto, 660, 661. Gir. Camb., 395. The letter is dated August 25, "apud Releiam."

[2] Gir. Camb. V. Galfr., p. 388.

[3] Benedict, ii. 210. I cannot go so far as to say that Geoffrey's visit was the result of a deliberate plot on John's behalf, any more than the revolt of Gerard Camville had been; but in both cases he grasped with avidity the opportunity of damaging Longchamp and strengthening his own position.

[4] Gir. Camb. V. Galfr., p. 390. R. Diceto, 660.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Jocelin of Brakelond mentions his visit to S. Edmund's, which it is difficult to place at any earlier period after the date of his legation.

[7] Gir. Camb. V. Galfr., 392.

[8] He was born in 1151, if Giraldus is right in stating that he was 40 at the time of his consecration. V. Galfr. p. 388. He must have been born therefore six years before Richard. If his mother were indeed Fair Rosamond, who is described as a girl in 1176, she must have been the king's mistress for six-and-twenty years, and he must be credited with constancy at least. See Ben. Pet. ii. pref. xxxi.

Character of Geoffrey.

champ and Hugh of Nunant, a man of whom his contemporaries could deliver contradictory characters. His virtues and faults are clearly the same in the mouths of friends and enemies. His faithfulness to his father when his legitimate children had forsaken him is no recommendation to those who hated his father, but it is not less a virtue. His skill in arms, his energy, his high and generous spirit, are apparent even when adduced as an argument of his unfitness for high spiritual office. His secular ambition calls for the animadversions both of his rivals and of those who would condemn such a feeling in an ecclesiastic altogether, neither choosing to remember that his ecclesiastical character was forced upon him. He had been for many years the close companion of his father as chancellor, and it was Henry's last expressed wish that he should be archbishop of York; probably he saw that in such a character only would his life be safe against his brothers, or any share of the power which he had enjoyed so long, remain to him.

His strange ambition.

His own ambition, Giraldus tells us, pointed[1] another way; to his chance of surviving his childless brothers and becoming king of England. The idea is so strange that we might almost suspect that Giraldus did not invent it. Such a thought, however, explains in some measure the conduct of both Geoffrey and Richard. The king was anxious to have him ordained, as the tonsure would be a bar to the crown; Geoffrey held back from ordination himself, as he had done before when elected to the see of Lincoln; nor did he receive consecration until he had seen both Richard and John married. But on Giraldus's word alone it cannot be taken for truth, and there were plenty of people whose interests were con-

[1] "Sperabat enim si de rege fra- "tre suo in peregrinatione tam "periculosa quicquid forte sinistre "contigerit, se regnum universum "et regni partem non modicam "assecuturum." Gir. Cam. V. G., p. 383.

cerned in hindering his acquisition of the full rights of his position. Hugh de Puiset had no wish to be placed under an ecclesiastical superior from whom, although he had by papal privilege obtained the right of refusing him formal submission,[1] he might look for constant canonical as well as constitutional interference. Richard was anxious, for a long time at least, to keep Geoffrey out of England, and to retain in the hands of the exchequer the great revenues of the see of York. The chapter of York was filled with turbulent and secular men, a large proportion of whom Geoffrey had offended immediately after his election by refusing to confirm their titles. These were in constant strife with him before and after his consecration, and during the whole of his pontificate, misinterpreting and perverting every action of his, and catching at every chance which his undeniable talent for quarrelling with every one gave them, of attempting his deposition. John could have nothing in common with Geoffrey, although he anxiously pressed upon him his duty of taking charge of his church, with the intention no doubt of preparing fresh difficulties for the chancellor. William Longchamp seems to have been fully persuaded that the king had made no concession in respect of the oath, and that he was perfectly justified in forbidding his return. He might, however, have seen that Geoffrey, if he could make him a friend, would be a counterpoise to John in the north of England.

His many enemies and rivals for power.

It was probably the news brought from England by Eleanor that induced Richard to stir at last in the matter; he saw, perhaps, that Geoffrey might be harmless, or even useful in the case of a struggle between the bishops of Durham and Ely. Eleanor, on her visit to Rome, laid the circumstances before pope Celestine;[2] all

Eleanor's influence used in Geoffrey's favour.

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[1] Ben. Pet. ii. 146. Hoveden, iii. 74.

[2] Hoveden, iii. 100. It was probably a result of this intercession of

Geoffrey's consecration.

difficulties were obviated; the letters of Clement III., by which Hugh de Puiset was authorized to refuse the profession of obedience, were set aside; and the archbishop of Tours, Bartholomew of Vendôme, under whose eye Geoffrey had studied in the schools,[1] was ordered to consecrate him. This was done on the 18th of August; the same day he received the pall, and immediately set out for England. On his arrival at Guisnes [2] he learned that the countess of Flanders had forbidden her men to convey him across the straits, and that the countess of Boulogne had done the same at Whitsand. On remonstrating, however, he was told that the prohibition extended only to him personally, that the Whitsand boatmen would carry his equipage, and that he might cross in an English vessel. The hint was taken; the retinue, under Simon of Apulia, crossed in Flemish vessels on Friday the 13th of September;[3] Geoffrey followed in an English boat and reached Dover on the following day about nine in the morning. The authorities were prepared for him; before he had time to land, the messengers of the lady of the castle, Richenda, the chancellor's sister, boarded the vessel, and insisted on his proceeding straight to the castle, where the day before his baggage had been deposited. Geoffrey declined the invitation, hastily disguised him-

He is forbidden to sail to England.

He crosses to Dover; and an attempt to arrest him is made.

Eleanor, that Celestine III. on the 11th of May issued the letter to Geoffrey which is printed in the Mon. Angl. vi. 1188, and contains the following statement: "quod "licet personam venerabilis fratris "nostri Hugonis Dunelmensis "episcopi . . . sedes apostolica "providerit et duxerit honorandum, "quia tamen juri et statui Ebora- "censis ecclesiæ nos oportuit et "decuit providere . . . . . ei de- "dimus in mandatis atque præcepi- "mus, tibi sicut suo metropolitano, "exemptione qualibet obtenta pro "eo a Romana ecclesia non ob- "stante, et ante consecrationem et "cum fueris consecratus assistat . . . "et . . debitam tibi obedientiam "et reverentiam, sublato cujuslibet "contradictionis et appellationis "obstaculo, impendere non postpo- "nat." The letter is printed unintelligibly in the Monasticon.

[1] Benedict, i. 93.

[2] Gir. Camb., V. Galfr., p. 390. Bened. ii. 210.

[3] Gir. Camb. V. Galfr., p. 390.

self,[1] and mounting the horse which was prepared for him on the beach, started at full speed for the priory of S. Martin. One of Richenda's men rode after him, and caught the horse by the bridle; but Geoffrey was equal to the occasion, struck out with his right leg, and hit his adversary's horse full on the side with his armed heel. The horse plunged, and compelled the rider to relax his hold.[2] The archbishop, after this exploit, proceeded unmolested to the priory, where he found the canons beginning mass; the epistle was being read: the words (so the story went) in the reader's mouth were, "He "that troubleth you shall bear his judgment, whosoever "he be," and "I would they were even cut off that "trouble you."[3] The soldiers who followed did not venture to lay hands on him, but took possession of the monastery. When the mass was over, the archbishop sent to ask Richenda whether the outrage were authorized by her. She replied that she had the chancellor's order, and that if he bade her to burn both Dover Castle and London town,[4] she would obey. The knights of Kent, under William Auberville, son-in-law of Ranulf Glanvill, entreated the archbishop to take the oath of fealty to the king and chancellor at once. Geoffrey, with his usual impetuosity, replied that to the king he had already sworn fealty, and would not do it again upon compulsion; as for the chancellor, he would do nothing for him but what should be done for a traitor. The state of siege continued for four days; on the Sunday,

He takes refuge at S Martin's.

Negotiations with the lady of the castle.

Geoffrey refuses to swear fealty

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[1] "Mutavit vestes." Benedict, ii. 210. Hoveden, iii. 138. Giraldus does not mention this undignified act of his hero.

[2] Gir. Camb. V. Galfr., p. 390.

[3] This is mentioned by Benedict, ii. 210, and Hoveden, iii. 138. Yet the day was the feast of the exaltation of the Cross, and the epistle for that day does not contain these words; nor does that for the week (the 13th Sunday after Trinity), although it is taken from the same epistle, that of S. Paul to the Galatians. Either the historians have imagined a coincidence, or the missal of the Austin canons had a peculiar rite for the day.

[4] Gir. Camb. V. Galfr., p. 390.

Geoffrey excommunicates his enemies.

Geoffrey excommunicated Richenda;[1] thereupon the soldiers took possession of the church. By the evening Matthew de Cleres, the constable, arrived in person, a little shocked by his wife's zeal, but his entreaties failed to persuade Geoffrey to take the oath. At last, on the Wednesday, he was arrested by a band of mercenary soldiers, under Aubrey Marney, an Essex knight, and Alexander Puintel, a hanger-on of the chancellor.[2]

He is taken from S. Martin's to the castle.

He was dragged from the altar, where he had been assisting at mass, and brought on foot, for he refused to mount a horse, carrying his archiepiscopal cross, to the castle.

Public excitement at the news.

The news of the outrage spread like wild-fire; the few parallels which presented themselves with the sufferings of S. Thomas invested Geoffrey for the time with the character of a church champion.[3] S. Hugh of Lincoln, who was at Oxford, excommunicated with lighted candles[4] the castellan and his wife, with all their aiders and abettors.

The bishops remonstrate with Longchamp.

The bishop of London hastened to Norwich to remonstrate with the chancellor:[5] the bishop of Norwich, that old John of Oxford, who had known so long the dangerous waters on which Longchamp was launching, forgot his failing health,[6] and urged the immediate liberation of the archbishop in very brisk argument. The prior and convent of Canterbury, on whose goodwill he had so much reason to depend, wrote more in sorrow than in anger.[7] In vain the chancellor cursed the zeal of his friends and the fickleness of his master.[8] He lamented the outrage. He had given no such orders; he had simply directed that the archbishop should take the oath of fealty to the king, which he had not yet done since

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[1] Gir. Camb. V. Galfr., p. 391.

[2] R. Diceto, 663.

[3] Gir. Camb. V. Galfr., 391. R. Dic., 663. Gervase, 1576. W. Newb., iv. 17, p. 48.

[4] Gir. Camb. V. Galfr., 392.

[5] R. Diceto, 663.

[6] Gir. Camb. V. Galfr., 392.

[7] Epp. Cantuar., 344. Gervase, 1576.

[8] Epp. Cantuar., 344, 345. Gerv., 1577. R. Devizes, 36.

his consecration, and that if he refused he should be sent, bag and baggage, to Whitsand. In vain he showed the letters-patent in which Geoffrey had promised to stay away for three years.[1] His blunder was more fatal to him than his crimes. His enemies had at last secured a charge which would unite all classes against him; or, for all classes were already against him, would give them a common excuse for action.

The charge against him taken up by all his rivals.

Hugh of Nunant drew together the strings of the plot.[2] As soon as the arrest was known he hastened to John at Lancaster, and pointed out to him the greatness of the opportunity. Together they came immediately to Marlborough,[3] whither John invited the chief men on whom he could depend, either as personally attached to himself, or as likely, for the sake of keeping order in the country, to take part against the chancellor. Longchamp, in compliance with the remonstrances of his friends, sent a hurried order for the archbishop's release.[4] He was obeyed; Geoffrey was conducted back to S. Martin's after eight days of restraint,[5] for it had not been an uncourteous captivity, on the 26th of September; he stayed there until the 28th, and then proceeded to London, where the bishop Richard FitzNeal received him with a solemn procession at S. Paul's on Wednesday the second of October.[6] The chancellor was now assembling his friends and preparing for the first new move that John and his party might take.

Hugh of Nunant works upon John.

Release of Geoffrey. He goes to London.

We inquire in vain what the justices had been doing all this time. Richard had appointed, at various times, William Marshall, William Briwere, Hugh Bardulf, Geoffrey FitzPeter, Robert de Wihtefeld and Roger FitzRainfrai, as assessors to the chancellor. We do not find

Inactivity of the justices.

[1] Epp. Cantuar., 345.

[2] Gir. Camb. V. Galfr., p. 393, It is not too harsh to call it a plot. See R. Devizes, 37.

[3] Gir. Camb. 393.

[4] W. Newb., p. 49. R. Devizes, 36.

[5] Triduanus. R. Devizes, 36. Die septima. Gervase, 1577. Sept. 26th. R. Diceto, 663.

[6] R. Diceto, 663.

Their connivance at Longchamp's proceedings.

a trace of opposition on their part to the oppressions charged against Longchamp; they had joined in his refusal to admit Hugh de Puiset as justiciar;[1] they had not resigned their seats, or stood aloof when he treated them with neglect. Yet they joined immediately in John's proposal for his overthrow.[2] It was, perhaps, the sight of Hugh de Puiset's unlucky attempt to resist him, that intimidated them, but it is more probable that, although they disliked their chief, and were glad of an opportunity to get rid of him, they could not disown his acts, and perhaps saw nothing enormous about them. William Marshall was a brave soldier, but he had been hand and glove with the younger Henry in his treason,[3] and his wisdom had yet twenty years to ripen before he became governor of England and her king. Geoffrey FitzPeter also was an able and moderate minister, whose character was to develop under the discipline of the next reign. Of William Briwere,[4] we know little that is distinctive, but he was certainly a trusted man of business. Roger FitzRainfrai we have seen apparently on the chancellor's side in the quarrel with John.[5] None of them were yet marked men. Richard had done foolishly in taking away those of their own class who could have led them and kept them together. Just now, if Giraldus is right, they were scattered through the country, preparing perhaps for the Michaelmas audit of the Exchequer. William Marshall was in Gloucestershire, William Briwere in Oxfordshire, Geoffrey FitzPeter in Northamptonshire.[6] One by one they received John's invita-

They now take part against him.

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[1] R. Devizes, p. 12.

[2] Gir. Camb. V. Galfr., 393.

[3] Ben. Pet. i. 46.

[4] Notwithstanding the English sound of his name, William was a Norman by extraction, and his family name in full is Brieguerre. It is frequently spelled by Hoveden, in MS. A. Brigwere, and is softened down gradually through Briewere, Briwere, Bruere, &c.

[5] Hoveden, iii. 137.

[6] Gir. Camb. V. Galfr., 393. William Marshall was sheriff of Gloucestershire this year, and William Briwere of Oxfordshire.

tion, and one by one they accepted it. The bishop of Winchester, who had suffered so much from Longchamp, the bishop of Bath, who had hitherto been his friend,[1] who had negotiated for him the business of the legation, followed. They met at Marlborough, and the arrival of the archbishop of Rouen gave a head and authority to their proceedings. The time was clearly come for him to act up to his fullest powers. The chancellor must be sacrificed before John had time to bind to himself, by complicity in revolution, the barons who were now loyal enough to Richard, although they hated, and had just grounds of complaint against, his representative.

The justices, bishops, and barons meet John at Marlborough.

Longchamp could not at first see the difficulty of his situation; he saw that the muster at Marlborough was a step to revolution, but he could not see the enormity of the offence that he had given, and above all he was ignorant of the policy, and even of the commission, of the archbishop of Rouen. He issued orders to Geoffrey to appear in London before the barons of the kingdom, and to the bishops and justices who had joined John, to leave him immediately as a traitor.[2] He was, however, so far in the dark that he allowed Geoffrey[3] to leave London and join the party of malcontents, who had now advanced by Oxford, where they had picked up S. Hugh of Lincoln, to Reading. He himself proceeded from Norwich to London, and thence to Windsor,[4] to watch the movements of the other side. There he was met by a summons to attend a conference or parliament of the barons, which was to be held on the 5th of October at the bridge over the Lodden, about four miles from Reading and twelve from Windsor.[5]

Longchamp's preparations for resistance.

He comes to Windsor; and is invited to a conference.

Geoffrey FitzPeter had been so in Northamptonshire in 1189; but Richard of Engaine had paid 300 marks for three years' tenure of the office and was now sheriff. Rot. Pip. 3 Rich. I.

[1] W. Newb., iv. 17. p. 49.
[2] Gir. Camb., pp. 393, 394.
[3] Gir. Camb., p. 394.
[4] Gir. Camb., p. 394.
[5] Gir. Camb., p. 394.

Conference at the bridge of the Lodden.

The 5th of October was a Saturday,—an unlucky day for oaths and contracts, as men thought,—and the chancellor, much against his will, set out from Windsor with the bishops of London, and the earls of Arundel, Norfolk, and Warren, who seem to have stuck to him until now. But at the fourth mile from Windsor his heart failed him; he saw that his companions were without spirit to support him, and that his policy was not to endanger his own liberty. He sent on his friends, and complaining of illness, returned to the castle. They, not rendered more enthusiastic by his desertion, proceeded to the place of meeting.[1]

Longchamp is faint-hearted.

Barons and bishops assembled.

There were assembled the two archbishops, the bishops of London, Winchester, Bath, Lincoln, and Coventry; John earl of Mortain, William of Arundel, Roger Bigod of Norfolk, Hamelin of Warren, and William Marshall of Strigul; Geoffrey FitzPeter, William Briwere, and many other barons, with their retainers. As soon as the assembly was got together and order proclaimed, the archbishop of York stood up and exhibited his complaints; the documents by which the king had authorized his return and his participation in public business were read and explained by Hugh of Nunant to the barons.[2] The archbishop of Rouen followed; he had been sent by the king to arrange the election at Canterbury, with the fullest powers and the most private instructions, yet the chancellor had forbidden him to proceed on his mission—nay, he had sent him word that he would cross London Bridge at his peril; further, he had never once since he landed in April been consulted by the chancellor on any matter whatever.[3] In the third place the justices, especially William Marshall, William Briwere, and Geoffrey FitzPeter, asserted that their counsels, which he was obliged by the king's express order to respect, were never

Speeches of Geoffrey, Hugh of Nunant, and the justices.

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[1] Gir. Camb., 395. Bened., ii. 212.

[2] Gir. Camb., 395.

[3] Gir. Camb., p. 395.

attended to. Even the earl of Arundel, who seems to have wished to say what he could for him, could not deny this.[1] There were other complaints of a less general character. Hugh of Durham and his son Henry sent in the tale of their wrongs.[2] Henry de Vere in particular, who had been deprived of his estates through the chancellor's agency, probably in favour of Stephen Longchamp, who was his brother-in-law, was bitterly urgent against him;[3] Roger FitzRainfrai forsook him completely. The conclusion of the whole deliberation was put by the archbishop of Rouen; he pledged the barons present to rise against the chancellor, to depose him as useless to the king and kingdom from the office of justiciar, and to appoint another in his place.[4] Whether on this occasion Walter of Coutances produced his commission cannot be quite ascertained, but he clearly left the assembly assured that he had good authority for his proceedings. The bishops of London, Lincoln, and Coventry were deputed to fetch the chancellor at once to hear his fate, but before they had gone far they met his messengers reporting that he had returned to Windsor.[5]

Complaints of Longchamp's special foes.

Walter of Coutances shows his hand at last

Sunday, October 6, was a busy day. Very early, messengers began to pass between Windsor and Reading. The chancellor sent two of his confidential servants to persuade John to intercede for him; knowing John's weakness they were to promise any amount of money to him and his like. Personal mediation, as in the case of William de Braiose, who had courage to make a move for his friend, was also employed. But all that was attained was an invitation to meet the barons at the old place on

Negotiations between Longchamp and John.

[1] Gir. Camb., 359.

[2] Benedict, ii. 212.

[3] R. Diceto, 664. Henry de Vere married a daughter of Osbert de Cailly, and co-heiress with Stephen's wife, of Mutford in Suffolk; see Stapleton, *Norman Rolls*, ii. cxv. There may have been other grounds of quarrel.

[4] Gir. Camb., 395, 396.

[5] *Ibid.*

He fails to make friends,

the morrow; if the chancellor declined to appear there and give account of his misdeeds, he was to expect no more consideration from the barons.[1] By the arguments of his friends he was prevailed on to promise to attend and so pledge himself. The bishops lost no time. At High Mass in the morning the bishop of Bath acted as celebrant, and Hugh of Nunant preached; the point of

and is excommunicated.

application of his sermon was the excommunication of all aiders and abettors of the outrage on the archbishop of York. Not only Aubrey Marney and Alexander Puintell, but the chancellor himself was named in the anathema, and denounced as excommunicate.[2]

Both parties hasten to London, on the Monday, Oct. 7.

Probably the news of this act diminished still further Longchamp's inclination for a parley. The postponed meeting did not take place; both parties dreaded treachery. The barons, on the Monday morning, after marching in order out of Reading, crossed the Lodden and sent their baggage under the charge of a strong guard through the forest to Staines, whilst they themselves proceeded on the highway towards Windsor.[3] The chancellor on his part advanced about two miles to meet them, when he was met by one of his knights, Henry Biset,[4] who had seen the division of the forces and the larger part taking the London road. He immediately gave the alarm; the malcontents were going to seize the capital. Longchamp hastily returned to the castle, and, having made a hurried arrangement for its defence, started, as he supposed, in pursuit: crossed the Thames and took the northern as the shorter road, in order to intercept the enemy. The barons hearing of his departure, pursued him at full speed, and it became a race who should reach London first; the chancellor's retinue, having the start, arrived a little before the others, but not in time to avoid a skirmish

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[1] Gir. Camb., 396.

[2] R. Diceto, 664.

[3] Benedict, ii. 211, 212.

[4] Gir. Camb., 396, 397. R. Devizes, p. 37.

in which Roger de Plasnes, John's justiciar, was killed[1] by Ralph Beauchamp, one of the chancellor's knights. This must have occurred somewhere near Hounslow, where the direct road from Windsor meets that from Staines, which the barons had taken.

Skirmish on the road.

As soon as Longchamp arrived in London, he called together the citizens in the Guildhall,[2] and entreated them to defend the king's right against the attacks of John, who, according to his view, had thrown away every scruple, and was now plainly aiming at the crown.[3] To his dismay, his words seemed without effect. Archbishop Geoffrey, in his passage through the capital, the week before, had made too good use of his time; he had taught his friends to regard the struggle as merely an attempt to unseat the justiciar, no treason being contemplated towards the king.[4] The magnates of the city were divided,—Richard FitzReiner, the head of one party, took the side of John. Henry of Cornhell was faithful to the chancellor.[5] These two knights had been sheriffs at Richard's coronation, and both represented the ancient burgher aristocracy: Reiner, the father of Richard, the son of Berenger, had filled the same office;[6] and Henry was the son of Gervase of Cornhell, who had held the sheriffdom of Kent, which, with that of Surrey, the son now held. It is probable that Richard headed the party of change, and Henry, who was more closely connected with the country interest, and, through his office of fermer of the mint, with the exchequer, that of order.[7] The

Longchamp meets the citizens in the Guildhall.

Two parties in the city.

[1] R. Diceto, 664. Benedict, ii. 212.

[2] R. Devizes, 38. Gir. Camb., 397:—"In aula publica quæ a "potorum conventu nomen ac- "cepit."

[3] Gir. Camb., 397.

[4] R. Devizes, 38.

[5] Gir. Camb., 397.

[6] Madox, *Hist. Exch.*, p. 476, 194. Rot. Pip., 2, 3, 4 Hen. II., pp. 17, 18, 27, 112. Rot. Pip., 1 Rich. I., p. 223. Liber de Antiquis Legibus, p. 1.

[7] Madox, *Hist. Exch.*, p. 631. This year Henry de Cornhell renders account of 1,200*l.* which he has received of the treasure, by the brief of the chancellor, to sustain the Mint of all England, except Win-

Longchamp betakes himself to the Tower.

division in council was so even that the chancellor thought it his safest plan to take up his quarters in the Tower. This he had scarcely done when John arrived. He was welcomed by Richard FitzReiner with open arms, and entertained in his house, where he learned the terms on which he was to expect the adherence of the city.[1] The burghers had long been anxious to obtain for themselves the royal recognition of their corporate character, or *communa*. This had been opposed to the theory of Henry II., who, instead of conferring political or municipal independence on towns by charter, preferred to deal out his benefactions by the medium of fines, keeping thus the power of withdrawing them in his own hands. Henry knew and probably disliked the foreign idea of the commune: "tumor plebis, timor regni, tepor "sacerdotii."[2] John, however, had no scruples. He was ready to promise for the whole party that they would swear to observe the rights and customs of the citizens, and accordingly in the morning of Tuesday, when the assembly met at S. Paul's, this large and aristocratic body was fully represented.[3] The city had, indeed, quarrelled with Longchamp by refusing, at his request, to shut the gates against John, and a large proportion of the burghers was prepared to take extreme measures against him.[4]

John undertakes to confirm the *communa* of the citizens.

Meeting at S. Paul's, Tuesday, Oct. 8.

The scene in S. Paul's seems to have been a repetition of that of the Lodden. First Geoffrey, then Hugh of Nunant, told the story of the chancellor's misdeeds; the

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chester, and of 400*l*. the profit of the Mint for a year, in all 1,600*l*. He must have been closely connected in this way with the chancellor, and his connexion with the court may have set him in opposition to the supporters of the guild or communa. This theory seems to be supported by the fact of his marriage with Alice de Courcy; and that of his daughter with Hugh Nevill, the master forester of England. See Mr. Stapleton's preface to the Liber de Antiquis Legibus, p. 11.

[1] R. Diceto, 664. Gir. Camb., V. Galfr., 397, 398.

[2] R. Devizes, 53, 54.

[3] Gir. Camb., 398. Bened., ii. 213.

[4] R. Devizes, 38.

wrongs of Hugh de Puiset and the ignominy heaped on the justices were not forgotten.[1] Then, for the first time, Walter of Coutances produced the commission dated in February, addressed to William Marshall and his fellow justices, and directing that in case of the chancellor's misconduct he should be superseded by the archbishop.[2] The barons, at John's instigation, at once recognized the letter as genuine, and declared by acclamation that the chancellor was no longer the governor of the kingdom, that the archbishop of Rouen was now the king's chief justiciar. John himself should be regarded as regent, "summus rector totius regni;[3]" next under him should be the archbishop as justiciar; under him the other justices would have no difficulty in acting, and again the whole administration of the country would be able to work. In this recognition of John the assembly went beyond anything that had been contemplated by Richard or even by Walter of Coutances; the office of regent, if it existed formally at all, being filled already by the queen-mother, whose absence from England had thrown considerable additional weight into the scale against Longchamp. This done, oaths were largely taken: John, the justiciar, and the barons swore to maintain the communa of London;[4] the oath of fealty to Richard was then sworn, John taking it first, then the two archbishops, the bishops, the barons, and last the burghers, with the express understanding that, should the king die without issue, they would receive John as his successor.[5]

Walter of Coutances produces his commission.

The barons welcome him as chief justiciar; and salute John as regent.

Oaths taken to the communa;

fealty sworn to Richard.

The sentence had still to be enforced on Longchamp, and the citizens willingly joined in besieging the Tower. Unfortunately for the chancellor, it was not victualled for a siege, or, with time on his side, he might still have won.[6]

Longchamp shut up in the Tower.

[1] Bened., ii. 213.

[2] Bened., ii. 213; "tunc primum."

[3] R. Devizes, p. 38.

[4] Gir. Camb., 398. Bened., ii. 214. R. Devizes, 53, 54. R. Diceto, 664.

[5] R. Diceto, 664. Bened., ii. 214.

[6] W. Newb., p. 50.

His chances of success.

Henry of Cornhell was ready to divide the city in his favour; John, having got all that he wanted, might be bought over, especially as his object now would be to undermine the authority of the new justiciar. The party had been brought together by an accident, and any accident might dissolve it. But the state of the stores would not admit of Longchamp standing a siege, and both Geoffrey and Hugh of Nunant saw that their only safety was in his downfall. He was obliged to offer terms to the new powers, and early on the Wednesday the four bishops of London, Lincoln, Winchester, and Coventry,[1] were sent in answer to his application, and to declare at the same time the resolution of the assembly. According to Giraldus, they found him in an abject state of prostration, mental and physical; he knelt before them—he swooned away from the violence of his agitation. Richard of Devizes confirms the story of his fainting, and adds that he was recovered by the sprinkling of cold water on his face; he ascribes the swoon to angry excitement and not to fear.[2] He was told that he must resign the seal, and surrender the king's castles. He declared that he would do neither; he charged the barons with disloyalty to Richard; already they had given the kingdom to John. He threatened them with the king's anger, if he should ever live to see him. As for the castles, how could he surrender them? None of his house had ever yet been a traitor. Hugh of Nunant argued like a brute—"Do not talk to us about your "house, but do what you ought to do; what cannot be "avoided, it is of no use to dally over. Depend on it, "your house, young as it is, cannot account you its first "traitor."[3] Prostrate as Longchamp was, he held his

He applies for reconciliation and is visited by four bishops, on Wednesday, Oct. 9.

He refuses to resign.

He is insulted by Hugh of Nunant.

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[1] Gir. Camb., 398.

[2] R. Devizes, 39. As this writer is anything but favourable to Longchamp, I think his statements may be accepted always in mitigation of Giraldus's language.

[3] Giraldus, p. 398.

ground in argument until evening, when, having tried to bribe John,[1] and found that if he were successful with him, there were, besides, more enemies than he could purchase, he yielded at nightfall to the entreaties of his servants, and allowed one of his brothers to go to John to say that he agreed to give hostages for his appearance before the justices the next day.[2] The hostages were his brother Osbert and Matthew de Cleres.[3] Whilst this was being done, or perhaps, earlier in the day, the bishops executed one little piece of spite against him, by procuring the election of William Postard as abbot of Westminster, to the destruction of the chancellor's scheme of promoting his brother Robert.[4]

In the evening he agrees to appear the next day before the justices.

The barons met in great force early on the morning of Thursday, October 10th, in the fields to the east of the Tower, and there at last William Longchamp stood face to face with his accusers.[5] With singular ill-feeling, Hugh of Nunant undertook to declare the charges and the ultimatum of the barons. For justiciar they would have him no longer; bishop he might be still, but justiciar he was not, and as chancellor they would do their best to strip him. He might keep three castles, Dover, Cambridge, and Hereford; but the rest he must resign; he must give pledges to keep the peace, and might then go where he liked. Longchamp could scarcely have entertained any hope of changing the mood of his enemies by a speech, but he seems to have been overwhelmed by the volubility of the bishop, at once declaring the indictment and pronouncing the sentence. When he found words he declared himself innocent of every charge. His fellow justices could,[6] he said,

Longchamp meets the barons on Thursday Oct. 10.

Terms offered him by Hugh of Nunant.

He declares his innocence of the charges.

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[1] *Ibid.* "Comitem Moritoniæ "adeo ab incepto fere Cancellarius "avertit."

[2] R. Devizes, 40. Gir. Camb., 398.

[3] Gir. Camb., 398.

[4] R. Diceto, 664.

[5] R. Devizes, 40. Gir. Camb., 398. R. Diceto, 665.

[6] R. Devizes, 41.

He consents to give pledges for the surrender of his castles.

if they were questioned, justify all that he had done to raise revenue for the king, and for every farthing he had so raised, he could render an account. For the surrender of the castles, as he was in their power, he would give pledges, but his offices he could not resign, nor would he recognize the act of his enemies in deposing him. "I am "one, you are many, and you are stronger than I. I, "the chancellor of the king and justiciar of the king-"dom, sentenced contrary to the form of all law, yield "to the stronger, for yield I must."[1] So much said, and the words were true and not deficient in dignity, the meeting closed. That night Longchamp slept in the Tower;[2] on the Friday he gave up both that and Windsor, and moved with his baggage to Bermondsey.[3] On the Saturday he proceeded, in company with bishop Gilbert of Rochester, and Henry of Cornhell, to Dover.[4] His reason for going into Kent was said to be that he might lay down at Canterbury the cross of his legation which had expired on the death of Clement III.; but the events that followed showed that this was a mere pretext.[5] He had been compelled to swear to surrender all the king's castles and to leave the appointment of constables for his own three, to the justices;[6] until this was completed he was not to quit the country. Windsor and the Tower he had given up, but he could not bear to do more. Neglectful of the safety of his pledges, his brothers Henry and Osbert,[7] as well of his own oath, he attempted, in the dress of a woman, to escape on board ship, on the Thursday after his arrival at Dover.[8] This

On Friday, Oct. 12, he quits the Tower, and on Saturday goes to Dover.

He attempts to escape before he has fulfilled the conditions forced on him.

[1] R. Devizes, 41. 42.

[2] R. Diceto, 665.

[3] Gir. Camb., 399. R. Diceto, 665.

[4] R. Diceto, 665.

[5] Benedict, ii. 219. Hoveden, iii. 145.

[6] Gir. Camb., 398.

[7] R. Diceto, 665.

[8] Benedict, ii. 219, 220. Hoveden, iii. 146. R. Devizes, p. 42. R. Diceto, 665.

was prevented; he was dragged into the town and imprisoned with great ignominy in a cellar. The justices, on hearing of his discomfiture, issued immediate orders for his release, and having compelled him to yield in every point, let him go his way. He crossed over to Whitsand on the 29th of October. His misfortunes did not end here; he was seized, plundered, and put to ransom by the Flemish nobles.[1]

He is taken and insulted, Oct. 18; leaves England, and lands at Whitsand, Oct. 29.

This little crisis occupies in our histories a place more proportionate to the interest of its personal incidents than to its constitutional importance.[2] The proceedings of the barons were revolutionary. Although the question of allegiance to the king does not enter formally into the complication, the insurrection must be regarded as of the same character as those by which from time to time the king's tenure of power has been directly attacked,—the machinery which has the power to make laws interposes with effect to meet a case, and to overcome difficulties, for which the laws have failed to provide; to punish the offences of a person who by circumstances, as in this case, or on theory as in case of the monarch, is above the ordinary process of law. The accused, when such a consummation is imminent, cannot expect to secure the benefit of legal treatment; rightfully or wrongfully he must be condemned; for he whom in such a position it is possible to bring to trial, has fallen too low to be able to resist, although not so low as to be safely spared. Nor does our history present us with a case in which the wrong doings of such a person, have by themselves provoked the revolution which overwhelms him. He falls under the accumulation of hatred, not because of it; it is because there is some one ready to take his place, who

Importance of the crisis here described.

The proceedings really revolutionary.

Revolution made possible by Longchamp's misconduct, but produced by John's intrigues.

[1] R. Diceto, 665. Hoveden, iii. 150. Ben. Pet. ii. 220. R. Devizes, 42.

[2] Sir Francis Palgrave has given a recension of it in the preface to the 1st volume of the Rotuli Curiæ Regis, which is very valuable.

Opportunity and cause of revolution.

cannot afford to wait. So it may often be that the pretexts of revolution are out of all harmony with its real justification, and have nothing whatever to do with its definite causes. Longchamp's position was unrighteous and tyrannical; the hatred he had inspired was widely spread and not unwarranted; the movement by which he fell was of the nature of a conspiracy; the real objects which his enemies had in view were strictly selfish aims after personal or political aggrandizement. It was, however, a good precedent against John himself in after years.

Conduct of the archbishop of Rouen at the crisis.

The man who appears to the most advantage in the matter is the new minister, the Pilate of Rouen, who, if not a strong man, was an honest one, and in the main gave himself as thoroughly as Longchamp had done to the king's interests. If we consider that he was sent by Richard to England to hold the balance of power between John and Longchamp; to humour John as long as he could do so without encouraging him in disaffection; to strengthen the chancellor unless he found that it was no longer possible to keep peace between him and the barons; that he knew all the time that Longchamp was trusted by Richard, and that John only lacked the power to be a traitor; and if we consider further that in the motley band of malcontents with whom he had to work, there were not two who had the same object in view; that John was striving for the increase of his own power and the right of succession, that Geoffrey was struggling for the see of York, whilst Hugh de Puiset, who for the moment was working with him, was bent on vindicating his personal independence of his metropolitan; that the barons cared far more to get rid of Longchamp than to administer the kingdom under himself, also a foreigner, and scarcely less suspected than Longchamp:—we may, I think, regard his conduct of the crisis as skilful and complete. He managed to get rid,

by John's aid, of the chancellor who could govern no more, and yet to keep the substance of power as far as ever out of John's reach.

His success in the crisis

But his own administration was not very successful. Although strengthened by the support of the queen, he was unable to meet the manœuvres of John aided by Philip of France. The result was that from the moment of Richard's captivity, he lost his grasp on the reins of government, and the country was only saved from anarchy by the management of Hubert Walter, who superseded him after two years and three months of office in the opening of the year 1194.

His comparative failure as a minister.

The archbishop's first piece of work was a failure. The day of Longchamp's surrender, October 10, letters were issued for a meeting of the bishops at Westminster on the 22nd, and for the election of a successor to Baldwin.[1] The king had not yet withdrawn his nomination of the archbishop of Montreal; the monks were suspected of wishing to elect the chancellor; the archbishop of Rouen, who was supposed to have the king's instructions, was also suspected of wishing to exchange a poor archbishopric for a rich one.[2] The monks were really inclined to a delay which prolonged the day of their own independence and would increase the chances of their patron. But the justiciar was pressing, and they could resist no longer. After a preliminary meeting on the 22nd of October, they made the election on the 2nd of December. The bishop of Bath, whom no one seems to have thought of before, was elected. He died a few weeks after, but his election had satisfied the occasion.[3] No new one could be made before the king had been consulted, and leave to elect granted. The primacy continued for a year and a half longer unfilled.

Business of the election to Canterbury.

Election of Reginald Fitz-Jocelin

[1] Epp. Cantuar., 348.
[2] Gervase, 1580.
[3] See Epp. Cantuar., pref. pp. lxxxvi–xc.

Longchamp's acts reversed.

As a matter of course, Longchamp's more offensive acts were now remedied; the bishop of Winchester was reinstated in the castle of which he had been deprived; the county of Northumberland was delivered over to Hugh de Puiset;[1] Osbert and Henry Longchamp were removed from their sheriffdoms, and the latter imprisoned at Cardiff.[2] The Yorkshiremen who had got into trouble about the Jews were restored to their estates.[3] The bishops were instructed to take no notice of the legate's letters. Geoffrey returned to his see, and before Christmas had time to excommunicate his late ally the bishop of Durham.[4] Hugh bore the sentence with equanimity, and met it by contriving new difficulties for the metropolitan, for whose sanctity he had been so lately ready to fight. The archbishop of Rouen regarded the chancellor as lying still under the Reading anathema. Longchamp, as soon as his legation was renewed, issued an excommunication, in which he included the whole ministry. Not content with this, he named seriatim all his great enemies,—the bishop of Winchester, Hugh of Nunant, the four co-justices;[5] Richard Malbysse, the persecutor of the Jews and ally of Hugh de Puiset; Roger FitzRainfrai who had deserted him at the last; Henry de Vere, his brother Stephen's competitor for the Baudemont heritage; Gerard Camville, the delinquent of Lincoln; Stephen Ridell the chancellor of John, and the best endowed clerk in the diocese of Ely; Master Benedict, who pretended to bear the king's seal; the

Cross-fire of excommunications.

Excommunications by Longchamp.

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[1] R. Devizes, 39.

[2] Gir. Camb.. 399.

[3] See above p. xlv. note. Richard Malbysse did not keep long out of mischief; in 1194 we find "Ricardus "de Malbysse reddit computum de "300 marcis pro habenda benevo-"lentia regis, quia dicebatur fuisse "cum comite Johanne; et ut sit "quietus de foris-facto occisionis "Judæorum Eboraci, et pro haben-"dis terris et wardis et forestaria "sua sicut habuit quando rex iter "arripuit Jerusalem." Rot. Pip., 6 Rich. I.

[4] Ben. Pet., ii. 225.

[5] Ben. Pet., ii. 223. Hoveden, ii. 153, 154.

earl of Salisbury and the count of Meulan; two of the Bassets, and Simon of Avranches, lord of Folkstone, are thrown in, perhaps, as having taken part in the Dover outrage; Earl John himself is spared, and Hugh Bardulf; but the latter is ordered to give up the sheriffdom of Yorkshire to William Stuteville, and John, if he does not take care, will find himself excommunicated on the next Quinquagesima Sunday.

His threats addressed to John.

Before the chancellor ventured on this act he had received very encouraging news from Rome. The pope had not yet renewed his legation, but addressed him as if it had never been interrupted.[1] The savage attack made upon him by the bishop of Coventry had caused some little reaction in his favour. Peter of Blois wrote manfully for him;[2] Celestine III. would hear nothing from the other side; he argued, in fact, from his knowledge of Richard's trust in Longchamp and the obsequiousness of the bishops and barons in the days of his prosperity, that the attack on him was more prompted by envy and jealousy than it really was.[3] The chancellor's stedfast purpose was to make his way back to England. After his expulsion he had passed through Flanders to Paris, where he had been received with processions, at his own expense, by the bishop at Notre Dame.[4] Returning to Normandy he found himself treated everywhere as excommunicate; neither the office of chancellor nor the title of legate spared him this humiliation.[5] Whilst he was there, Philip returned from Palestine.

Reaction in favour of Longchamp.

He visits Paris and goes thence to Normandy.

Historians have recorded of the early events of 1192 little more than the cross-fire of excommunications; the interest of the period is in the crusade. John's plots and Longchamp's counter-plots lie below the surface. But we can see that Philip's return has introduced a

Obscurity of the early events of 1192.

[1] Benedict, ii. 221. Hoveden, iii. 151.

[2] Hoveden, iii. 148–150.

[3] Hoveden, iii. 190, 191. Bened. ii. 242–244. W. Newb., iv. 18, p. 53.

[4] Benedict, ii. 220.

[5] Benedict, ii. 221.

Philip's return re-kindles the ambition of John.

new element into the calculations of both; that Philip's object is to injure Richard wherever he has the chance, by stirring up war on the Continent and persuading John to unsettle England.

John spent Christmas at Howden, with bishop Hugh, learning how to behave under excommunication.[1] Early in the year he received two communications. Philip invited him to France to a conference, offering him his brother's French possessions with the hand of the precious Alais,[2] William Longchamp offered him a round sum in money if he would contrive his restoration.[3]

Proposals of Philip and Longchamp to John.

John listened to both the tempters, contrary as their purposes were. He had found by this time that the archbishop of Rouen was not inclined to give way to him, and that the title of ruler of all England which he had assumed, was less effective than the more constitutional rule of the justiciar. He promised to visit Philip; he also promised to do his best for Longchamp. It would seem that Eleanor was the first to hear of these negotiations, and the news quickly brought her to England.

Longchamp visits Philip.

The chancellor had visited Philip in order to lay before him a complaint of the seizure of his property by the Flemish nobles;[4] and the juxtaposition of two such men was not a little alarming. The queen landed at Portsmouth on the 11th of February,[5] and found John ready to sail to France.

Eleanor returns to England and compels John to renounce his projects.

Very determined he proved himself. Between Sexagesima Sunday and Easter the queen held four councils of the barons, at Windsor, Oxford, London, and Winchester.[6] John showed himself more obdurate than was conceived. He not only persisted but plotted. He actually succeeded in persuading the constables of Windsor and Wallingford to hand over their castles to him.[7] It was

[1] Hoveden. iii. 172. Bened., ii. 235.

[2] Benedict, ii. 236. R. Devizes, 56.

[3] Bened. ii. 239. R. Devizes, 57.

[4] R. Devizes, 55.

[5] R. Devizes, 55, Gervase, 1580.

[6] R. Devizes, 57.

[7] Ibid.

only by the severest remonstrances that he was prevailed upon to give up his projected visit. The archbishop, with Eleanor and the justices, threatened that the moment he embarked they would seize, in the king's name, every castle and manor that he possessed.[1]

Determined opposition of the queen to John.

In the midst of the excitement caused by these discussions, the bishop of Ely landed at Dover and took up his quarters with his sister in the castle.[2] John had listened to his overtures and now that he and the archbishop of Rouen had quarrelled, the support of the chancellor would be very important to him. Accordingly, about the fifth week in Lent, Longchamp wrote from Dover to the heads of the government, — the queen, John, and the justices, offering to stand his trial and demanding the restoration of his property. Now, Eleanor as well as John would have listened. She had prevailed already on the archbishop to release the estates of the see and withdraw the excommunication;[3] Longchamp also withdrew his sentence against the justices. But even if these could have safely admitted his return, the barons were implacable. Little news came from Palestine. John's succession seemed more than imminent, and with Longchamp they would have nothing to do. John pleaded the cause of his new friend; he saw, in fact, that his arrival gave him the opportunity of making new terms for himself. One of the subjects marked out for consultation in the sitting of the barons was, what notice should be taken of John's treasonable conduct in corrupting the constables of Windsor and Wallingford.[4] By holding out a threat to side with the chancellor, he

Longchamp lands at Dover in March.

His proposals to the queen, John, and the justices.

The barons refuse to listen to him.

[1] Benedict. ii. 257.

[2] In the middle of March, Gervase, 1580. R. Devizes, 57, 58. W. Newb., iv. 18, p. 54. Benedict, ii. 239. Gir. Camb., V. Galfr., 402 (circa kalendas Aprilis).

[3] R. Devizes, 56. Gir. Camb. V. Galfr., 402. According to Gervase he came to England by the Queen's invitation, c. 1580.

[4] R. Devizes, 57, "de præsump-" tione castellorum."

John accepts a bribe from the justices and forsakes his new ally.

entirely escaped inquiry into this. And this was, perhaps, all he wanted. He made no secret of the price at which Longchamp had bought him. "Within a week," he told the justices, "the chancellor will pay me 700*l.* "of silver if I abstain from interference between him "and you. Money is what you see I want. You know "what I mean; you are wise men."[1] The justices saw that they must buy him. They offered him 2,000 marks, 500*l.* of which were to be raised from the chancellor's estates.[2] John graciously accepted the sum, and peremptory letters were at once written by all parties to the common enemy, directing him, if he cared for his life, to quit England. He obeyed; sailed on the Thursday in Holy Week; landed again at Whitsand, and, as the English believed, betook himself at once to the court of Philip as a traitor.[3] It is probable that his occupation was rather that of a spy; but we lose sight of him entirely for nearly a year. His envoy, the prior of Hereford, had already made his way to Palestine and poured into the king's ears the complaints which had so impressed the pope.[4] He found Richard at Ascalon in April. The king was, as might be expected, disturbed at the news, but the distressed state of the crusade at the moment prevented his leaving. Six weeks afterwards, in May, at the Canebrake of Starlings, John of Alençon, the vice-chancellor, whom he had left in Normandy, reached him with new complaints; this time, probably, from the archbishop of Rouen:[5] but just now it was out of his power to leave with honour. The break-up of the crusade was, however, imminent, and after a bold but destructive march on Jerusalem in the height of summer, the three years' truce with Saladin was concluded, and

Longchamp ordered to quit England.

He sends complaints to Richard.

Mission of John of Alençon.

[1] R. Devizes, 57, 58. W. Newb., iv. 18, p. 55.

[2] Benedict, ii. 239. R. Devizes, 59. Hoveden, iii. 188.

[3] Benedict, ii. 240, 241. Hoveden, iii. 188.

[4] Itin., R.R. 333.

[5] Itin., R.R., 358.

in October, Richard embarked for home. The next news of him is in January 1193, when he is reported to be in prison in Austria.

Capture of the king.

During these months the history of England is nearly a blank. Eleanor had succeeded in producing a temporary lull in the political strife. Hugh of Nunant had time to persecute his monks; Geoffrey of York to offend the dignity of the southern as well as to quarrel to the point of anathema with the clergy of the northern province. The justiciar had his hands full of Norman business. Whilst he was acting as the king's lieutenant in England, his own unhappy province was laid under interdict by the legates sent in consequence of Longchamp's complaints.[1] Philip was in arms, and only prevented by a resolute remonstrance of his barons from entering Richard's territories. Old bishop Hugh de Puiset had to be recalled from his retirement and sent into France to negotiate.

The queen's pacific influence in England.

Eleanor seems to have continued in England during this time, and her presence was a pledge of peace. Longchamp lurked in Normandy and Aquitaine.[2] John nursed his grievances at Marlborough and Lancaster. At the Michaelmas exchequer, Richard Malbysse and William Percy were admitted to the possession of their lands until the king's return, for a fine of 20 marks. Gerard Camville was still in possession of Lincolnshire; Hugh of Nunant was sheriff of Warwickshire, Leicestershire, and Staffordshire; Henry Longchamp at Cardiff in prison.[3]

Minor acts of 1192.

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[1] It was not in consequence of Longchamp's complaints that Normandy was laid under interdict, but because the steward had refused to receive the legates without the king's licence. Ben. Pet. ii. 247. R. Devizes, p. 43.

[2] Gir. Camb., V. Galfr., 403.

[3] Rot. Pip., 4 Rich. I. Herefordsh.:—"Willelmus de Braiose non reddidit computum hoc anno de forma "comitatus neque de summonitionibus, quia Henricus de Longocampo "qui anno proximo præcedente "comitatum tenuerat, propter captionem suam computum non "reddidit. Cujus computus oportuit "compotum Willelmi præcedere."

Rumours of Richard's capture.

Towards Christmas, great uneasiness began to be felt in England as to the fate of the king. The pilgrims who had stayed behind him in Palestine were flocking home, and the last that had been heard of him was that the ship in which he had left Acre had been seen at Brundusium.[1] Rumours of his being in trouble reached the country. Soon after Christmas, John received from Philip the news of the capture and went over to Normandy in consequence.[2] After attempting to prevail on

Intrigues of Philip and John.

the Norman barons to swear fealty to himself, he joined Philip and agreed, according to the proposal of the last year, to become his vassal for his brother's dominions, including, as rumour said, England as well as Normandy.[3] He then returned to England, got possession of Windsor and Wallingford, and demanded of the barons their recognition of him as king, now that his brother, as he said, was dead.

Communications opened with the captive king.

The archbishop of Rouen behaved with great circumspection and moderation. The first step was to discover where the king was; for this purpose the abbots of Boxley and Robertsbridge were sent to Germany.[4] To open communications with him when found, William of S. Mere l'Eglise, the prothonotary,[5] was directed to follow, and he was joined by Hubert Walter, who, returning after Richard from Palestine, had heard in Sicily of his misfortunes.[6] Savaric, bishop of Bath, was directed to

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1 Hoveden, iii. 194.

2 Hoveden, ii. 204.

3 The treaty made with Philip on this occasion is printed in the Fœdera, i. 57; it is dated at Paris in January, and amounts to a partition of the inheritance of Richard. It is most curious, in our present question, as containing a special provision for the securing to Hugh "Constan' episcopo" safety and restoration in case of peace being made with Richard. This Hugh can be none other than Hugh of Nunant, and Constan' is a misprint for Coventren'. The bishop of Coutances at this time was William of Tournebu who presided from 1179 to 1199.

4 Hoveden, iii. 198.

5 Hoveden, iii. 209.

6 Will. Newb., iv. 33, p. 98. Hoveden, iii. 209.

the imperial court to make the best terms he could.[1] Savaric was the emperor's kinsman and friend. The abbots met the king in Franconia in March, and from that time he was in regular communication with the government at home.[2]

Embassy to Henry VI.

The chancellor was one of the first to find his way to him. Richard received him with unreserved delight, and sent him back to England with powers to raise or to treat for the raising of the ransom, and a general commission to do his best for him.[3] But the urgent business of the kingdom took precedence even of the king's deliverance. John, as soon as the barons had definitely refused to listen to his proposals, took up arms. Windsor and Wallingford he had secured before his visit to France; they were now surrendered to him in form[4]; Nottingham and Tickhill had been in his hands since the year 1191; Lancaster and the Peak were fortified, and enabled to resist. He had hired a large force of Welsh mercenaries, whom he placed in Windsor.[5] He had increased the number of his friends; Hugh Bardulf, and even William Stuteville, had become his men.[6] A great fleet of French and Flemish vessels appeared off the coast to co-operate with him,[7] whilst Philip was using both force and fraud to gain a strong hold on Normandy. But the archbishop of Rouen was equal to the occasion; he gladly showed that there was no complicity between himself and John, and all the divided parties flocked to his standard. By a hasty call of the whole population capable of bearing arms, he pre-

Longchamp visits Richard.

John in rebellion.

His friends and allies.

Resistance of the archbishop of Rouen.

[1] Hoveden, iii. 197. On Savaric, see Epp. Cantuar., pref., pp. lxxxvii. &c.

[2] Hoveden, iii. 198.

[3] Hoveden, iii. 209. Gir. Camb., V. Galfr., 403. W. Newb., iv. 33, p. 97.

[4] Hoveden, iii. 204. W. Newb., iv. 33, p. 98.

[5] Gervase, 1582.

[6] Hoveden, iii. 206.

[7] Gervase, 1581. Hoveden, iii. 205.

Capture of John's castles.

pared to defend the coast,[1] and utterly defeated the design of invasion. Wallingford, Windsor, and the castle of the Peak fell before the justices.[2] Archbishop Geoffrey and bishop Hugh laid aside their spiritual weapons and joined to besiege Tickhill.[3] But it was not the purpose of the government to reduce to extremity one who might any day become king. The news of Richard was too uncertain; and, much against the will of the barons, Eleanor persuaded the justiciar to conclude a truce with John from May to November.[4]

Measures for securing Richard's release.

By this measure time and peace were gained for the compassing of the king's redemption. This had been, of course, the earliest thought in the archbishop's mind. Before John had begun hostilities, he had called a council of bishops and barons to Oxford for the 28th of February,[5] whilst Savaric was on his way to the imperial court, and before it was actually known that Henry VI. would require a ransom. What was done at this assembly we are not told; probably the difficulties occasioned by John's behaviour may have prevented its being held, or anything else of the kind being contemplated before the arrival of the ministers who had been in communication with the king. On the 20th of April

Return of Hubert Walter.

Hubert Walter landed with authentic news,[6] and it was his mediating influence, probably, that induced the contending parties to make the six months' truce. A few days later, arrived a letter from the king, dated April 19th, stating that the sum of 70,000 marks was required for his liberation.[7] To raise this the justices demanded an aid of a fourth part of all revenue, lay and clerical, with an equal sum to be levied on personal property, and a

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[1] Gervase, 1581.

[2] Hoveden, iii. 207, 208. Gervase, 1582. W. Newb., iv. 34, p. 100.

[3] Hoveden, iii. 206, 207.

[4] Gervase, 1582.

[5] Hoveden, iii. 197.

[6] Gervase, 1582.

[7] Hoveden, iii. 209. W. Newb., iv. 38, p. 109.

scutage of 20 shillings on the knight's fee: all the wool of the Gilbertines and the gold and silver of the churches.[1] Whilst this was in process of collection, for no time was lost about it, arrived the golden bull of the emperor, brought by William Longchamp and delivered by him to the queen and justiciar at S. Alban's.[2]

Money raised for the ransom.

Notwithstanding his high credentials and the assurance given by the king's letter that he still possessed his confidence, his very approach revived all the angry feelings of the barons. Before landing he had been obliged to swear that he would attempt to transact no business but that of the king's release. During his stay in London he had, however, ordered the seizure of some houses belonging to the bishop of Coventry, who was in open rebellion, and this produced such an outcry against him on the part of the citizens that the interview between him and the court could not be held in the capital.[3] At S. Alban's he was not more welcome. "I come," he said, "not as a justice, not as chancellor, not as legate, "simply as bishop and the king's messenger."[4] But the chief justiciar refused him the kiss of peace; when he demanded the hostages, as he was specially accredited to do, the queen refused to entrust to him her grandson William of Winchester,[5] and the principal nobles declined to put their children in his power. Intensely chagrined, he contented himself with declaring the king's message and summoning the barons whose presence was required byR ichard in Germany.[6]

Arrival of Longchamp as the king's envoy.

His behaviour in London.

His treatment at S. Alban's.

He retires in disgust.

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[1] Hoveden, iii. 210.

[2] Gir. Camb., V. Galfr., 403. Hoveden, iii. 211, 212.

[3] Gir. Camb., 403.

[4] Hoveden, iii. 212. Longchamp seems to have been fond of distinguishing his own several capacities. We may compare his speech when he arrested Hugh de Puiset, as given by Richard of Devizes, "ego te "capio, non præsul præsulem, sed "cancellarius cancellarium." R. Dev.. 13.

[5] Son of Henry the Lion. Gir. Camb., 403.

[6] Hoveden, iii. 212.

Longchamp recalled by Richard.

Richard had empowered his chancellor to undertake this task, probably as a demonstration of his own confidence in him, but he was not inclined to risk anything more; and fearing that his conduct might offend the barons, summoned him hastily to his side again. He was present with him at Worms on the 29th of June,[1] and a few days after negotiated a truce with Philip at Mantes, July 9.[2] A meeting had been arranged between Philip and Henry for June 24, at Vaucouleurs, the usual trysting place for the emperors and kings of France,[3] but many circumstances happened to prevent it, and this truce, which was observed no better than the engagement to meet, was probably a substitute for it.

He negotiates peace with Philip.

Hubert Walter and others appointed to collect the ransom.

In the meantime Hubert Walter had, on the 30th of May, been elected archbishop of Canterbury,[4] and to him, the bishop of London the treasurer, and the mayor Henry FitzAylwin, with William of Arundel and Hamelin of Warren,[5]—two men who had never wavered in their support of the chancellor,—the care of the money to be raised for the ransom was committed. The date of the assembly at S. Alban's cannot be fixed, but it was probably early in June. In the treaty of Worms, at the end of the same month, the emperor raised his terms. The sum required was now more than doubled; 150,000 marks were to be paid, of which 20,000 were to be the share of duke Leopold.[6] A new budget was, therefore, necessary, but 100,000 marks being paid and hostages given, the arrangement of the new taxes was left until the king's arrival. Under the skilful hand of Hubert Walter everything was now concluded with facility; the autumn was devoted to the collection of the subsidies.[7] John was away in France, whither he

Ransom raised to 150,000 marks.

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[1] Hoveden, iii. 215.
[2] Hoveden, iii. 217.
[3] Hoveden, iii. 212.
[4] Gervase, 1584.
[5] Hoveden, iii. 212.
[6] Hoveden, iii. 215, 216.
[7] Hoveden, iii. 225.

Turn of affairs in Longchamp's favour.

had gone again as soon as he had heard from Philip that the "devil was unloosed."[1] Philip himself was busy with his matrimonial difficulties. The chancellor was in attendance on his master, who had, moreover, summoned to him most of the other uneasy spirits, the ambitious and officious Savaric, and even Hugh of Nunant among the number.[2] The hopes of Longchamp's party began to revive; his brother Henry was released from prison,[3] and by a zealous attempt at poetic justice, Matthew de Cleres ventured to arrest and imprison the bishop of Coventry on his way to the continent with bags crammed with peace-offerings for Richard.[4] The process of excommunication had to be resorted to again to obtain his release.

He negotiates between Richard and John.

The negotiations between Richard and John were carried on, strange to say, through the chancellor,[5] who seems to have done his best to effect a reconciliation. John was prevailed upon to swear fealty to his brother, but the arrangement was defeated by the barons of Normandy, who refused to give up the castles of his honours in that province, and he returned in disgust to Philip to plot with him the longer detention of the king.[6] Before the end of the year Richard summoned his mother, the justiciar, and the chancellor to Mentz, and as the absence of the justiciar from England practically vacated his office, he nominated the archbishop of Canterbury in his place.[7] Hubert had indeed been at the head of the government since his return in April; he maintained the royal authority until the king's return against the frantic opposition of John's supporters, and

Hubert Walter made chief justiciar.

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[1] Hoveden, iii. 216.

[2] Hoveden, iii. 226.

[3] Rot. Pip., 5 Ric. I.:—"Henricus "de Longocampo reddit computum "de anno tertio Regis Ricardi, qui "dilatus fuit propter captionem."

[4] R. Diceto, 671. Gir. Camb., 404.

[5] Hoveden, iii. 227.

[6] Hoveden, iii. 228.

[7] R. Diceto, 671. Hoveden, iii. 226.

End of the administration of Walter of Coutances.

had recovered all the castles except Nottingham and Tickhill before Richard's arrival.

Here, however, the administration of Walter of Coutances, and the period of political and personal strife end. The interest of the remainder of the reign is constitutional rather than political, and I shall attempt in the preface to the fourth volume of this chronicle to give a brief survey of it. At present it may not be uninteresting to state the later fortunes of some of the actors who appear no more after the conclusion of the period.

Later history of Hugh de Puiset.

Hugh de Puiset, after the capture of Tickhill, presented himself to Richard at Nottingham, and was received with great show of affection.[1] A few days later he attended the royal council at Nottingham, and after quarrelling at Selston with the king of Scots about lodgings,—a thing which he had done once before with Henry II.,—he drew down on himself a sharp rebuke from Richard.[2] Partly in consequence of the king's coolness he surrendered the county of Northumberland.[3] Scarcely, however, had he done this when he repented, and offered the king, as soon as he had gone to Normandy, two thousand marks for its restoration. When Hugh Bardulf demanded possession, the bishop declined to surrender until he had his answer from Richard. Hugh Bardulf having consulted the king, took possession of the county and exacted, moreover, the 2,000 marks as well as the surrender of the manor of Sadberge.[4] In September we find him at York annulling the archbishop's sentence against the canons.[5] On Ash Wednesday, 1195, he was there again, confirming the sentence passed by the dean against Geoffrey's party.[6] This was his last public act. On leaving York he fell ill at Crayke,[7] but persevered in riding on to Doncaster; from

[1] Hoveden, iii. 239.

[2] V. S. Godrici, p. 178. Hoveden, iii. 246.

[3] Hoveden, iii. 249.

[4] Hoveden, iii. 261.

[5] Hoveden, iii. 272, 273.

[6] Hoveden, iii. 284.

[7] W. Newb., v. 310, p. 145.

Doncaster he was taken in a boat to Howden, where, on the 3rd of March, he closed his uneasy although magnificent career.[1] His son Henry survived him several years. He was in difficulties in 1198.[2] In 1201 he went, as so many of his forefathers had done, to Palestine,[3] but, unlike them, he lived to return. He died in or before 1212, and as his estates escheated to the crown, we may conclude that he left no issue.[4]

Death of Hugh de Puiset.

Fortunes of his son.

Hugh of Nunant despaired, as he well might, of Richard's clemency; not only was he known to be in the secret of all John's schemes, but his brother Robert had actually been the emissary who proposed the continuance of the king's imprisonment and refused to be a hostage for him on the ground of his being John's liegeman.[5] One of Richard's first acts after his liberation was to arrest Robert and order Hugh to stand his trial in the clerical as well as in the secular courts, as bishop as well as sheriff. In the council of Nottingham he failed to appear, and was summoned again on the 31st of March 1194.[6] The suit of the monks against him was being prosecuted in the Curia regis. He was allowed by the king to purchase his pardon and restoration for 5,000 marks,[7] in March 1195; but Robert was still imprisoned, under the careful superintendence of the lady Richenda at Dover, where he died.[8] The bishop sinks into obscurity from henceforth; although his suit with the monks lasted his life, it is uncertain whether he ever returned to England. He seems to have hung about the court until his death. In February 1198, archbishop Hubert restored the monks of Coventry, and

Later history of Hugh of Nunant.

[1] Hoveden, iii. 284. W. Newb., p. 146.

[2] Maddox, *Hist. Exch.*, p. 366.

[3] Pat., 3 John, p. 3:—"Concessi-"mus quod Henricus de Puteaco "qui crusiatus est possit invadiare "quas voluerit terrarum suarum."

[4] Cart., 5 John, p. 126. He has a confirmation of the manor of Witton from the king in 1204.

[5] Rot. Claus. 14 John, p. 124.

[6] Hoveden, iii. 233.

[7] Hoveden, iii. 241, 242.

[8] Hoveden, iii. 287.

His death.

in March bishop Hugh died at Bec Hellouin, condemning himself to purgatory until doomsday.

Richard's treatment of Longchamp's enemies.

Of Longchamp's other opponents it is satisfactory to find that they were treated by Richard exactly as his minister had intended, and this, perhaps, shows that the king had exercised over his movements a closer supervision than was suspected. The bishop of Winchester was, after the council of Nottingham, disseized of his castle and county, and lost with them a large part of his inheritance.[1] Gerard Camville was deprived at the same time of Lincoln castle and county, and put on his defence for the charges brought against him by the chancellor. He recovered the king's favour for 2,000 marks, and on John's accession became a greater man than ever.[2] His wife Nicolaa stood also so high in John's estimation that on her husband's death she was appointed sheriff or custos of Lincolnshire in 1216.[3] The Yorkshire knights also had to raise much larger sums than they expected, to recover the king's goodwill.[4]

Fate of Stephen Longchamp.

The fates of the several members of the Longchamp family were various. Stephen, the steward of Normandy, the friend and companion of Richard, survived his master, and on the loss of Normandy by John, after some attempts to maintain his possessions in both countries, went over to Philip.[5] He was slain fighting for Philip at the battle of Bouvines.[6] Henry, the sheriff of Herefordshire, after his release from prison, appears

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1 Hoveden, iii. 246.

2 Hoveden, iii. 242.

3 Rot. Pat., 18 John, p. 199.

4 Rot. Pip., 6 Rich. I., see above. The citizens of York had to pay 200 marks to prove their joy at the king's return. "Cives "Eboracenses r. c. de cc. marcis "de dono suo pro gaudio adventus "domini regis de Alemannia." Rot. Pip., 6 Ric. I.

5 Stapleton, *Norman Rolls*, ii. cxv.

6 Rigord, ed. Pithou, 217; he is there called "miles probus et fidei "integræ," p. 219. Fighting, besides him, was William des Barres, Richard's companion in the crusade: "Willelmus Barrensis flos "militum."

as sheriff of Worcestershire from 1195 to 1198; but after the death of the chancellor both he and his sons seem to have fallen under the king's displeasure.[1] The last we hear certainly of him is during the fourth crusade. He had placed his estates, before his departure, in the king's keeping,[2] and is mentioned by Villehardouin[3] as joining the Flemish knights who passed through Piacenza and took the route of Apulia, instead of starting from Venice. He died in 1204,[4] and the next year the king confirmed the gift of the castle of Wilton to another Henry the son of Hugh;[5] of his two sons, William, the husband of the heiress of Croun, died before him. Osbert, after being sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1194, was, with his brother, in disgrace in 1198,[6] and no more is heard of him, except in private charters, until his death in 1207, when his wife Avellina paid a fine not to be compelled to marry again, and for the wardship of his heirs.[7] His family continued in Kent until

Henry Longchamp.

His sons.

Osbert Longchamp

[1] Rot. Pip., 9 Rich. I. Dugdale's Baronage, 594.

[2] Rot. Pat., 4 John, p. 11.

[3] Villehardouin (ed. Du Cange), p. 21.

[4] On the 23rd of March 1204, Matilda, his widow, had from the king an allowance of 10*l.* out of the manor of Wilton. Rot. de Liberate, pp. 84, 106.

[5] Rot. Cart., 6 John, p 146. The charter especially names the grantee of Wilton, Henry the son of Hugh. We may ask how it was that Henry's own sons did not succeed him. In answer, I can only suggest either that he himself held Wilton only as guardian of his nephew, or that his sons if he had any surviving, had lost their title by joining Philip, as their uncle Stephen had done. His daughter-in-law Petronilla had claims of dower on the Wilton estate, which seems to prove to a certainty that he himself had held it. William his son was dead in 1203. Rot. Pat. 37. Madox, Hist. Exch., p. 68.

[6] In the 3rd of John, Gilbert FitzRainfrai was in trouble, "quia "ivit in foresta cum Osberto de Longocampo." Rot. Canc., 3 John, p. 119, 218. Rot. Pip., 10 Rich. I., Kent. "Osbertus de Longocampo "reddit compotum pro habenda "gratia regis et saisina omnium "terrarum et catallorum de quibus "dissaisitus fuit per præceptum "regis secundum judicium curiæ "regis, si quis cum eo inde loqui "voluerit, sed respondit infra partes "Herefordiæ in Wallia."

[7] Rot. Pip., 9, 10 John. Walter Tiwe had bought the marriage for 400 marks; Avellina bid 500 and was relieved from the obligation to marry him.

Robert Longchamp.

the end of the century.[1] Robert, the monk of Caen, whom the chancellor made prior of Ely, and to whom the king, after his death, in grateful remembrance gave the abbey of S. Mary at York, survived until 1239. A nephew named Geoffrey, son of Hugh and brother of the lord of Wilton was amongst the barons who compelled John to grant the charter.[2] The lord of Wilton died in 1212,[3] and his grand-daughter brought the castle of the Longchamps into the house of Grey.[4]

Geoffrey Longchamp.

Later years of the chancellor.

The chancellor seems to have retained or regained Richard's full confidence and kept his office until his death. During the few years that succeeded Richard's return, he was in constant attendance upon him. Richard had reconciled him with his most formidable enemies before they quitted England, and it is probable that he never returned to the country where he had suffered so much. Anyhow, he passes away entirely from English history. He died at Poictiers in 1196,

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[1] Osbert de Longchamp held the manor of Ovenhelle in Kent by serjeanty in the reign of Edward I. Hasted, ii. 129. And his name occurs in the parliamentary writs, vol. i.

[2] This Geoffrey was the husband of Isabella, daughter of Henry de Mineriis of Westbury in Gloucestershire, Rot. Claus. 345. His estate was at Eston. He was with John's enemies in 1216 (Rot. Claus. 279.) His land was of the fee of Walter de Lacy (Rot. Claus. 241).

[3] He married Maud, the sister of William Cantelupe, who had the wardship of the heirs. He was with John's army in Ireland in 1210. Rot. Liberate, anno 12 Joh.

[4] To make an end of the Longchamps. The identity of the family with that of Wilton, I have I think established in the notes. It would be a most extraordinary thing if Herefordshire contained two families of exactly the same names and both holding lands under the Lacies. It is of Hugh de Lacy that Hugh de Longchamp held Wilton in 1168; from Walter de Lacy that Stephen held Frome Herbert, and Geoffrey his land at Kempley; and in close connexion with them he was a benefactor of Acornbury. (8th Report of Dep. Keeper, App. ii., pp. 136, 137.) Again, Hugh, the nephew of William the chancellor is closely connected with the Watervilles and Dives. (Eyton, Shropshire, ix. 77.) This Hugh was son of Henry. Rot. Fin., 6 John; and brother therefore of William; both of them had lands in Lincolnshire. Hugh married Georgia, daughter of Henry de Columbariis, Rot. Pip., 3 John.

whilst on a journey to Rome to defend the king against the archbishop of Rouen. At Poictiers he was not unpopular, if we may believe that the cross of S. Martial wept a flood of tears at the moment of his death. He was buried in the abbey of Saint Mary du Pin, whose abbot Miles had been his fellow courtier for many years.[1]

His death in 1196.

The restless career of Geoffrey of York cannot be here even entered on. The process by which he was being developed from his early quarrelsome violence into the character of a defender of constitutional liberties must have been now advancing, but its ripening belongs to the age of John.

Geoffrey of York.

Walter of Coutances remains. He also, as he advanced in years, sank the character of a statesman in that of an ecclesiastic. In 1196 he had a terrible quarrel with Richard and laid Normandy under an interdict, which the king bought off by an exchange of lands, giving for the land at Andely on which his Château Gaillard was built, an estate which suited the archbishop better. Walter of Coutances acquiesced readily in the transfer of allegiance to Philip, and died the "pater "patriæ" in 1207.

Walter of Coutances.

[1] Hoveden. Itin. R. R. pref. xxxiii, xxxiv.

APPENDICES TO THE PREFACE.

APPENDIX I.

Monachus Florentinus de Expugnatione civitatis Acconensis.

The following poem was first printed by John Basil Herold, in the Appendix to his Continuation of William of Tyre, at Basel, in 1549; it was reprinted in the same connexion in 1564. The text was derived from a MS. in the Hieronymite Library at Dôle. It was reprinted in 1866 by M. P. E. D. Riant at Lyons, with collations from the Oriel MS. II., and a MS. belonging formerly to the Church of St. Michael, Bamberg, and now to the Royal Library there; of these the Oriel MS. contains a fragment only; the Bamberg MS. is also incomplete. Herold's text, therefore, is still the only perfect one. Editions of the poem.

The author, whose name is known only from Herold's copy, was Monachus, a Florentine, who is there called bishop of Acre, but who appears really to have been archbishop of Cæsarea from 1181 to 1192, and patriarch of Jerusalem from that year to 1202. M. Riant has identified him with a person named *Heimer* or *Haymarus*, who is mentioned in a various reading of one of the MSS. of the *Chronique d'Outremer; Recueil des Historiens des Croisades II.*, p. 242, note; and gives him as his full literary title the name of "Haymarus Monachus de Florentia, archiepiscopus "Cæsariensis, postea patriarcha Hierosolymitanus." As, however, whenever his attestation to charters is found, it appears as "Monachus" only, I cannot think that this addition of the name of "Haymarus" can be regarded as certainly right. Monachus appears as a Christian name in many Florentine families; and our author seems to be the person mentioned in an account of the Translation of the Arm of S. Philip (AA. SS. Boll. May; I. 15–17), as a Florentine who was made chancellor of the Holy Sepulchre by the patriarch Amalric. But notwithstanding the learned and elaborate investigations of the last editor, a good deal of uncertainty prevails about him. The poem is an in- Authorship. Monachus of Florence.

Text of this edition.

valuable commentary on the portions of the Itinerarium, and of the chronicles of Roger Hoveden and Benedict, with which it corresponds. The text of the following edition is mainly that of Herold, and not that of the Bamberg MS. which M. Riant preferred; I have, however, where there was a clear case of error, placed the sound reading in the text. The various readings are only a selection from the other texts.

Monachi Florentini Acconensis Episcopi de recuperatione Ptolemaidæ Liber.

A.D. 1187. Saladin invades Syria.

Dum Romanus pontifex præsidet[1] Veronæ
Urbanus memoriæ atque famæ bonæ,
Saladinus impius absque ratione
Occupavit Syriam fera ditione.

Capture of Tiberias.

Urbe Tyberiade armis subjugata,[2]
Cætera sunt mœnia sibi sponte data;
Non est opus lancea, non est opus spata,
Sic ei subveniunt cum fortuna fata.

Tripoli and Tyre hold out.

Urbe tamen Tripolis non fuit potitus,
Nec quibusdam aliis secus[3] maris litus,
Nam defendit[4] Marchio jussu Dei citus
Urbem Tyri, veluti conjugem maritus.

Capture of Ascalon, and surrender of Jerusalem.

Expugnavit postea urbem Ascalonem,[5]
Donec eam compulit ad deditionem.
Incolis Jerusalem dat conditionem,
Ut dent censum propriam in redemptionem.

Ad Sepulcrum vetuit[6] ire Christianis,
Sanctam ac vivificam Crucem dat paganis,
Dumque miscet improbus sacra sic profanis,
Ecce! nos aspicimus, sanctum lambit canis.

---

[1] *præsidet*] degeret, R. This date is strictly correct. Urban III. was at Verona at the time of Saladin's invasion of Palestine. Before he took Jerusalem the Pope had removed to Ferrara.

[2] *subjugata*] expugnata, R. The various readings marked *H.* are from Herold, those marked *R.* from Riant.

[3] *secus*] juxta, R.

[4] *defendit*] tutavit, R.

[5] *Ascalonem*] The poet is right, in placing the capture of Ascalon before that of Jerusalem; and so helps, in common with the *Itinerarium* and the *Chronicon Terræ Sanctæ*, to correct the statement of Benedict i., 331; ii. 11, 12, 14, 15 193; and Hoveden, ii. 321. The date is further fixed by the Itinerarium by reference to an eclipse of the sun which took place on the 4th September, the day of capture.

[2] *vetuit*] nocuit, H.

A.D. 1187.

Quomodo fama veniente ad Occidentem reges alii sumpserunt crucem.

News of the capture.

Fama volans petiit fines[1] Occidentis,
Universos animans Christianæ gentis,
Ad succursum properent ut Omnipotentis,
Qui Solus præcipere mari scit et ventis.

The kings of France and England,

In primis rex Franciæ atque rex Anglorum
Crucis venerabile signum et decorum
Suis figunt humeris; dilatatus quorum
Succursus,[2] dum nimium servant domi torum.

and the emperor, join the crusade.

Fredericus inclytus princeps Romanorum,
Triumphator bellicus,[3] victor præliorum,
Habito consilio, per regnum Græcorum
Ad strages accelerat hostium dirorum.

Cum eodem properant bellatorum flores,
Certatim accelerant viri bellatores,
Vulgus cum proceribus, cum magnis minores,
Terra, mari, resonant crucis portitores.

De exilio domini Adelardi Veronensis episcopi Sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ Romanæ Cardinalis.

The bishop of Verona, and his companions.

Cardinalis presbyter, pontifex Veronæ,
Adelardus,[4] opere clarus et sermone,
Exulat tunc temporis, hac intentione
Ut pugnare doceat nos pro ratione.

Fert summi pontificis hic legationem,
Ut hortetur[5] viros ad transfretationem;
Sed ut ejus melius capiant sermonem,
Ipse crucem suscipit, currens ad agonem.

Comitantur præsulem multi boni viri
Strenui militia, probitate miri,
Non oportet nomina quorum hic inquiri,
Quod cum eo venerint tamen potest sciri.

---

[1] *petiit fines*] venit ad partes, R.

[2] *dilatatus quorum succursus*] sed succursus horum tardus est, R.

[3] *bellicus*] habitus, H.

[4] *Adelardus*]. He is mentioned by Benedict as taking part in the purification of the churches after the capture of Acre, Ben. ii., 180; Hoveden, iii., 122; and in the Itinerarium in one or two places.

[5] *hortetur*] arceat, H.

A.D. 1189.

Siege of Acre.

Pontum a Venetiis navibus sulcantes,
Et die tricesimo Tyrum applicantes,
Christianos Accaron mœnia vallantes
Vallatos accepimus sese vix tutantes.

Quomodo Guido Rex Hierosolimitanus venit ad obsidionem Acconis.

Arrival of King Guy at Acre.

Postquam enim venit rex de captivitate,
Non est usus postea Tyri civitate,
Inter eum lites sunt et Cunradum natæ,
Quas Pisani[1] frustra flent, pulsi civitate.

Cum quibus et aliis universis fere
Peregrinis venit rex Accon obsidere,
Sed a tergo tertia die[2] gemuere
Saladinum acrius eis imminere.

Quomodo Saladinus expugnavit regem Frisonibus sustinentibus agonem.

The Frisians arrive.

Quos instanter dimicans pellit in Turonem:
Sneccis vecti Fresones[3] sustinent agonem,
Quos stella deduxerat in simul Acconem,
Magis quæ monstraverat Judæ regionem.

James of Avesnes.

Hi sulcatis fluctibus æquoris Hispani
Ad urbem acephali venerant Messani;[4]
Ubi ducem statuunt, sicut viri sani,
De Avienis Jacobum,[5] licet essent Dani.

Quomodo nostri mittunt pro Marchione ut succurrat eis.

Conrad of Montferrat summoned.

Cum nostrorum paucitas nequit ultra pati
Tot incursus hostium, nobiles legati
Tyrum missi protenus se committunt rati,
Ut succurrat Marchio Christianitati.[6]

Quomodo cum Marchione ivimus Acconem, et de prœlio magno quod commisimus ibi.

He joins in the siege.

Sine mora Marchio jubet præparari
Cuncta necessaria, naves onerari;
Et quia non poterat terra, venit mari,
Fluctibus ut Boream vidit dominari.

---

[1] *Pisani*]. See Itin. p. 61.

[2] *tertia die*] "die tertia postquam "venerant." Itin. 63.

[3] Itin., p. 65. Benedict, ii. 95. Hoveden, iii. 21.

[4] *Messani*] Melani, H. The verse is wanting in the Bamberg MS.

[5] James of Avesnes is mentioned in the same connexion in the *Itinerarium*, p. 65. Benedict, ii. 94.

[6] Itin., p. 68.

A.D. 1189. September. Arrival of Conrad.

Nos cum eo venimus,[1] gratanter recepti
Ab his qui tunc fuerant ibidem collecti;
Nostri licet undique forent circumsepti
Ad pugnam communiter tamen sunt erecti.

Disappointment of the crusaders.

Ergo diem[2] statuunt certam, qua pugnarent,
Cumque Turcos eminus a castris fugarent,
Congregati protenus hi post terga parent,
Nostrique victoria quam sperabant carent.

Defeat.

Milites Templarii Turcis restiterunt,
Et ex illis[3] plurimi mortui fuerunt,
Nostri fugam turpiter ad castra dederunt,
Sed qui pigri fuerant ibi remanserunt.

Inter dies funebres sit hæc execrata
Maledicta dies hæc, maledicta fata,
In hac die nobis sunt quæ sic adversata,
Sed credo quod accidit ob nostra peccata.

Quando vallavimus nos fossatis, Saladinus ante diem nos invasit.

Trenches made round the camp.

Habito consilio fecimus fossata[4]
Ab utroque littore circumoccupata;
Saladinus valida manu roborata
Nos invasit antea quam lux esset nata.

Sed nil ei profuit, nosque læsit parum
Immo sibi contigit quod fuit amarum,
Unde tristis rediit plenus et irarum,
Sed de suo reditu nobis fuit carum.

De instrumentis paratis et viis subterraneis ad capiendam civitatem.

Engines and mines.

Nostri turres ligneas facere cœpere,
Cattos et arietes fieri jussere,
Machinas, testudines, erigi fecere,
Vias subterraneas quidam effodere.

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[1] Sept. 24. R. Diceto, 648.

[2] *diem*] Oct. 4. R. Diceto, 648; Bohadin, *V. Saladini*, 113.

[3] *ex illis*] illorum, R. It was on this occasion that Gerard of Rideford, the master of the Temple, fell. Itin., p. 70.

[4] Itin., p. 73. Benedict, ii. 96. Hoveden, iii. 22.

A.D. 1189. October. Jealousies of the barons.

Sed nil hæc nec alia nobis profuerunt,
Inter se dividere dum barones quærunt
Terras, quæ tunc temporis Turci possederunt,
Nec de illis usque tunc quicquam amiserunt.[1]

De Turcis obsidentibus nos die noctuque.

Pertinacity of the Turks.

Semper nos ad foveas Turci perurgebant,
Ventus, nox et pluvia[2] non hos retrahebant;
Nec illi de mœnibus semper dormiebant,
Immo vicem acrius pro vice reddebant.

De Quinquaginta galeis intrantibus civitatem et prohibentibus nobis mare.

Dec. 26. Fifty galleys enter the port,

Die prima Domini post Nativitatem,[3]
Colunt Sancti Stephani qua[4] festivitatem,
Quinquaginta galeæ contra voluntatem
Intraverunt omnium per vim civitatem.

and shut the crusaders off from the sea.

Proh dolor! tunc incipit noster geminari
Labor, et miseria nobis cumulari,
Nam cum ante liberi frueremur mari,
Cum terra jam incipit mare[5] denegari.

Quomodo Turci insultabant nobis convicia cruci inferentes.

Insolence of the Turks.

Si ferire tympana, tubasque sonare
Videres, et vocibus Turcos reboare,
Cum galeas agitant ante nos per mare,
Heu, Heu, Deus! diceres hoc permittis quare?

Milites aspiceres super muros stantes
Turcos sanctam manibus crucem elevantes,
Cum flagellis asperis eam verberantes,
Et cum improperiis nobis minitantes.

Quomodo Marchio vadit Tyrum pro reparandis galeis in tanto periculo.

Conrad returns to Tyre.

Habito consilio, galeam repente
Unam Januensium nocte sub silente
Est ingressus Marchio, vir robustus mente,
Tyrum ut acceleret Africo pellente.[6]

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[1] *amiserunt*] perdiderunt, R.
[2] See Benedict, ii. 96.
[3] The Itinerarium agrees in this date, p. 78.
[4] *qua*] quam, R.
[5] *mare*] aqua, R.
[6] Itin., p. 79.

A.D. 1190.

Energy of Conrad.

Si des mille millies marcas Marchioni
Argenti purissimi, atque valde boni,
Ut tunc ei debeat onus hoc imponi,
Eas certe penderes non uni peponi.

Illum tamen Marchio subire laborem
Non vitavit omnium Patris ob amorem,
Ad totius populi laudem et honorem,
Et culparum illius pœnam mitiorem.

De variis periculis et pestibus accidentibus nostris in exercitu remanentibus.

Hardships of the winter.

Scias in exercitu quod qui remanserunt
Omnes in periculo mortis exstiterunt;
Hyemem sic asperam nam passi fuerunt,
Quod vidisse similem nec antiqui ferunt.

Imbris torrens validus terram inundabat,
Bacchanalis [1] Africus mare perturbabat,
Evulsa tentoria cuncta laniabat
Cum paxillis, funditus vel eradicabat.[2]

Ubi tandem tenebam cum dentibus.

Sufferings of the writer.

Si confratres mei tunc ibi fuissent,
Et tenere dentibus me tandem vidissent,
Horum quidam reputo super me risissent,
Sed eorum plurimi pro me doluissent.

Esse mallet quilibet sine aqua rasus
Quam pati, quot passus sum, tot adversos casus;
Non mihi tunc somnia dictabat Parnasus,
Cum a cibis vacuus jejunat omasus.

Dearness of corn.

Accessit et aliud nobis nocumentum,
Ad pœnarum cumulum et majus augmentum,
Licet portes manibus aurum vel argentum
Hordeum non invenis, carnem aut frumentum.

Nondum vixit aliquis, nec vivit mortalis,
Graviora videret his qui mala malis,
Nam vini vel olei modicum vel salis
Vendebatur carius quam vestis regalis.

---

[1] *Bacchanalis*] Quando furens, R. The special severity of the winters is remarked in the Itinerarium, p. 127.

[2] line omitted in H.

A.D. 1190.
Dearness of meat.

Vidi decem solidos pro gallina dari,[1]
Sed bovinas carnes his feci comparari,
In eodem pondere pretioque pari,
Cum Paulus in azimis jubet epulari.

Qui nummatam voluit carnis coquinare,
De lignis oportuit quinque[2] comparare;
Tres[3] in ovo dederam nummos, quod lixare
Volens, ligni contigit totidem constare.

Si quando contingeret aliquem ægrotum,
Fama licet nominis gloriosi notum,
Tyrum qui secedere tunc haberet votum,
Quod habebat convenit nautis dare totum.

Beans and biscuit the only food.

Delicate vivere domi qui solebat
Ibi fabas ciceram[4] non fastidiebat,
De biscocto sæpius pane sed famebat,
Carnem quoque marcidam avidus edebat.

Qui præsentes aderant poterant videre
Variis languoribus homines tabere,
Sed nec equi pestibus diris caruere;
Pars eorum maxima quare periere.

In diversa studia nostri se scindebant,
Nam eorum plurimi foras exiebant,
Mori bello quoniam quam fame malebant,
Herbam quoque, stipulam, ligna,[5] referebant.

E converso reliqui timentes pugnare,
Rationes visi sunt pro se allegare,
Illis esset tutius quam exire, stare,
Dum Conradum velle se dicunt exspectare.

De reditu Marchionis et reconciliatione cum rege Guidone.

April.
Return of Conrad to Acre.

Præterlapso spatio mensium duorum,[6]
Cum immenso Marchio numero virorum,
Nobis indigentibus apportavit forum,
Ubertatem insuper omnium bonorum.

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[1] The author of the Itinerarium mentions twelve shillings as the price of a fowl, p. 125.

[2] *quinque*] duas, H.

[3] *Tres*]. The Itinerarium mentions sixpence as the price of an egg, p. 125. The scarcity of fuel is mentioned especially by Hoveden, iii. 21.

[4] *ciceram*]. M. Riant's reading is *cætera:* H. has *siceram.* Cf. Itin., 152.

[5] *ligna*] simul, R.

[6] "Cum jam Pascha instaret," Itin., 79.

A.D. 1190. April. Reconciliation of Conrad and Guy.

In adventu fuimus ejusdem lætati,
Nam in urbe postea Turci sunt serati,
Sunt amici Marchio rexque copulati,
Ad pugnandum quoque nos sumus animati.[1]

Quomodo castella trahuntur ad civitatem.

New engines brought against the city.

Castella vehiculis ad urbem trahuntur,
Machinarum ictibus muri colliduntur;
Civitatis incolæ mortui sternuntur,
Et de nostris simile plures patiuntur.

Heu heu! variabilis nimis est fortuna,
Cum videtur stabilis, hora ter in una
Permutatur levius[2] quam in orbe luna,[3]
Et relinquit hominem in fervente pruna.

They are burnt by the besieged.

Dum speramus etenim urbi dominari,
Fortuna mutabilis[4] cœpit variari;
Ignem[5] ecce cernimus machinis jactari
Super ædificia cunctaque cremari.

Lamentantur milites, plangunt servientes,
Et suspirant pedites præ dolore flentes,
Sed barones laniant barbam evellentes,[6]
Heu heu! cuncti clamitant pectora tundentes.

De tribus maximis prœliis factis in Ascensione et Pentecoste, et Sabbato post Pentecosten.

Battle on Whit Sunday May 13.

Ad hoc in sanctissimo die Pentecostes
Nos ab omni latere circumdabant hostes;
Nitentes irrumpere fovearum postes;
Nec est locus vacuus a sagittis, quo stes.

Also on May 3, and May 19.

Idem nobis fecerant in Ascensione,[7]
Nec non post in Sabbato,[8] et tunc in agone
Pugnarunt viriliter homines Veronæ
Memores Ferrariæ tali die pronæ.

---

[1] *ad pugnandum animati*]. Et pugnare cuncti nos sumus relevati, R.

[2] *levius*] sæpius, R.

[3] *in fervente*] subardente, R.

[4] *Fortuna mutabilis*] Res permisso Domini, R. The reading of the text seems to agree best with the tone of the poem.

[5] The mention of Greek fire is introduced on this occasion in the Itinerarium, p. 81.

[6] *barbam evellentes*] capillos vellentes, R.

[7] Bohadin mentions this attack, or rather gives the date Friday, May 4, as a fixed point in a series of attacks, p. 115.

[8] Itin., p. 87; meaning the Saturday after Whitsunday.

A.D. 1190. June 14. The Turks relieve the city.

Quomodo Turcis cum galeis intrantibus civitatem nostri nequiverunt resistere.

Dum fortuna terimur nimium agresti,
Martyrum vigilia Viti et Modesti,[1]
Turci truces nimium nobis et infesti
Intrant urbem navibus, unde sumus mœsti.

Armis, victualibus muniti venerunt,
Nostri quibus obviam classibus iverunt,
Sed eis resistere dum non potuerunt,
Utrobique mutuo damnum pertulerunt.

De duobus insultibus factis super galeas nostras ubi duas galeas eorum cepimus nec postea ausi fuerunt exire.

July 1. Sally of the Turks from the Tower of Flies.

Summo mane Julii die kalendarum,
Et in quadam alia præcedente parum,
Cum immensa copia Turci galearum
Longe foras exeunt a turre Muscarum.

Super nostros acrius faciunt insultum
Jacientes in eos ignem in occultum,
Sed hoc aliquantulum obfuit nec multum,
Verum non diutius stetit hoc inultum.

They lose two galleys.

Duas enim galeas nostri sunt lucrati,
In quibus sunt plurimi Turci trucidati,
Unde sic sunt reliqui tamque perturbati,
Quod exire taliter post hoc non sunt rati.

Quomodo veros rumores de Imperatore audivimus et quomodo per Ungariam et Bulgariam intrans Græciam depopulatus est.

News of the Emperor Frederick.

In eodem tempore[2] nuncii venere,
De Romano principe vera qui dixere,
De quo quia contigit sermonem habere,
Prælibandum arbitror quod hi retulere.

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[1] The eve of S. Vitus and Modestus falls on the 14th June. The struggle is placed by Bohadin on the 9th of the former Sjumada; the 15th of June: p. 118. The Itinerarium mentions the fact without a date, p. 88.

[2] *In eodem tempore*] The report of the fate of Frederick Barbarossa reached Saladin at the same time; (Bohadin, 119) he perished on the 10th of June.

A.D. 1190. July. His march through Hungary, Bulgaria, And the Greek empire. (A.D. 1189.)

Ergo postquam inclytus princeps Romanorum
Intravit monarchiam regis Ungarorum,
Ubertatum omnium dat rex ei forum,
Donec eum ducit ad terram Bulgarorum.

Per quam passus plurimas est adversitates,
Bulgarorum varias ob dolositates,
Ad Græcorum pervenit donec civitates,
Ubi Græci comperit regis simultates.

Eum nam deceperat Græcus imperator,
Pacti quod promiserat factus depravator,
Nam sibi promiserat quod esset tutator
Ejus, et commercii fidus venundator.

Treachery of the Greek emperor.

Propter hoc exercitus noster expugnator
Regni sui factus est, atque spoliator,
Et cunctarum mercium[1] sævus[2] deprædator,
Insuper et hominum ferus trucidator.

Frederick winters in Greece.

Ut vacare plenius possit ultioni,
Et punitis incolis instet regioni,
Suæ Cæsar providens expeditioni
Hyemandum ibidem indicat tyroni.

Cæsaris moram nobis hic disce dolosam.

This delay was ruinous to the crusade.

Moram importunitas temporis et mensis
Suadebat, et copia se diffundens mensis,
Quod totum exercitus luit Acconensis,
Quem sagitta sauciat, quem castigat ensis.

He leaves winter-quarters about Easter (A.D. 1190.)

Tandem circa Domini Resurrectionem[3]
Talem Cæsar recipit compositionem,
Ut dent Græci naves ad transfretationem.
Festinantes Græculi complent jussionem.

Quomodo Soldanus Iconii voluit eum prodere sibi datis obsidibus.

Treachery of the Sultan of Iconium.

Dum sancti Georgii brachium transisset
Cæsar, atque fidei obsides cepisset
A Soldano, proditus ab eo fuisset,
Ni Divina gratia eum præcessisset.

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[1] *mercium sævus*] gentium ferus, R.

[2] *ferus*] dirus, R.

[3] "Jam instante Pascha." Itin., 47.

A.D. 1190. The Sultan attacks the emperor's army.

Dum enim Iconium tuti properarent,
Assistebant undique Turci, qui vetarent
Omnia commercia, hosque trucidarent,
Vel a longo[1] potius eos sagittarent.

Circumseptis taliter viris Christianis,
Hac illac volantibus Turcis et paganis,
Elapsis ex integro tribus septimanis
Major pars exercitus nil comedit panis.

Quomodo expugnaverunt Iconium.

Order of the march of the crusaders.

Cæsar exercitui retro providebat,[2]
Sed illius filius ante præcedebat,
Quo duce Suevia inclyta gaudebat,
Hic primas incolumis acies agebat.

Iconium taken.

Cujus ad insignia nostri cohortantur,
Dissipati cunei hostium fugantur,
Dux intrat Iconium, omnes comitantur,
Superatis hostibus urbi dominantur.

The Sultan submits.

Soldanus resistere cernens esse durum,
Cum thesauris oppidum fugit in securum,
Et spondet commercia cunctis se daturum,
Dum Augustum videat inde recessurum.

Quomodo in Armenia mortuus est imperator in Salefico flumine.

Frederick enters Armenia.

Abhinc in Armeniam transiit amœnam,
Ubertatem reperit quam cunctarum plenam,
Nam de fonte divite trahit ipsa venam,
Hæc frumentum sibi dat et equis avenam.

Quid profuit imperatori quod vitaverit mare.

He perishes in the Salef (June 10.)

Vitæ tamen illius hoc dolos paravit,
Dum in parvo gurgite hunc solum necavit;
Dic mihi quid profuit quod mare vitavit,
Ab aquis Salefici dum non sibi cavit.

Dictus est Saleficus, quia factus sale,
Dicatur maleficus quia fidus male,
Salum maris timuit quasi sit mortale,
In salo Salefici solum dicit vale.

---

[1] *a longo*] eminus, H.

[2] "prima duci Sueviæ, postrema imperatori, media summariis." Itin., 49.

(A.D. 1190.) June. Lamentation over him.

O dico fallacia cum fortuna fata!
In Romano principe nimis debacchata,
Quem non possunt sternere lancea vel spata,
Morte cita rapiunt et inopinata.

O fata sententiam vestram permutate,
In Romano principe secus judicate,
Ab aquis Salefici illæsum servate,
Et hunc armis potius quam aquis necate.

Romanorum principi et imperatori
Ampliori[1] longius cederet honori,
Rutilante sanguine quam in aquis mori,
Suis nec principibus hoc esset terrori.

Nam ut verum fatear quod mihi dixere
Qui secum tunc temporis ibidem fuere,
Universi principes ita tremuere,[2]
Quod ex illis[3] plurimi mare transiere.

Cur sublato principe principes timetis?
Cum Dominus mirabilis in suis athletis
Occultis judiciis sibique secretis,
Hunc ad Sui gloriam traxerit quietis.

Quomodo exercitus ejus veniens Antiochiam ibi per crapulam mortuus est fere totus.

The duke of Swabia leads the army to Antioch.

Post hæc Antiochiam cæteri venerunt,[4]
Et ducem Sueviæ sibi præfecerunt,
Francorum baronibus nuncios miserunt,
Et ab his consilium sibi petierunt.

Major et præcipua pars Theutonicorum
Non attendens regulam hic aphorismorum,
Multum et repente se dum replet ciborum,[5]
In brevi deleta est de sorte vivorum.

The Germans die of surfeit.

Nam cum per inopiam essent vacuati,
Postea per copiam nimis crapulati,
Non est præter physicam si sint infirmati,
Et de hujus sæculi tædio sublati.

---

[1] *Ampliori—cederet*] Diceretur potius et esset, R.
[2] *timuere*] tremuere, R.
[3] *ex illis*] illorum, R.
[4] June 21.
[5] Cf. Itin., 57.

A.D. 1190. July.

Conrad sent to meet the duke of Swabia.

Quomodo Marchio vadit ad eos Antiochiam.

Habito consilio nostri Marchionem
Mittunt Antiochiam, ut ducat Acconem
Per talem Teutonicos viros regionem,
Ut nullam incurrere possent læsionem.

Qui sine periculo cernens se nequire
Acconem ulterius per terram redire,
Parat cum exercitu navibus venire,
Sinit tamen antea Septembrem[1] exire.

Quomodo nostri pedites occisi sunt in festo Sancti Jacobi.

July 25.

The infantry of the crusaders go outside the camp and plunder.

Ejus in absentia nobis accidere
Plurima quæ postea inulta stetere,
Nam in festo Jacobi[2] nostri exiere
Pedites, et hostium castra irruere.

Turci nimis providi, nimisque sagaces
Urunt tabernacula, submittentes faces,
Nostri nimis avidi nimisque voraces
Certant cuncta rapere, ut lupi rapaces.

The Turks surprise them.

Quos ut Turci taliter vident facientes
Neque vident milites eos subsequentes,
Ordinatis cuneis in hos irruentes
Plus quam quinque millia morti dant sternentes.[3]

Licet bene essent armati tamen culpa sua et militum mortui sunt.

Sic erant hi pedites bene loricati,
Balistis et arcubus decenter ornati,
Quod nunquam ab hostibus essent superati,
Si posset ordinibus repugnare fati.[4]

Anhelantes pedites nostri fugiebant,
Equis vecti levibus Turci præcedebant,
Sed qui retro venerant nostros prosternebant,
Sine ictu etiam plures corruebant.

---

[1] *Septembrem*]. The duke arrived at Acre on the 8th of October, Bohadin, 140.

[2] See the account of the battle in the Itinerarium, p. 89. Bohadin, 125. Hoveden, iii. 70. Benedict, ii. 142.

[3] *sternentes*] ferientes, R. "quinque " millia et quingenti." Itin., 91.

[4] *Si—fati*] Ni quod venit ultio nostri peccati, R.

A.D. 1190. July 25.

Si succursum milites eis præstitissent,
Sarracenos turpiter in fugam vertissent,
Et illi de mœnibus ita timuissent
Quod cum rebus omnibus urbem reddidissent.[1]

Quomodo illi de civitate exeunt et cum Hospitalariis confligunt.

The Turks in the city sally out against the Hospitallers.

Sed ut nostros taliter vident effugari,
Non oportet quærere si possunt lætari,
Non enim existimant Turcos refrænari,
Donec nostra videant castra concremari.

Ut augmentum igitur nostris darent malis,
Exeuntes januam partis Borealis
Obviant militibus primum Hospitalis,
Inter quos conficitur pugna manualis.

Battle.

Hospitalis milites ab equis descendunt,
Ut ursa pro filiis cum Turcis contendunt;
Turci nostrum aggerem per vim bis conscendunt,
Hos sagittis sauciant, hos igne succendunt.

Tunc Hospitalarii equos ascenderunt,
Et Turcos a latere maris invaserunt,
Quos ad urbis mœnia per vim reduxerunt,
Et ex his in foveis multos[2] occiderunt.

Quomodo Turci palam et clam intrabant civitatem.

Ships full of provisions reach the city.

Post hoc infortunium aliud successit;
Plena victualibus ad portum accessit
Navis, dumque sæpius quæritur unde sit,
Velum hæc reficiens in urbem[3] discessit.

Vidi post hanc alias tres palam venire,
Et galeas obviam illis nostras ire,
Nequiverunt tamen sic eas impedire
Quod vetarent mœnia urbis introire.

Intus noctu sæpius ingrediebantur,
A nostris multoties sed capiebantur,
Et ereptis spoliis ipsi necabantur,
Ob hoc tamen alii nunquam terrebantur.[4]

---

[1] The author of the Itinerarium is also very severe on this point, p. 91.

[2] *multos*] plures, B.

[3] *urbem*] villam, R. The same event is the subject of a chapter in the Itinerarium, p. 91.

[4] *ob—terrebantur*] Alii propterea sed non turbabantur, R.

A.D. 1190. September. Destruction of the engines of the crusaders.

De variis instrumentis nostris frustra consumptis.

Post hæc turres machinas nobis combusserunt,
Tuncque nostri ligneum castrum[1] deduxerunt
Ad Muscarum turrim,[2] sed eam non læserunt,
Nimis cito quoniam navem succenderunt.

Item barcam dirigunt facibus succensum
In illorum validam classim condensatam[3]
Cum qua navem concremant illorum immensam
Cito Turci vindicant verum hanc offensam.

Nam cum nostri segniter et minus intente
Starent ad custodiam in die sequente,
Ipsi turrim ligneam concremant repente,
Cum navi quam fecimus ipsam deferente.

Ad hæc barca desuper trabibus celata,
Dum ad turrim ducitur, fuit naufragata,
Instrumenta cætera ad urbem parata,
Sunt hoc modo perdita vel igne cremata.

De adventu comitis Henrici Campaniæ.[4]

Arrival of Henry of Champagne.

Catervatus militum numerositate,
Campaniensis venerat ea tempestate
Comes, et exercitum in necessitate
Sumptibus innumeris roboravit late.

Attamen consilio fretus levitatis,
Forte per audaciam juvenis ætatis,
Paucis victualibus secum apportatis,
Summæ nobis præstitit causam egestatis.

De ariete ferreo cooperto quem Bisuntinus fieri fecit et de igne Græco a quo combustus fuit.

Energy of the archbishop of Besançon.

Quid de archipræsule dicam Bisuntino?[5]
Vir est totus deditus operi divino,
Orat pro fidelibus corde columbino,
Sed pugnat cum perfidis astu serpentino.

---

[1] *ligneum castrum*] ligneam turrim, R.

[2] Sept. 25. Itin., 109.

[3] line omitted in H.

[4] Itin., p. 54. The count arrived between the 26th of July and the 1st of August. Bohadin, 128, 129.

[5] Itin. p. 111.

A.D. 1190. September. His battering ram.

Fecit hic arietem, quem de ferro texit,
Qui nostrorum animas plurimum erexit,
Nullus enim credidit, nullus intellexit,
Quod comburi valeat licet in igne sit.

Terruisse creditur mentes paganorum,
Dicebatur etenim quod stragem murorum
Et ruinam faceret, esset quæ dirorum
Digna retributio scelerum Turcorum.

Secus tamen accidit quam æstimabatur,
Quod per negligentiam factum non negatur,
Nam ad murum positus tantum lapidatur,
Quod ferrum excutitur ignisque jactatur.

Greek fire.

Ignis ille fœtidus, ignis execratus,
Cum ampullis vitreis desuper stillatus,
Serpit per gracillimos subintrans[1] meatus,
Donec intus æstuans magnos dat hiatus.

Pereat O! utinam hujus ignis vena,
Non enim exstinguitur aqua sed arena,
Vixque vinum acidum ejus arcet fræna,
Et urina stringitur ejus vix habena.[2]

Ignis hic conficitur tantum per paganos,
Ignis hic exterminat tantum Christianos,
Incantatus namque est per illos profanos.
Ab hoc et perpetuo, Christe, libera nos.

Ignis ille terruit sic nostrorum mentes,
Quod ad pugnam congredi non sunt confidentes;
Verum ædificia retro retrahentes
Milites quiescere malunt et servientes.

Quomodo nos fatigati frustra exspectavimus reges Franciæ et Angliæ nequeuntes venire.

Weary waiting for the kings.

Exspectare statuunt reges universi,
Sed dum reges veniunt fluctus sunt adversi,
Sic quod necessarii retro sunt conversi,
Alioquin dicitur quod essent submersi.

Sed non solum regibus est obstrusum mare,
Nequiverunt reliqui[3] quoque transfretare,
Neque victualia nobis apportare;
Cara nimis apud nos vendebantur care.

[1] *subintrans*] subterraneos, R.
[2] Cf. Itin., p. 81.
[3] *Reliqui*] alii, H.

A.D. 1190. November. Famine amongst the crusaders.

De inceptione famis:

De Andegavensibus libræ datæ trinæ
Sunt a me pro modio parvulo farinæ,
Palatis nobilium carnes tunc equinæ
Respondebant melius quam quondam gallinæ.

De edicto vendendorum cibariorum.

Price of food fixed.

Barones constituunt uno prorsus ore
Ut dentur cibaria pretio minore,
Sed error novissimus pejor est priore,
Dum non audent vendere consueto more.

Non enim cibaria tunc inveniuntur
Per forum venalia, sed effodiuntur
Pavimenta domuum, ubi recluduntur;
Sic inops et locuples famem patiuntur.

De famelicis servientibus ad Turcos fugientibus.

Desertions.

Milites quid facient? quidve servientes?
Exspectare reges se sunt hi pœnitentes,
Ne per famem pereant igitur timentes
Turmatim effugiunt ad Turcos servientes.

Quod nostri exeunt ad castra Saladini.

Sally of the crusaders on the Saracens' camp.

Tunc disponunt egredi ad castra Turcorum
Nostri, causa straminis et cibariorum,
Deputant custodiæ sed prius castrorum
Cum Blesensi comite ducem Suevorum.[1]

Quomodo Turci exeunt de civitate a parte Pisanorum sed nostri eos reprimunt.

Sally of the citizens on the crusaders' camp.

Secus flumen igitur cum sint hospitati,
Cives igne plurimum et armis parati
A Pisanis exeunt, simul congregati
Castra defensoribus destituta rati.

---

[1] So also the Itinerarium, which gives the morrow of S. Martin, Nov. 12, as the date of the attack, pp. 115, 116. Benedict, ii. 144; and Hoveden, iii. 73; say "ad festum "Sancti Martini."

A.D. 1190. November. Brisk struggle.

Igne Græco machinas humectarunt,[1]
Assuetis[2] spiculis viros sauciarunt,[3]
Donec ducis milites eos dissiparunt
Et plures per littora[4] mortuos prostrarunt.

Tunc de nostris januam plures[5] intravere,
Et ad muros alii scalas portavere,
Et potiri mœnibus urbis speravere,[6]
Nisi quia tenebræ noctis vetuere.

Quomodo Saladinus pugna et dolis fatigaverit nostros donec ad castra redeunt.

Nov. 13. Removal of the Saracen camp.

Ad nostrum exercitum versus Saladinum
Properantem circuunt juxta matutinum
Turci, die tertia post Sanctum Martinum,[7]
Donec castra collocant supra montis sinum.

Saladinus subdolus castra concremavit,
Et ad montes properans ibi latitavit,
Nam ad prædam currere nostros æstimavit,
Quos onustos penitus perdere[8] speravit.

Saladin attacks the crusaders plundering.

Sed ut nostros aspicit non ire prædatum,
Universum dirigit ad nos equitatum,
Vertunt ultra fluvium nostri comitatum,
Et de solo reditu habent cogitatum.

Turci sunt acerrime nostris comminati,[9]
Dum coacti sistere sunt castrametati,
Sed in die postera procul absentati
Nostris fiunt prævii ad postes fossati.

A[10] quibus conficitur ibi pugna dura,
Prostratis militibus et equis per rura,
Christiani redeunt in castra secura,
Sic deinceps egredi quibus[11] non est cura.[12]

---

[1] *Igne—humectarunt*] Super ædificia focum jactitarunt, R.

[2] *Assuetis*] Usitatis, R.

[3] *sauciarunt*] sagittarunt, R.

[4] *littera*] maris, ins, R.

[5] *plures*] om, R.

[6] *speravere*] putavere, R.

[7] The retreat of Saladin to Tel Caisan, on the 3rd day after Martinmas. Itin., 116. Bohadin, 148.

[8] *penitus perdere*] perdere pro ea, R.

[9] *nostris comminati*] nostros comitati. R.

[10] *A*] pro, R.

[11] *egredi quibus*] ingredi, R.

[12] November, 15. Bohadin, 151.

A.D. 1190. Nov. 24. Capture of French knights.

De nepote Clarimontensis comitis, et quibusdam aliis dolo captis.

Sed quia Teutonici de campo patente
Turcos effugaverant in sancto Clemente,
Exeuntes effugant in die sequente[1]
Turcos quidam milites de Francorum gente.

Sed tunc in insidiis pagani latentes
Improviso cursitant Francos colligentes,
Inter morti deditos et captos viventes,
Sunt triginta milites et horum clientes.

De septem navibus Turcorum intrantibus civitatem nobis invitis.

Seven store ships relieve the city.

Dum nos de materia plasmati terrestri,
Et in arcto positi loco et sylvestri,
Tribulamur malleo nimium agresti,
Quid in festo vidimus audias[2] Sylvestri.

Septem victualibus naves oneratæ
Christiani populi absque voluntate,
Receptæ propatulo sunt in civitate,
Nec galeæ nostræ sunt eis adversatæ.

Quomodo tunc Teutonici viriliter expugnaverunt civitatem.

Attack by the Germans on the city.

Tunc ibidem juxta me si tu præsens fores,
Cum armati circuunt villam bellatores,
Certe Teutonicorum jurares furores
Universis gentibus esse fortiores.

Nam densos missilium imbres contempsere,
Ignis atque lapidum jactus pertulere,
Et muri fastigio dum sperant hærere
Diminutis plurima scalis corruere.

---

[1] *in die sequente*] These words, which with the rubric fix the capture of the Butler of Senlis to the morrow of S. Clement, give the most important chronological fact of the whole poem. The Itinerarium mentions that the capture took place on the day of the marriage of Conrad and Isabella; (eodem die); therefore November 24 is the date of that marriage, and as archbishop Baldwin, the chief opponent of it, died on the 19th or 20th, no time was lost, as soon as he was out of the way, of completing the disgraceful transaction. Queen Sibylla had died before the 21st of October. Epp. Cantuar., 329, 330, &c. Itin., 122, 123.

[2] *audias*] Beati, R.

A.D. 1190. December.

Claruit hoc prælio gens Alemannorum,[1]
Cujus nomen metuunt phalanges Turcorum,
Nam per negligentiam non stetit eorum
Quod non simus mœnibus potiti murorum.

De duodecim navibus Turcorum naufragatis in portu.

Shipwreck of twelve Turkish vessels.

Deus quoque pietas Cujus cuncta regit,
Qui quos ab initio Sibi præelegit,
Licet sinat concuti, semper tamen tegit,
Naves mirabiliter Turcorum confregit.

Nam hærebant scopulis anchoræ jactatæ,
Neque victualia trahuntur de rate,
Ventorum[2] Cerauniis cum naves quassatæ
Sunt in portus medio cunctæ naufragatæ.

De muro civitatis per imbrem diruto nihil nobis profuit.

A.D. 1191. Jan. 5. Fall of part of the walls in a storm.

Dum orationibus Virginis Mariæ
Fulcimur et meritis Genitricis piæ,
Audias quod accidit nobis quadam die
Jejunant vigiliam cum Epiphaniæ.

Nocte pluit integra nec mane sequente
Redeunt spectacula, sed Austro fremente
Crepitant tonitrua æthere candente,
Nix, imber cum grandine cadit vehemente.

Christus Dei filius, Deus ultionum,
Qui pro Suis dimicat medio agonum,
Non gestando clypeum lanceam vel conum,
Urbis muros diruit dans ad astra sonum.

Parallel with the fall of Jericho.

Idem olim mœnia Jericho prostravit,
Quam Hebræus populus bonis spoliavit,
Sed Acconis muros dum Ipse dissipavit,
Ad murum Christicola nullus propinquavit.

Licet nostris pluvia det impedimenta,
Non fuit militia nostra tamen lenta
Adaptare bellica membris ornamenta,
Et a longe premere equos et jumenta.

[1] This is fixed by Benedict, ii. 144; and Hoveden, iii. 73, to the month of December, "inter festum sancti Andreæ et Natale Domini."

[2] *Ventorum*] Fluctuum, R.

A.D. 1191. Jan. 5. Negligence of the besiegers.

Periit audacia militum Francorum,
Quæ quondam cacumina transcendens murorum
Effugabat millia trecenta Turcorum,
Sicut Gesta referunt Antiochenorum.

Si tantum cum machinis de muro stravissent,
Certatim ad mœnia credo cucurrissent,
Sed virtute Domini cum moniti essent,[1]
Promptiores aggredi esse[2] debuissent.

Quomodo Turci ascendunt tumulum quem fecimus.

Jan. 20. Skirmish with the town's-people.

Dum in natalitiis Sancti Fabiani
Pranderent ad tertiam horam Christiani,
Exeunt de mœnibus bis mille pagani
Qui nuper intraverant facti oppidani.

Gradualem tumulum quem nostri fecerunt,
Pulsis operariis, statim conscenderunt,
Pauci tamen milites eos fugaverunt,
Et eos in foveis urbis prostraverunt.

De quodam insultu noctu facto.

Jan. 21. Another struggle.

Cum sit exercitio dies destinata
Et dicatur otio nox esse dicata,
Nocte tamen colitur Agnes qua Beata
Ad pugnam egreditur gens Deo ingrata.

Non diurno prælio fuit satiata,
Sed de nocte veniens caterva densata,
Est cum igne spicula Græco jaculata,
Super nostros vigiles stantes ad fossata.

Illorum clamoribus nostri perturbantur,
Et nox licet obviet statim congregantur,
Pagani velociter in urbem fugantur.
Sed utrinque plurimi prius sauciantur.

Quomodo Marchio frustra tentat expugnare Turrim Muscarum.

The Tower of Flies.

Ratione notum est satis evidenti,
Et fide cognovimus hoc experimenti,
Quantum exercitui det impedimenti
Turris quam in medio portus pulsant venti.

---

[1] *moniti essent*] muri corruissent, R.

[2] *esse*] eos, R.

A.D. 1191. January. Ineffectual attempts of Conrad upon it.

Ut hanc ergo Marchio possit vendicare,
Fabricatus citius vervex sulcat mare,
Sed cum crebris ictibus debet hanc quassare
Ipsum cogunt scopuli longius astare.

Ut quod nil proficeret labor hic cognovit
Furens, stridens, Marchio machinam removit,
Cum fatorum serie fortunam devovit,
Et suam Beelzebub qui sic turrim fovit.

De quodam Polino qui prodebat nostros servientes.

March 9. Serving men taken by ambuscade.

Martis idus septimo nostri servientes,
Ut herbas colligerent foras incedentes,
A Polino proditos longe discurrentes,
Sarraceni capiunt in dolis latentes.

De contraria fortuna ob nostra peccata et de morte prælatorum et baronum.

Bad fortune of the Crusaders.

Prætermisso quoties muris erumpentes
Aut a campis subito nobis irruentes,
Turci captivaverant nostros servientes,
Prosequamur alia parum divertentes.

Ob totius populi labem et peccatum
Fortunam contrariam sensimus et fatum,
Quæ nostrum ancipitem diuque rotatum
In profundum mergere non desistunt statum.

O nequam et infida series fatorum!
O crudelis Atropos! pessima sororum!
Numquid simul rumpere vis Christianorum
Fila, quos præsidio privas prælatorum.

Ut enim hæreditas nostri Salvatoris,
Crucifixi patria, domus Redemptoris,
Venit ad extranei manum possessoris,
Perdidit auxilii multum et honoris.

De morte Gregorii et Urbani Papæ.

A.D. 1187. Deaths of Popes Urban and Gregory.

Primo nam Gregorium statim post Urbanum[1]
Utrumque pontificem perdidit Romanum;
Qui de Jerosolima tyrannum profanum
Habuerunt animum effugandi sanum.

[1] Urban III. died Oct. 11, 1187, and Gregory VIII., his successor, on the 17th December the same year.

A.D. 1189.

De morte Henrici et Guillelmi regum Angliæ et Siciliæ.

Deaths of the kings of Sicily and England.

Post Henricum inclytum regem Anglicorum,[1]
Et Guillelmum nobilem regem Siculorum,[2]
Qui suis præsidiis sunt Christianorum
Tutati reliquias de manu Turcorum.

De morte Archiepiscopi Ravennatis et Episcopi Faventini.

A.D. 1190. Of the archbishop of Ravenna and the bishop of Faenza;

Quisquis archipræsulem novit Ravennatem,[3]
Faventini[4] præsulis atque probitatem,
Ob illorum obitum Christianitatem
Scit tulisse maximam incommoditatem.

De morte Langravii.

of the Landgrave of Thuringia;

Sed quid dignum referam nobilis Langravi?[5]
Corporis et animi fuit vir magna vi
In Dei servitio, qui labore gravi
Consumptus in reditu periit in navi.

De morte Comitum Theobaldi et Stephani qui fuerunt fratres.

of counts Theobald and Stephen;

Adventus laudabilis comitum duorum
Theobaldi, Stephani, fratrum germanorum,
Gaudium infuderat mentibus Francorum,
Sed hos nimis vulnerat cita mors eorum.[6]

De morte Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis.

of archbishop Baldwin.

Sanctus Archipontifex Cantuariensis,
Populum consilio fovens et expensis,
Militonum cœtibus catervatus densis,
Recreabat pauperes sumptibus immensis.

Quem sic postquam vineæ mors intentum vidit,
Tanti operarii fructibus invidit,
Vitæ filum protinus illius succidit;[7]
Clerus, plebs, cum milite quare vestes scidit.

---

[1] Henry II. died July 6, 1189.

[2] William II. died Nov. 26, 1189.

[3] Gerard.

[4] John; he had come with the Archbishop of Ravenna: *Hist. Ravenn.*, p. 360.

[5] The Landgrave Lewis of Thuringia, died Oct. 16, 1190.

[6] Theobald died Jan 20, 1191. Stephen, before Oct. 21, 1190.

[7] Baldwin died Nov. 19 or 20, 1190.

De morte Archiepiscopi Bisuntini et ducis Suevorum Imperatoris filii.

A.D. 1190. Deaths of the archbishop of Besançon and the duke of Swabia.

Hinc archiepiscopus, gemma clericorum,
Bisuntinus obiit, duxque Suevorum,[1]
Qui nisi contraria foret sors fatorum,
Stravisset innumeras acies Turcorum.[2]

Nam ut fuit proprio privatus parente,
Qui velut prædiximus stipatus ingente
Turba venit militum, factus est repente
De torrente stabilis, tepens de fervente.

De magna fame.

A.D. 1191. The great scarcity of food.

Sic nostris baronibus in necessitatis
Destituti tempore sumus, et prælatis,
Aliisque plurimis non hic nominatis,
Nobis adversantibus cum fortuna fatis ![3]

Et in verbo dicere veritatis tibi
Possunt qui tunc temporis remanserunt ibi,
Quod sunt indigentiam tantam passi cibi,
Quod nescimus similem ab antiquis scribi.

Ploratu cibaria gravi quærebantur,
Pro jugi inedia pauci consolantur,
Sed si quando forsitan inveniebantur
Cum amaris poculis fletus miscebantur.

Idem cibus dominum et equum alebat,
Nam cum equo dominus panem dividebat,
Herbas quas periculo mortis colligebat
Equus crudas, dominus coctas comedebat.

In tanta penuria rerum edendarum,
Nos in Quadragesima cibis equinarum
Recreamur carnium, et camelinarum;
Aliis rodentibus textas carublarum.[4]

Distress from famine.

Multi qui divitias suas aliquando
Fuderant pauperibus eas erogando,
Nihil sumunt exules facti mendicando,
Quare diem ultimum claudunt jejunando.

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[1] The archbishop of Besançon died Nov. 23, 1191 : according to the *Gallia Christiana* ; but the year should most likely be 1190, as the siege was over long before November 1191.

[2] Jan. 20, 1191.

[3] *Nobis...fatis*] Puniente peccata Deo nostra satis, R.

[4] See Itinerarium, p. 133.

A.D. 1191.

Quod pontifices statuunt eleemosynas fieri.

Collection of money for the sufferers.

Tunc sacri pontifices sacrique prælati,
Principes Ecclesiæ sanctæ deputati,
Vincla pœnitentibus relaxant peccati
Qui de suis conferunt tantæ paupertati.

Ut habere valeant hanc remissionem
Omnes largam faciunt erogationem,
Post cordis munditiam et confessionem,
Sed prælati faciunt distributionem.

Ut tantæ participes sint remissionis,
Præ cordis munditia et confessionis,
Erogant de propriis omnes large bonis,
Onus ferunt præsules distributionis.

Quomodo mitigatur fames.

Arrival of provisions.

Ut hæc eleemosyna cœpit erogari,
Iram Dei protinus sensimus placari;
Intuemur etenim eminus a mari
Nobis victualia navibus portari.

Quanti vendebantur victualia.

Prices before and after the arrival.

Tunc farinæ modius sex minus centenis
Vendebatur aureis, frumenti sex denis,
Hordeique modium dabant quadragenis
Reperto vix furfure aureis septenis.

Tres in uno solidi pomo donabantur,
Viginti nuciunculæ pro nummo dabantur;
Ficus pro denario septem vendebantur;
Pruna cum amygdalis decem emebantur;

De miraculo alleviatæ famis.

Thanksgiving for the relief.

Pro prædicto pretio nequibat frumenti
Reperiri modius die præcedenti,
Qui dabatur publice cuivis offerenti
Pro duobus aureis in die sequenti.

[1] This is the collection made by Hubert Walter and others, described in the Itinerarium, p. 135. Benedict, ii. 145.

A.D. 1191.

O mira potentia Summæ Deitatis!
Quæ tam mirabiliter onus paupertatis
Christianis abstulit, gravis egestatis
Tempora temporibus mutans ubertatis.

Quomodo Rex Franciæ venit et expugnavit civitatem.[1]

April 20. Arrival of Philip of France.

Sabbato post Domini resurrectionem,
Philippus rex Franciæ veniens Acconem,
Totam mentis operam et intentionem
Circa villæ posuit expugnationem.

Secus turris igitur maledictæ latus
Erigit petrarias, illic hospitatus,
Aliasque machinas necnon apparatus,
Quorum murus ictibus corruat quassatus.

His engines are destroyed in an attack on the Cursed Tower.

Dumque muros dissipat impletque fossata
Quæ profunda fuerant admodumque lata,
Instrumenta plurima sunt ibi cremata,
Aliisque variis modis dissipata.

De rege Angliæ divertente Cyprum, eamque subjugante.

Richard's adventures in Cyprus.

Interim rex inclitus Angliæ Ricardus
Qui per famam redolet ut odore nardus,
Metuendus hostibus sicut feris pardus,
Ciprum iter verterat licet suis tardus.

Nam tyrannus insulæ, turbo pietatis,
Tribus ibi navibus regis naufragatis,
Homines recluserat manibus ligatis,
Equis, victualibus, armis usurpatis.

Sed a rege reddere cuncta postulatur,
Negat, pugnat, vincitur, fugit, vinculatur;
Digna factis ultio digne compensatur,
Captivator hominum modo captivatur.

Vicis,[2] castris, urbibus Cipri subjugatis,
Plene licet faveant rex addenda fatis
Cogitat calcaria, nondum[3] ergo datis
Ventis intrat pelagus fluctibus iratis.

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[1] Here the Oriel MS. begins.
[2] *Vicis*] Victis, R.
[3] *nondum*] mundum, H.

A.D. 1191. June.

De quadam navi Turcorum onerata Græco igne et armis, volente intrare civitatem, quam ita expugnavit rex Anglorum quod tota penitus submersa est cum omnibus in ea contentis.

Capture of the great dromond.

Dum Acconem satagit iter maturare,
Navi magnæ contigit molis obviare,
Quam Acconem comperit velle rex intrare,
Et Turcis præsidia maxima portare.

Ad hanc ergo galeæ cunctæ congregantur,
Sonant tubæ, classica, tympana pulsantur,
Exseruntur gladii, arcus sinuantur,
Et ad instar grandinis spicula vibrantur.

At Turci de caveis ut de castro forti
Ictu nostros lapidis ut tormento torti,
Sudibus et jaculis tribuentes morti,
Metum nostræ maximum ingerunt cohorti.

Sed per vocem regiam sese resumentes,
Turcos vexant acrius supereminentes,
Jaculorum verubus caveis figentes,
Nostros tamen reprimunt igne perfundentes.

Sed dum navis rumpitur rostris galearum,
Ignis, sudes, jacula, profuere parum;
Nam dum illos sorbuit puteus aquarum,
Esca fiunt volucrum atque beluarum.

Armis potentissimi periere mille,
Quos si forte mœnia recepissent villæ,
Nunquam hos devinceret iste rex vel ille,
Nec occurrens Græcia tota cum Achille.

Quomodo Rex Angliæ venit Acconem.

Richard arrives at Acre.

Versus Accon igitur malus incurvatur
Oculis navigium æquora furatur,
Christianus populus gaudens gratulatur,
Et confusus ethnicus dolet et turbatur.

De machinis comitis Flandriæ regi datis.

He takes the engines of count Philip.

Instrumenta protinus jubet præparari,
Sed, ne vacet interim, comitis præclari
Flandrensis petrarias poscit sibi dari,[1]
Omnes flebant obitum cujus tanquam cari.

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[1] Cf. Itin., pp. 203–209.

De rege Franciæ murum ascendente cum suis ex altera parte.

A.D. 1191 June.
Attack by Philip.

Ruptis propugnaculis muros turres strarat,
Parte sed ex altera, qui jam explanarat,
Primi muros ordinis alios quassarat,
Rex Francorum scandere civitatem parat.

Milites appositis scalis ascendebant,
Sed hos igne liquido Turci perfundebant,
Et his murum insimul sese opponebant
Aliunde neminem quoniam timebant.

Quomodo Anglicis non pugnantibus Marescalcus Franciæ obiit.

Death of Alberic Clement.

Nam suum rex Angliæ castrum expectabat,
Nec de suis interim quisquam dimicabat,
Illuc omnis Asiæ manus acclinabat,
Ubi sola Franciæ virtus impugnabat.

Miles strenuissimus inclytus et fortis,
Marescaldus Franciæ,[1] militum cohortis
Rector, ibi subiit diræ jura mortis,
Quem planxit exercitus lacrymis obortis.

Quomodo Francis cadentibus terretur rex.

Retreat of the French.

Duxit ergo cedere Gallica juventus,
Sed hinc non efficitur segnior vel lentus,
Nec est primo diruto muro rex contentus,
Ad stragem alterius ordinis intentus.

De turri maledicta cæsa, tonsa et quassata.

The Cursed Tower undermined.

Eminebat ibidem Turris maledicta,
Quondam solo nomine, nunc re maledicta
Superpensa machinis, subtus facta crypta,
Qua defensa civitas olim est invicta.

Nam quadris lapidibus undique sublatis,
Omnem jam amiserat robur firmitatis,
Columnis et postibus subtus coaptatis,
Ruitura funditus tantum concrematis.

---

[1] Alberic Clement; Itin., 223.

A.D. 1191. July. The Turks propose to surrender.

Quod Turci timentes ruinam turris offerunt civitatem.

Lapsu turris igitur territi timore,
Pessimo in dubiis rebus suggestore,[1]
Turci contumaciæ posito furore
Civitatem offerunt supplicantum ore.

De controversia Christianorum et Turcorum per Marchionem sedata.

Conrad arranges the terms.

Ablata restitui cuncta Christianis,
Cum captivis postulant reges a paganis,
Dum fit controversia super his immanis,
Hanc diremit marchio doctus in mundanis.

Procurandam etenim hanc per Marchionem
Reges ordinaverant compositionem,
Ad tollendam igitur dubitationem
De promissis tribuunt sese cautionem.

De rebus cum civitate redditis.

Terms of surrender.

Urbem, supellectilem, arma reddidere,
Captivos cum navibus quotquot habuere,
Urbis inter mœnia, quadringentos fere,
Vestes tamen retinent quas jam incisere.

De his quos Saladinus nobis reddere promisit.

Saladin's promises.

Saladinus etiam[2] ad vota nostrorum
Dans electos milites centum, aliorum
Captivorum corpora mille quingentorum,
Cum ducentis millibus reddit[3] aureorum.

Lignum quoque redditur[4] pretiosæ crucis,
Lignum in quo calicem passionis trucis
Ebiberunt viscera gloriosi Ducis,
Suggerente principe tenebrosæ lucis.

De vexillis regum positis in civitate.

Rejoicings over the capture.

Juramento placuit pactum confirmari,
Et vexillis regiis turres titulari,
Tunc videres pueros senes gratulari,
Et victori Domino laudes modulari.

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[1] This quotation is made in the Itinerarium on another occasion, p. 28. Statius, *Theb.* iii. 6.

[2] *etiam*] insuper, R.

[3] *reddit*] spondet, R.

[4] *Lignum...redditur*] Reddi quoque debuit, R.

Descriptio temporis quo fuit capta civitas.

A.D. 1191. July 12.

Date of surrender.

A natali Domini mille ducentorum
Novem minus spatium fluxerat annorum,
Accon fere circulis obsessa duorum,
Idus quarto Julii redditur annorum.[1]

Quomodo reges discordantur capta civitate.

Quarrel of Philip and Richard.

Postquam reges mœnibus urbis sunt potiti,
Arma, victualia, vades, sunt partiti,
Quamque diu foverant intendentes liti,
Simulatæ fœdera pacis sunt obliti.

Dum enim rex Angliæ protegit Guidonem,
E contra rex Franciæ fovens marchionem,
Illi suam tribuit terræ portionem,
Parat hic ad propriam dum reversionem.

Quomodo Saladinus noluit attendere pactum veniente termino.

The Turks fail to fulfil their promises.

Imminebat terminus datus a paganis
Quo ipsi spoponderant Crucem Christianis;
Nec vult plebem sinere cor iniqui canis
Induratum, redimens tempus verbis vanis.

Quomodo rex Angliæ fecit interfici obsides Turcorum.

Massacre of prisoners.

Coram tabernaculis igitur Turcorum
Jugulari corpora clarus rex Anglorum
Plusquam tria millia jubet captivorum,
Pro reddenda vadium Cruce relictorum.

De auro invento in visceribus occisorum.

Discovery of gold in their bowels.

Inhumane carnifex cœpit desævire,
Quæ referre nefas est tædium audire,
Ita vidi plurimos aureos sitire,
Ut aurum in viscera vadant exhaurire.

Nec illorum sufficit stercora lavari,
Sed jubentur corpora flammis concremari,
Tunc videres cineres cribro ventilari,
Et ab hisdem rutilans aurum sequestrari.

[1] Here the Bamberg MS. ends.

A.D. 1191. July. Ways of concealing gold.

Nam hæc plena plurimis dolis gens per ora
Aureos reconderat in interiora,
Quos emittens postea per inferiora,
Assumebat iterum sero vel aurora.

De corrigiis et felle ab eorum lateribus et hepate raptis.[1]

At plures corrigiis arcus incurvabant,
Illorum lateribus quas excoriabant,
Raptum fel ab hepate reliqui portabant,
Quo pleni nequitia Turci redundabant.

De gaudio innato nobis ex morte eorum qui crucem promiserant.

Joy at the massacre.

Talia conspiciens quisquis gratulatur,
Quod in illos Dominus sic Se ulciscatur,[2]
Qui crucem promiserant in qua designatur
Ejus mortis passio, nobis vita datur.

De provisione Dei civitas nobis reddita fuit per pactum.

Fortunate result of the capitulation, in enabling the Crusaders to punish the prisoners.

Dei factum creditur hoc provisione
Quod urbs nobis reddita fuit pactione,
Fraudati fuerimus licet sponsione
Super crucis regibus facta datione.

Nam qui cruciatibus digna patravere
Mortem quam meruerant ipsi pertulere,
At nostrorum acies salvæ perstitere,
Protegente Domino pro Quo pugnavere.

Saladinus etiam fide leviori
A suis habebitur, qui permisit mori
Hos per avaritiam ; at nos Creatori
Melos demus, digitum imponentes ori.

[1] See Benedict ii. 189. Hoveden, iii. 128.

[2] Here the Oriel MS. ends.

APPENDIX II.

Account of the Return and Captivity of Richard I.

Ansbertus; *Historia de expeditione Friderici Imperatoris.* Ed. Jos. Dobrowsky, Prag, 1827, pp. 108–121.

Non solum autem ex Romani imperii ambitu, sed ex aliis etiam regnis, occidentali videlicet Francia et Anglia, reges cum terrarum suarum incolis universi excitati ad viam Domini signaculo crucifixi sunt insigniti. Verum inimicus humani generis hujus laudabilis propositi executionem impedire volens, semina dissensionis inter eosdem reges seminavit, ut con [109]-tinua werra contra se moti, causam Domini qua contra hostes fidei triumphare debebant, distulerint; neuter tamen viam sine altero incipere volens alteri cedebat. Tandem zelo Dei ducti. dissimulantes si qua fuit inter eos odii dissensio, iter aggressi sunt. Rex Franciæ Philippus et nobilis comes Flandriæ cum magno comitatu per Italiam transeuntes, apud Januam transfretare volentes mare intraverunt; sed quia autumnalis asperitas eos repulit, apud Messynam civitatem Calabriæ toto illo anno coacti sunt morari. Rex etiam Angliæ Ricardus impiger ad omnia negotia cum infinito exercitu et apparatu, pecunia etiam tanta qua omnes socios viæ Domini antecedebat, per mare cum multis galeis navigabat, et in eodem portu Messynensi supradicta necessitate cogitur applicare, et ibidem hyemare.

A.D. 1190. Start of the kings of Christendom on the Crusade.

Dux etiam Liupoldus Austriæ diu accensus ejusdem peregrinationis desiderio, quamvis inde noviter reversus fuerit, et licet vocatus ac rogatus a domino suo adhuc rege Romanorum existente Heinrico fuerit, ut ad suam expeditionem accingeretur, maluit tamen æterno militare Regi quam temporali. In Assumptione siquidem Sanctæ Mariæ viam Christianæ militiæ de Wienna se movens aggressus est, et Venetiis naves intrans per Illyricum et Dalmaticum mare remigare proposuit, sed simili intemperie quæ, sicut dictum est, circa autumnum qui tunc instabat gravius sævire solet, prohibitus, Sadire civitate Dalmatiæ applicare, et tota parte ejusdem anni usque ad proximum [110] ver hyemare compellitur; ubi etiam cum aliis qui simili causa detenti sunt, opportunum tempus transfretandi et vernalem auram mitiorem navigantibus exspectavit.

March and voyage of the duke of Austria.

He winters at Zara.

A.D. 1190. Voyage of the duke of Austria.

Accepta itaque opportunitate vernalis temporis, tam illi qui in portu Messinensi quam et ii qui apud Sadiram toto illo anno tædio affecti demorati sunt, iter propositum arripuerunt et ad portum Accaron secure et sine detentione applicuerunt. Erant autem in comitatu illustris ducis Austriæ Leupoldi, comes Sifridus de Niderl, et Dietmarus liber, et pauci ministeriales sui; Ortlebus videlicet de Winchil, Hugo de Pucperch, Heinricus de Medlik, Albertus de Horn, Albero de Ceniliub, Pertoldus de Wurmz, Rudwinus de Gors et unus fratrum de Radun; quorum nullus secum reversus est, sed omnes prædicti fatali necessitate dies suos clauserunt, præter comitem Sifridum, qui fomitem infirmitatis secum reportans ægrotavit, et in via demoratus sequenti anno reversus est.

A.D. 1191. Conquest of Cyprus by Richard.

Rex vero Angliæ morose navigans in Cypro applicuit. Ubi tunc regnum tenebat quidam Ysaachius, æquivocus illius qui Constantinopolitanum post mortem Andronici arripuerat regnum, et eodem imperio diviso post obitum Manuelis, qui eosdem principatus solus regebat, quis cum quilibet raperet quod posset, totam Cyprum iste suo dominio usurpavit. Cujus insolentiam et malignitatem quam dicitur in peregrinos pauperes exercuisse, rex Angliæ ferre non valens, captum eum secum et uxorem suam transvexit, et insulam eandem suis usibus vendicatam sibi etiam censualem fecit. Ipsum etiam apud Margatum munitissimum castrum relega[111]vit. Idem itaque rex Angliæ primus et præcipuus in tota militia Christiana eo quod in facultatibus et in omnibus opibus alios præcedebat, et eos aspernatus postponebat, dominium sibi super omnes usurpabat. Regem etiam Franciæ, cui quamvis hominii jure obligatus teneretur, despectui habens, non reverebatur. Marchionem insuper Chunradum dominum Tyri, per quem eadem civitas post desolationem terræ Domini a Christianis retenta est, per quem etiam potestas Turcorum et Saladini principis eorum propulsata est, vilipendebat. Ducem etiam Liupoldum illustrissimum principem, quamvis non ita gloriose sicut decebat ibi manserit, pro abjecto reputavit: cujus fastus intemperantia ad cumulum sui damni cessit.

Richard's arrogance.

Capture of Acre.

Itaque cum idem rex et tota militia Christiana valido robore in obsidione Ptholomaidis diversis bellicis instrumentis laboraret, tandem viriliter instantes ipsam expugnaverunt et valida manu ceperunt. Incolas etiam, Turcos videlicet, usque ad VII. millia et amplius captivaverunt. Cujus etiam captæ civitatis dominium ita sibi soli vendicavit quod nec alios consortium habere permisit. Marchionem etiam Chunradum qui ab omnibus rex creatus erat, reprobabat, adeo quod ejus consilio dicitur esse interemptus. Duo siquidem cum eo

diu familiariter conversati, a vetulo (a Leone) de montanis missi ad ejus interemptionem, dum nihil de eis sinistri suspicaretur, eum cultellis perfoderunt et occiderunt. Qui tamen non impunes abierunt, sed pœnam dignam meritis exsolverunt. Capta igitur Acona et a nostris inhabitata, dum Saladinus conventionem de redi[112]mendis captivis Turcis facere differret, commotus rex Angliæ sicut vehementia sui furoris eum sæpius exagitavit, omnes trucidavit, præter paucissimos nobiles quos adhuc in spe alterius pacti captos reservavit. Dum itaque hæc omnia fierent, et ad Ascalonam quæ etiam a Turcis inhabitabatur et Christianis rebellabat, milites Christi festinarent, Turci territi de captione Aconæ Ascalonam vacuam reliquerunt, et sine bello eam Christiani occupaverunt. Quam ipse rex Angliæ non sine scandalo aliorum eis redimendam dedit. Cum enim hominum raritas et penuria id faceret, ut nec inhabitari nec defendi ab incursu et invasione adversariorum posset, maluit eam recepto pretio sub districta conventione relinquere interim, quam sine defensore et præsidio defensionis positam iterum perdere.

A.D. 1191. Destruction of the captives.

Richard repairs Ascalon

Rex itaque Franciæ non valens arrogantiam regis Angliæ, a quo debebat servitium non contemptum exspectare, pati, Comite Flandriæ mortuo ibidem, revertitur, et per Italiam et per Tusciam transiens summo pontifici Lateranis Cœlestino loquitur; a quo bene susceptus et pie admonitus ad liberandam terram Domini eum instantius cohortatur. Insuper etiam ei ut filio carissimo et peregrino dilecto dona et paternæ benedictionis munera largitur et abire in [113] osculo eum dimittit. Cum itaque Mediolanum civitatem Liguriæ veniret, Imperatorem Heinricum de Apulia redeuntem in via invenit; nec subito convenerunt, sed quia aliqua dissensionis nebula inter eos latebat, non repente comparebat, eo quod prius in discordia quam cum Coloniensi Philippo pater ejus habuit, sibi ipse auxilium præstabat. Sed mediantibus aliis prudentibus et ex utraque parte se sapienter interponentibus, occasio hujus suspicionis exstirpata est, et eum Imperator in osculo pacis susceptum et honestis muneribus honoratum, posthæc tanquam principem gloriosum et amicum dilectum cum honesto ducatu abire ad regnum proprium dimisit. Dux vero Liupoldus sequenti anno post reditum suum ducatum Stirensem mortuo nepote suo Otacharo, qui ei sine hærede moriens terram coram Imperatore Friderico sub testamento assignarat, post multos labores suscepit, et a filio suo Imperatore Heinrico Wormatiæ tam ipse quam filius suus Fridericus excellentissime investiti sunt.

Return of Philip.

He visits Rome and Milan.

Leopold succeeds to Styria.

A.D. 1192. Return of Richard.

Rex Angliæ Ricardus, qui gloria omnes anteire voluit, et omnium indignationem meruit, in obsidione terræ et hæreditatis Domini plus cæteris et post cæteros moratus, eodem anno Incarnationis Domini M. videlicet CLXXXXII°; nescio utrum timore regis Franciæ qui prius ante eum recesserat, vel tædio peregrinationis affectus, pacem cum Saladino et Turcis ad v. annos faciens et firmans, cum uxore navigio post alios revertitur, et ventorum impulsione in mare periculis multis circumductus jactatur [114], tandemque ad Polam civitatem Ystriæ ad litus fertur et applicare cogitur. Ubi uxorem et familiam totam incertis undis maris relinquens, ipse per Forum Julii cum paucis, de periculis maris egressus et viam per terram aggressus, licet incognitus esse cupiens, a pluribus tamen cognitus et in via suis aliquibus captis, aliquibus truncatis, rebus etiam suis perditis, in Austriam ducis Leupoldi terram transivit. Ubi latenter transire volens et terra principis quem prius graviter et plurimum offenderat, incognitus exire volens, judicio Dei tactus laqueum incidit ejus, quem prius illaqueare voluit. Dum itaque arrogantiam ejus Divina æquitas diutius non sineret transire inultum, eum manibus et potestati tradidit illorum, quos ipse prius quasi contemptos abjecerat, et contumeliose reprobaverat. Justo siquidem Dei judicio, ut cum ipse in prosperis successibus suis illos honorare noluerit, quos dignos honore scire potuerat, ab eisdem etiam dedecorandus judicaretur. Circa Wiennam siquidem latenter moratus, pedes, duobus sociis tantum comitatus, in vili hospitio per exploratores inventus et captus est ab hominibus ducis Austriæ. Cum itaque idem dux illustris Austriæ plures causas adversus ipsum efficientes habuerit, jure ipsum in manus ejus Divino judicio traditum tenuit, sed tamen præter meritum ipsum honeste tractavit, et in castro suo Tyernstein juxta Danubium sito servari præcepit. Una siquidem et efficiens causa fuit quod eum in obsidione Aconæ quasi abjectum reputavit, quod etiam Ysaachium principem Cypri et uxorem suam ad sanguinem suum pertinentes captivavit; quod etiam Chunradum fi [115] lium amitæ suæ interemisse suspectus habebatur. Idem siquidem Chunradus princeps nobilissimus et adleta Dei invictissimus, consilio omnium sapientium qui expeditioni Domini interfuerunt, rex Jerosolimorum ordinatus et uxore illa sibi data, quæ prius commanebat Humfrido ejusdem terræ regi dicto, nescio quo divortio inter eos facto, ab omnibus, ipso solo rege Angliæ renuente, est elevatus. Post cujus mortem quæ supradicta est, comes Heinricus de Campania in eadem expeditione diu cum multis expensis moratus tam in regno quam

He goes through Friuli.

He is taken prisoner at Vienna.

Causes of Leopold's enmity.

in uxore sibi successit. Itaque rex Angliæ diu observatus a duce Liupoldo Imperatori Heinrico quem etiam in negotiis regni et in filio sororis suæ, duce videlicet Heinrico quondam dicto Saxoniæ, multis modis contra dominum suum concitato, et in aliis regni impedimentis provocaverat, est repræsentatus, sed non statim oblatus. Sinistra siquidem consilia ibi quæ inter æmulos ducis Leupoldi versabantur, finem rei imponere non sinebant. Dictum quippe fuit ei quod Imperator per consilia pravorum quorundam eum violenter rapere vellet et in suam potestatem redigere. Tandem omni suspicione remota inter eos conventio facta est, ut reductus in Austriam in proximo ad Nebdunam, quæ et Spira dicta est, domino Imperatori committatur, hoc condicto inter eos facto, cujus exemplar jure subjunximus;

A.D. 1192. The reasons why Richard was delivered to the emperor.

A.D. 1193. Feb. 14. Form of the surrender.

" Hæc est forma conventionis sive tractatus habiti inter " dominum Heinricum Romanorum Imperatorem et Liupoldum " ducem Austriæ super incolumitate et pace regis Anglorum " aliisque negotiis;

" Ego Liupoldus dux Austriæ da-[116]-bo et præsentabo " domino meo Heinrico Romanorum Imperatori regem Angliæ " hoc modo seu tenore, quod idem rex sicut condictum est, " donet domino Imperatori centum millia marcarum argenti, " quarum ego medietatem habebo ad dotandam filiam fratris " Anglorum regis, quam ducturus est unus filiorum meorum " in uxorem. Hæc autem filia fratris regis Anglorum in festo " Beati Michaelis uni filiorum meorum, quem ad hoc elegero, " erit præsentanda, et medietas de jam dictis centum millibus " marcarum argenti, videlicet quinquaginta millia marcarum ar- " genti, in eodem termino erit solvenda; quarum dominus meus " Imperator unam medietatem recepturus est, et ego aliam; altera " vero medietas de eisdem centum millibus marcarum, vide- " licet quinquaginta millia marcarum quæ restant, persolvenda " est usque ad initium Quadragesimæ proxime venturæ; cujus " pecuniæ similiter dominus Imperator mediam partem habebit, " et ego mediam; et quæcunque pars totius pecuniæ prædictæ " sub quocunque numero domino Imperatori infra terminum " illum, quo tota debet solvi, illius medietas sine malo ingenio " mihi præsentetur. Dominus autem meus Imperator ducentos " mihi obsides dabit, quod si ipse postquam regem Anglorum " ipsi præsentavero, quod Dominus avertat, in fata concesserit, " eodem rege in sua potestate existente, ipse rex mihi sine " malo ingenio præsentetur; sed si me prius mori contigerit, " eadem conventio uni filiorum meorum quem ad hoc elegero " per omnia observetur, illi videlicet, qui ducturus est filiam " fratris regis Angliæ in uxorem; et si illi non fuerit, alii filio " meo eadem servetur conventio. [117.]

The ransom of Richard fixed; and the duke to have half.

Terms of payment.

Provision in case of deaths.

" Item rex Anglorum dabit domino Imperatori quinquaginta

A.D. 1193. Feb. 14. Richard is to assist the emperor to conquer Sicily.

"galeas cum hominibus et expensis et aliis omnibus attinentiis, "et centum milites cum quinquaginta balistariis in eisdem "ponet galeis, et ipse præter hæc in propria persona cum "centum aliis militibus et quinquaginta balistariis intrabit "regnum Siciliæ cum domino Imperatore, et bona fide assistet "ei quousque regnum obtineat, nisi de bona ejus voluntate et "licentia ab eo recedat. Et ut idem rex hæc omnia fideliter "exsequatur et persolvat, dabit domino meo Imperatori ducentos "obsides meliores de terra ditionis suæ, quos dominus Im-"perator ab eo requiret, nisi domino Imperatori de veritate "constiterit, quod aliquis vel aliqui ex illis ita manifeste se "ei opponat vel opponant, quod illum vel illos nullatenus "habere posset; et tunc loco illius vel illorum alium vel alios "quem vel quos dominus imperator denominaverit, idem rex ei "obsidem vel obsides dabit, exceptis filiis sororis suæ et Hein-"rici quondam ducis Saxoniæ, et filio fratris sui. Hii autem "quibus dominus Imperator eosdem obsides servandos com-"mittet, jurabunt quidem, si dominus Imperator, quod Deus "avertat, interim dum idem obsides in eorum sunt potestate, "decesserit, ipsos obsides dimittet absolutos et sine malo in-"genio in tutum locum conducet.

He is to give hostages for this.

The emperor is to detain the hostages until the duke is absolved.

"Item si rex Angliæ domino Imperatori universa quæ pro-"misit persolverit, dominus Imperator insuper obsides tamdiu "detinebit, quousque ipse rex me ducem Austriæ apud papam "absolvet. Si autem dictus rex promissum non persolverit "domino Imperatori, in voluntate ejus erit ut de obsidibus "regis agat [118] secundum suum beneplacitum, ita quod ego "dux Austriæ nihil inde habeam disponere. Ad hæc dominus "Imperator decem nobiles de imperio suo jurare faciet, tales "videlicet quales ego dux elegero, quod si rex Angliæ uni-"versa quæ ei promisit, persolverit, obsides ejus dimittentur "absoluti.

The emperor of Cyprus is to be freed.

"Item dominus Imperator regem Angliæ in potestate sua "tamdiu detinebit, quousque rex Cypri et ejus filia qui in capti-"vitate regis sunt, absolvantur. Si autem rex Cypri et ejus "filia absoluti sunt a captivitate, et pro liberatione eorum "aliquid datum est vel exactum, dominus Imperator regem "Angliæ similiter in potestate sua detinebit quousque illud "ex integro restituatur.

In case Richard fails to fulfil the conditions of his release within a year,

"Item si rex Angliæ infra hunc annum præsentem, vide-"licet ab hoc Capite Jejunii usque ad Caput sequentis Jejunii, "neque pecuniam promissam neque obsides dederit, vel uno "istorum completo reliquum obmiserit, et transacto illo ter-"mino de conscientia mea domino Imperatori de veritate "constiterit, quod dictus rex neque pecuniam promissam "neque obsides persolvere possit, vel uno istorum facto al-

" terum non fecerit, et eo cognito, si dominus Imperator regem " mihi offerre noluerit, in optione mea erit, ut de supradictis " ducentis obsidibus, quorum dominus Imperator mihi dabit " quinquaginta, videlicet qui pueri sint et non milites, quos " ego voluero retineam, aliis dimissis, et rex Angliæ in meam " recipiatur potestatem. Si autem regem Angliæ in potestate " domini Imperatoris decedere contigerit prædicti ducenti " obsides [119] domini Imperatoris erunt absoluti, nisi domi- " nus Imperator de supradicta pecunia aliquid perceperit; " cujus medietatem ego non habuerim, quia medietate habita " idem obsides erunt absoluti. His autem omnibus, secundum " quod supra dicta sunt, bona fide et sine malo ingenio com- " pletis, dominus Imperator sæpedicto Anglorum regi pacem " firmam observare tenetur et concordiam. Datum apud Wirz- " purch, anno ab Incarnatione Domini M° C° X C° III°., Kalend. " xvi. Martii."

A.D. 1193. Feb. 14. Richard is to be given up again to the duke, or fifty of the hostages.

Dum vero in captivitate in Austria adhuc detineretur, fama velox vicina regna et regnorum principes penetravit, et auditam humiliationem et captionem tanti viri mirati, certitudinem hujus facti a duce Austria litteris suis inquirentes ipsi scripserunt. Ut igitur probabilius esse credatur quod prius eum diximus suspectum haberi de morte Marchionis Chunradi, rescriptum epistolæ regis Franciæ, qui secum conversatus est in transmarinis partibus, cui etiam res ex aliqua parte notior erat, subjungere dignum duximus;

News of Richard's capture.

"Phylippus Dei gratia Franciæ rex carissimo amico suo " nobili duci Austriæ salutem et sinceræ dilectionis pleni- " tudinem. Quoniam quam perverse et contra Deum et contra " hominem Ricardus impiissimus rex Angliæ in transmarinis " partibus vixerit et fecerit, oculo ad oculum vidistis et au- " distis, singula vobis ad memoriam non oportet reducere. " Verum scimus vos fixa tenere memoria quod Ricardus Chun- " radum marchionem et dominum Tyri, qui usque ad supremum " diei exitum defensor et columna Christianitatis exstitit, " sine [120] causa et nullis præcedentibus meritis, consan- " guineum quondam vestrum carissimum et nostrum, per " Assessinos crudeliter fecit interfici. Modis igitur omnibus " quibus possumus preces ex intimo cordis affectu procedentes " vobis porrigimus, quatenus intuitu misericordiæ Dei et " respectu cujusque servitii quod unquam vobis potuerimus " exhibere, prædictum Ricardum sub arcta teneatis custodia " nec aliqui modo eum liberetis, donec vobis et nos cum il- " lustri Romanorum Imperatore ore ad os aut per nuncios de " latere nostro locuti fuerimus."

Letter of Philip to Leopold accusing Richard of the assassination of Conrad.

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A.D. 1194. Release of Richard.

[121.] Rex vero Angliæ Ricardus adhuc in captivitate detentus, pecunia laudata ex parte data, ex parte etiam adhuc danda positis obsidibus nobilibus, inter quos erat filius regis Novariensis, et filius ducis quondam Saxoniæ qui erat sororius regis Ricardi, liber abire permittitur. Qui obsides non solum pro pecunia, verum etiam pro reliquis articulis conventionis solvendis, servabantur.

CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

PARS POSTERIOR.

Benedict, ii. 71.

Itaque sepulto rege, comes Ricardus filius ejus statim injecit manus in Stephanum de Turonis,[1] senescallum Andegaviæ: et mittens eum in carcerem gravibus compedibus et ferreis manicis catenatum, exigebat ab eo castella et thesauros regis patris sui, quos ipse in custodia habuit: quibus traditis, comes Ricardus redemit eum usque ad novissimum quadrantem.

A.D. 1189. July. Richard compels the Steward of Anjou to give up king Henry's treasures.

Benedict, ii. 72.

Eodem vero tempore, quo prædictus rex Angliæ obiit, Matildis ducissa Saxoniæ, filia ejus, similiter obiit.[2]

Matilda of Saxony dies.

Ricardus filius Henrici regis factus est dux Normannorum.

Benedict, ii. 73.

Deinde venit idem comes Ricardus Rothomagum, et a Waltero Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, coram episcopis et comitibus et baronibus Normanniæ, accinctus est gladio ducatus Normanniæ, in ipsa die Sanctæ Margaretæ, feria quinta, decimo tertio kalendas Augusti. Deinde acceptis fidelitatibus a clero et populo ducatus Normanniæ, dedit Gaufrido, filio Rotrodi comitis de Pertico, Matildam filiam ducis Saxoniæ, neptem suam, in uxorem.

July 20. Richard made duke of Normandy: he marries his niece to Geoffrey of Perche.

Tertia autem die sequenti, scilicet festo Sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, Philippus rex Franciæ, et Ricardus dux Nor-

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[1] He is called by Richard of Devizes, *Stephanus de Marzai;* by Benedict, *Stephanus Tirconensis* (ii. 9.) and *de Turonis* (ii. 67.). Stephen de Turneham was a companion of Richard on the Crusade (Itin. 299, 337), and Sheriff of Wiltshire in 1199.

[2] *obiit*] July 13, R. de Diceto, c. 645; June 28, Chron. Stederburg. Leibnitz, *Scr. R. Br.* i. 861.

A.D. 1189. July 22. Interview between Richard and Philip: agreement between them.

manniæ, convenerunt inter Calvum Montem et Trie ad colloquium. Ubi rex Franciæ constanter petebat, ut dux Normanniæ reddidisset ei Gisortium, et alia multa, quæ longum est per singula dinumerare. Sed ipse Ricardus videns, quod si ipse hoc fecisset, in damnum et opprobrium sempiternum sibi redundaret, adjecit illis supradictis viginti millibus marcarum argenti, quas rex pater suus conventionaverat[1] se daturum regi Franciæ, quatuor millia marcarum argenti, et sic gratiam et amorem suum obtinuit, et rex Franciæ reddidit ei omnia quæ per guerram super regem patrem suum ceperat, tam castella quam civitates et alias munitiones, et villas et prædia.

Benedict, ii. 74.

Queen Eleanor orders a release of prisoners throughout England: the liberation of offenders against the forest law; and of others imprisoned otherwise than by the common right.

Interim Alienor regina, mater prædicti ducis, reginalem curiam circumducens, de civitate in civitatem et de castello in castellum, sicut ei placuit, profecta est; et missis legatis per universos comitatus Angliæ, præcepit captivos omnes a carceribus et captionibus liberos reddi pro anima Henrici domini sui: ut a propria persona sua argumentum eliceret, captiones molestas esse hominibus, et jocundissimam animæ refocillationem ab ipsis emergere. Præterea præcepit, ex mandato ducis filii sui, quod omnes qui capti fuerant pro foresta liberarentur quieti, et ut omnes uthlegati pro foresta ad pacem redirent de præcedentibus forisfactis forestæ quieti; et ut omnes alii qui capti fuerant, et retenti per voluntatem regis, vel justitiæ ejus, qui non erant retenti per commune rectum comitatus vel hundredi, vel per appellationem, essent quieti; et illi qui per commune rectum sunt retenti, si plegios invenire possunt standi ad rectum, si quis adversus eos loqui voluerit, liberentur; sin autem juramentum præstant standi ad rectum si quis adversus eos loqui voluerit, per tantum liberentur: et illi qui per appellationem sunt retenti pro quacunque turpi causa, si plegios standi ad rectum invenire possunt, ut plenum inde fiat,[2] liberentur: et illi qui uthlegati sunt per commune rectum sine appellatione, per justitias redeant ad pacem, ita quod plegios inveniant standi ad rectum, si quis versus eos loqui voluerit. Si autem per appellationem retenti[3] sunt, si fecerint pacem cum adversariis suis, redeant ad pacem: et omnes illi qui retenti sunt

Persons so imprisoned to be released on bail.

Benedict, ii. 75.

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[1] *conventionaverat*] concionaverat, B. D.

[2] *fiat*] et, ins. I.

[3] *retenti*] retati, B. G. I.; utlagati, Benedict.

Benedict, ii. 75. per appellationem illorum qui se malefactores esse cognoscunt, liberentur quieti, et illi malefactores, quibus pro suis probationibus concessa sunt membra et vita, abjurent terram domini Ricardi et abscedant: et illi malefactores qui sine concessione vitæ et membrorum alios appellant propria voluntate, in prisone[1] custodiantur, donec aliud inde habeatur consilium. Et præcepit, quod unusquisque liberorum hominum totius regni jurasset, quod fidem portabit domino Ricardo regi[2] Angliæ, filio domini regis Henrici, et dominæ Alienor reginæ, de vita et membris suis, et honore terreno, sicut ligio domino suo, contra omnes homines et fœminas qui vivere possunt et mori, et quod ei justitiabiles erunt, et auxilium ei præstabunt ad pacem et justitiam suam per omnia servandam. A.D. 1189. July. Malefactors admitted approvers, are to abjure the realm; others appealing as approvers, to remain in prison. Oaths to be taken of all free men.

Præterea idem dux Normanniæ reddidit Roberto comiti Leicestriæ omnes terras suas, quas pater illius ei abstulerat; et omnes, quos pater suus exhæredavit, in pristina jura restituit. The earl of Leicester restored.

Benedict, ii. 72. Illos autem omnes, tam clericos quam laicos, qui, relicto patre suo, illi adhæserunt, odio habuit, et a familiaritate sua alienos fecit: illos vero, qui patri suo fideliter servierunt secum retinuit, et multis bonis ditavit. Richard rewards his father's friends.

Benedict, ii. 75. Deinde idem dux transfretavit in Angliam apud Barbeflet idus Augusti, die Dominica proxima ante Assumptionem beatæ Dei genitricis Mariæ: et ante eum venerunt in Angliam Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, et Henricus Bajocensis et Johannes Ebroicensis episcopi, expectantes in Anglia illius adventum. Veneruntque similiter de Normannia Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Gilbertus Rofensis, et Hugo Lincolniensis, et Hugo Cestrensis episcopi. Aug. 13. Richard crosses from Barfleur.

Dux itaque, et Johannes frater suus cum eo, venerunt in Angliam. De quorum adventu gavisa sunt regna, quia se per illos[3] in meliorem statum reformari sperabant. Et quamvis quidam, perpauci tamen, molesti essent de nece domini regis, solatium tamen illis fuit, quod quidam ait: "Mira canam, sol "occubuit, nox nulla secuta est."[4] Vere nulla nox secuta est Joy at the arrival of Richard and John. Benedict, ii. 76.

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[1] *prisone*] prisona, B. I.

[2] *regi*] domino, Benedict; Richard having not yet been crowned.

[3] *quorum . . . illos*] ducis . . . illum, Benedict. It would not have occurred to any one writing very early in Richard's reign that the arrival of John would be an occasion of rejoicing.

[4] MS. G. continues, in the text, to quote; "Ordinat in Siculo Sol "novus orbe diem; Sol geminus "Siculis illuxerat, alter eclipsym "Passus habet tenebras, alter abesse "vetat. Sic pater in nato passo "si passus, utrumvis Aufer, abest "neuter, alter uterque fuit. Solis "in occasu sol alter protulit ortum, "Sol novus in terris oritur, sol "cujus ad ortum sol vetus occasus

A.D. 1189. August. Joy at Richard's accession.

post occasum solis. Nam radius solis solium solis tenens, sole suo jubar lucidius ac latius spargit. Cum enim sol a suo solio in solum deciderit, stans tamen ejus radius, occasum vel eclipsim nesciens, de corpore solari repente divisus, et in se solide reverberatus, sol sole, cujus fuit radius, nulla nubium interpolatione vel injuria impediente, multo major et lucidior est effectus. Et ne scrupulosum quid animum legentis lædat, præsenti plenius perpendere poterit pentametro: Benedict, ii. 76.

"Sol pater, et radius filius ejus erat."

Filius itaque in immensum crescens, patris sui bona opera ampliavit, mala vero resecavit. Nam quos pater exhæredavit, filius in pristina jura restituit; quos pater fugavit, filius revocavit; quos pater in vinculis tenuit, filius illæsos abire permisit; quos pater causa justitiæ diversis pœnis afflixit, filius causa pietatis refocillavit.

Richard bestows several counties and castles on John.

Præfatus igitur dux Normanniæ Ricardus, filius Henrici regis Angliæ proximo defuncti, venit in Angliam, et dedit Johanni[1] fratri suo comitatum Moretonii, et comitatum Cornubiæ, et Dorsete, et Sumerseta, et comitatum de Notingham, et comitatum de Derebisire, et comitatum de Loncastre,[2] et castellum de Merleberge, et de Lutegareshale, cum forestis et omnibus pertinentiis eorum; et honorem de Walingford, et honorem de Tikehil,[3] et honorem de Haia;[4] et comitatum de Gloucestria cum filia comitis, et eam fecit illi desponsari statim; Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo prohibente, quia erant consanguinei in quarto gradu. Præterea dedit ei le Pec et Bollesoveres.[5] Sed quædam castella prædictorum comitatuum et honorum retinuit dux in manu sua. Præterea idem dux dedit Andreæ de Cha- Benedict, ii. 73, 78, 99.

Archbishop Baldwin objects to John's marriage with the heiress of Gloucester.

Benedict, ii. 76.

"proprios lugere putetur." MS. A. has the last three lines in the margin. They are perhaps borrowed from some poem on the accession of William I. or II. of Sicily. MS. G. has in the margin, in a very early hand, the following couplets: "Sol "speculum solis condet, sol forma "remansit In speculo, oblita corporis "ire comes;" and "In numero "dampnum pateris, fuerant duo "penses; Facta vides nati; nescis "abesse patrem."

[1] *Johanni*] Hoveden here masses his information about the provision made for John. According to Benedict (ii. 73) he gave him Mortain and the heiress of Gloucester, at Rouen, July 20: Marlborough, Ludgershall, the Peak and Bolsover; the honours of Peverell, Nottingham, Lancaster, Wallingford and Tickhill; and Derbyshire; after his landing in England, before the coronation (ii. 78): and the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset and Somerset, in December; ii. 99.

[2] *Loncastre*] Lencastre, B. I.

[3] *Tikehil*] Tikehelle, I.

[4] *Haia*] Eya, B. G. I. So also A. as a correction.

[5] *Bollesoveres*] Boleshoveres, G, I.; Bolesoures, B.

Benedict, ii. 76. venni filiam Radulfi de Dols, cum honore castri Radulfi in Berria, quæ fuerat uxor comitis Baldewini de Rivers, et statim fecit eos desponsari apud Saresbiriam in præsentia Alienor Benedict, ii. 73. reginæ; et Willelmo Marescallo, filiam comitis Ricardi de Striguil, cum comitatu de Striguil; et Gilberto filio Rogeri filii Rainfrai, filiam Willelmi de Loncastre; et Gaufrido fratri suo notho, qui quondam fuerat Lincolniensis ecclesiæ electus, archiepiscopatum Eboraci. A.D. 1189. August. Marriage of the heiresses of Châteauroux, Striguil, and Lancaster.

De electione Gaufridi, Eboracensis archiepiscopi.

Benedict, ii. 77. Quem canonici Eboracensis ecclesiæ sibi per assensum regis in archiepiscopum elegerunt. Et quamvis magister Bartholomæus, officialis Huberti Walteri, ejusdem ecclesiæ decani, et ante electionem et post, appellasset ad præsentiam summi pontificis, eo quod Hugo Dunelmensis [1] episcopus, ejusdem ecclesiæ Eboracensis [2] filius specialis, et Hubertus Walteri, ejusdem ecclesiæ decanus, aberant, ad quos prima vox electionis spectabat, tamen prædicti canonici ab inceptis desistere noluerunt, sed supradictum elegerunt, et sigillis suis confirmaverunt. Election of Geoffrey to the see of York. [3] At episcopo Dunelmensi et Huberto Walteri conquerentibus de transgressione Benedict, ii. 78. canonicorum illorum, præcepit dux quod omnia Eboracensis ecclesiæ essent in eo statu quo fuerunt die qua rex pater suus fuit vivus et mortuus; unde factum est, quod jura ecclesiastica archiepiscopatus Eboracensis redierunt in manum Huberti Walteri et officialium suorum, sicut antea fuerant, et sæcularia beneficia ejusdem archiepiscopatus redierunt in custodiam servientum ducis. Appeal of the Bishop of Durham and the Dean of York.

Eodem anno obiit Gaufridus Elyensis episcopus apud Wintoniam, duodecimo kalendas Septembris, et delatus ad Ely, ibidem sepultus est, et Ricardus dux cepit omnes Benedict, ii. 76. thesauros suos. Præterea idem dux misit episcopos et Aug. 21. Death of Geoffrey Ridel.

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[1] *Dunelmensis*] ecclesiæ, ins. Savile.

[2] *Eboracensis*] om. Savile, I.

[3] The corresponding passage in Benedict, although drawn up in a different form, presents little either in language or in matter that accounts for the fact that Hoveden has chosen here to depart from his usual plan. The older Chronicle is a little more circumstantial, mentioning the share taken by Godfrey de Lucy, and the previous election of Hubert Walter.

A.D. 1189. August. Richard takes account of his father's treasures.

comites et barones suos per omnes thesauros regis patris sui, et totum thesaurum qui inventus fuerat, in auro et argento, fecit computari et ponderari, cujus numerum et mensuram longum est enarrare, quia thesaurus ille erat [1] magnus valde, excedens numerum et valentiam centum millia marcarum.[2] Deinde misit servientes et ballivos suos per universos portus maris Angliæ, et Normanniæ, et Pictaviæ, et aliarum terrarum suarum, et de universis navibus fecit sibi eligi et majores et meliores, quæ aptæ erant ad magnum pondus portandum, et quasdam illarum distribuit familiaribus suis qui crucem Jerosolimitanæ profectionis susceperant, et quasdam illarum ad opus suum retinuit; et fecit illas onerari armis et victualibus. Benedict, ii. 77.

He orders a fleet to be raised for the Crusade.

Sept. 3. Coronation of Richard, at Westminster.

Deinde idem dux venit Lundonias, congregatis ibi archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus et baronibus, et copiosa militum multitudine in occursum ejus; quorum consilio et assensu ipse dux tertio nonas Septembris, die Dominica, festo ordinationis beati Gregorii papæ, die quoque Ægyptiaca, consecratus et coronatus est in regem Angliæ, Lundoniis apud Westmonasterium, a Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, ministrantibus ei in illa coronatione Waltero Rothomagensi, Johanne Dublicensi, Formale Treverensi [3] archiepiscopis, et Hugone Dunelmensi, et Hugone Lincolniensi, et Hugone Cestrensi, et Willelmo Herefordensi, et Willelmo Wigornensi, et Johanne Exoniensi, et Reginaldo Bathoniensi, et Johanne Norewicensi, et Sefrido Cicestrensi, et Gilberto Rofensi, et Petro de Sancto David, et de Sancto Asaph, et de Pangor, et Albino Fernensi,[4] et Concorde Hegdunensi [5] episcopis, et omnibus fere abbatibus et prioribus, et comitibus et baronibus Angliæ astantibus. Benedict, ii. 78. Benedict, ii. 79.

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[1] *erat*] om. B. I.

[2] *centum millia marcarum*] nongenta millia librarum, Benedict; where for *nongenta* perhaps we should read *nonaginta*.

[3] Formalis, Formator, or Fulmar, was elected archbishop of Treves in 1183 by a portion of the chapter, and consecrated by Urban III. in 1186: he was deprived by Clement III. in 1189; died in England at Northampton. Benedict, ii. 89.

[4] *Albino Fernensi*] Bishop 1185–1222.

[5] *Hegdunensi*] Hecdunensi, G. Bishop of Enaghdun in the province of Tuam.

Incipit ordo coronationis Ricardi regis Angliæ.[1] A.D. 1189.

Benedict, ii. 80. In primis venerunt episcopi et abbates, et clerici multi induti cappis sericis, præcedentibus eos cruce, ceroferariis, turribulis cum aqua benedicta, usque ad ostium thalami regis interioris, et ibi receperunt prædictum Ricardum ducem, qui coronandus erat, et duxerunt eum in ecclesiam Westmonasterii, usque ad altare majus, cum ordinata processione, et cantu glorioso; et omnis via, qua gradiebantur ab ostio thalami regis usque ad altare, cooperta erat pannis laneis. Sept. 3. Order of the Coronation services.

Ordo autem processionis talis erat. In prima fronte præcedebant clerici induti, portantes aquam benedictam et cruces, et cereos et turribulos. Deinde veniebant priores, deinde abbates, deinde episcopi, et in medio illorum ibant quatuor barones portantes quatuor candelabra aurea. Procession of the clergy.

Benedict, ii. 81. Deinde venerunt Godefridus de Luci portans pilleum regium, et Johannes Marescallus juxta eum portans duo calcaria aurea magna et ponderosa; deinde venerunt Willelmus Marescallus, comes de Striguil, portans sceptrum regale aureum,[2] in cujus summitate est crux aurea; et Willelmus Patricii, comes de Salesbiri juxta eum, gestans virgam auream habentem in summitate columbam auream. Deinde venerunt David frater regis Scotiæ comes de Huntedun, et Johannes comes Moretonii frater ducis, et Robertus comes Leicestriæ, portantes tres gladios[3] regios sumptos de thesauro regis, quorum vaginæ desuper per totum auro contectæ[4] erant; medius autem illorum ibat comes Moretonii. The regalia: spurs, sceptre, virge, and swords.

Deinde veniebant sex comites et[5] barones portantes in humeris suis unum scaccarium magnum valde, super quod posita erant regalia insignia et vestes. The royal robes.

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[1] Matthew Paris gives a similar account of the coronation, more closely resembling that of Benedict than the text, in the few and unimportant places where the two differ. He indicates the common source of information, the Rolls (M. Paris, ed. Wats, p. 154) or Consuetudines (*Abbreviatio*, ed. Madden, iii. 209) of the Exchequer.

[2] *aureum*] om. I.

[3] *gladios*] aureos, ins. Savile.

[4] *contectæ*] contextæ, B. D.

[5] *et*] sex, ins. Savile.

A.D. 1189. Sept. 3. Procession of the crown. Deinde venit[1] Willelmus de Mandeville, comes Albemarliæ, gestans coronam auream magnam et ponderosam, lapidibus pretiosis undique decoratam. Benedict, ii. 81.

The duke under a canopy. Deinde venit Ricardus dux Normanniæ; et Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus ibat a dextris illius, et Reginaldus Bathoniensis episcopus a sinistris illius ibat, et quatuor barones portaverunt supra eos umbraculum sericum super quatuor lanceas proceras, et omnis turba comitum et baronum, et militum, et aliorum, tam clericorum quam laicorum, sequebatur usque in atrium ecclesiæ, et induti introierunt cum duce usque in chorum.

Oaths taken by the duke. Cum autem dux ad altare veniret coram archiepiscopis, episcopis, et clero, et populo, flexis genibus ante altare, coram positis sacrosanctis evangeliis, et plurimorum sanctorum reliquiis,[2] juravit quod ipse omnibus diebus vitæ suæ pacem, et honorem, atque reverentiam Deo, et Sanctæ Ecclesiæ, et ejus ordinatis portaret. Deinde juravit, quod rectam justitiam et æquitatem exerceret in populo sibi commisso. Deinde juravit, quod malas leges, et consuetudines perversas, si quæ in regno suo inductæ sunt, deleret, et bonas leges conderet, et sine fraude et malo ingenio eas custodiret. Benedict, ii. 82.

He is undressed. Deinde denudaverunt eum totum exceptis camisia et braccis. Camisia autem dissuta erat in scapulis.

The sandals put on. Deinde calciaverunt eum sandaliis auro contextis.

The anointing. Deinde Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, infundens oleum sanctum super caput ejus, unxit eum in regem in tribus locis, videlicet, in capite, in pectore, in brachiis, quod significat gloriam, fortitudinem, et scientiam, cum orationibus ad hoc constitutis.

The cap. Deinde posuit idem archiepiscopus super caput ejus consecratum pannum lineum, et pilleum desuper, quod Godefridus de Luci portaverat.

The tunic and dalmatic. Deinde induerunt eum vestimentis regalibus. Primo, videlicet, tunica, deinde dalmatica.

Deinde tradidit ei idem archiepiscopus gladium regni, ad malefactores ecclesiæ comprimendos.

The sword and spurs. Deinde duo comites calciaverunt ei calcaria, quæ Johannes Marescallus portaverat.

The mantle. Deinde indutus est mantea.

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[1] *venit*] veniebat, Savile.
[2] *reliquiis*] ut moris est, ins. Savile, B. D. I.

Benedict, ii. 82. Deinde ductus est ad altare, et ibi prædictus archiepiscopus prohibuit ei ex parte Omnipotentis Dei, ne hunc honorem sibi assumeret nisi in mente haberet supradicta sacramenta et vota quæ fecerat inviolabiliter servare; et ipse respondit se per auxilium Dei omnia supradicta servaturum sine fraude.[1] A.D. 1189. Sept. 3. The adjuration and answer.

Deinde ipse cepit coronam de altari, et tradidit eam archiepiscopo, et archiepiscopus[2] posuit eam super caput illius, quam duo comites sustinebant propter ponderositatem ipsius. The crowning.

Deinde tradidit ei archiepiscopus sceptrum regale in manu dextra, et virgam regalem in sinistra,[3] et rex sic coronatus ductus est ad sedem suam a prædictis Dunelmensi et Bathoniensi episcopis, præcedentibus eos ceroferariis, et prædictis tribus gladiis. The gift of sceptre and virge. Benedict, ii. 83.

Deinde inchoata est missa Dominicalis. Et cum perveniretur ad offertorium, prædicti episcopi duxerunt eum ad altare, et ipse obtulit unam marcam auri purissimi; talis enim oblatio decet regem in singulis coronationibus suis; et præfati episcopi reduxerunt eum ad sedem suam. Mass. The king's oblation.

Celebrata autem missa, et omnibus rite perfectis,[4] prædicti duo episcopi, unus a dextris, et alter a sinistris, reduxerunt eum coronatum, et portantem sceptrum in dextra, et virgam regalem in sinistra, ab ecclesia usque in thalamum suum, præcedente ordinata processione, ut superius. Return of the procession to the royal chamber.

Deinde reversa est processio in chorum: et dominus rex deposuit coronam regalem et vestes regales; et leviores coronam et vestes cepit, et sic coronatus venit prandere; et archiepiscopi et episcopi sederunt cum eo in mensa, unusquisque secundum ordinem et dignitatem suam. Comites autem The king unrobes. The coronation feast.

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[1] *sine fraude*] om. I.

[2] *et archiepiscopus*] tradidit ei et, ins. Savile, I.

[3] The giving of the sceptre and virge are placed by Benedict before the unction: and in this Brompton's version confirms Benedict. The version of Matthew Paris indirectly confirms the former order, for he represents the king as holding the sceptre and virge at the moment of coronation. At the same time, the king could not have taken the crown from the altar, holding the sceptre and virge. In the Pontifical of Egbert the sceptre and staff were given before the imposition of the cap. The order there is: 1, unction; 2, sceptre; 3, staff; 4, cap. The later usage corroborates Hoveden's account. See Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia*, vol. iii. pp. 32–35.

[4] *perfectis*] peractis, Savile, B.D.I.

A.D. 1189. Sept. 3. The coronation feast. et barones serviebant in domo regis prout dignitates eorum exigebant. Cives vero Lundonienses servierunt de pincernaria, et cives Wintonienses de coquina. Benedict, ii. 83.

The raid on the Jews. Dum autem rex in mensa sederet, venerunt principes Judæorum deferentes regi munera, sed quia prohibitum erat eis die hesterna, quæ præteriit, ne ad curiam regis die coronationis suæ accederent, plebs superbo oculo, et insatiabili corde, irruit in Judæos, et spoliavit eos, et plagis impositis ejecerunt eos ab atrio regis. Story of Benedict of York. Inter quos erat Benedictus Judæus Eboraci,[1] qui cum a Christianis ita persecutus esset, et vulneratus, ut de vita desperaret, baptizatus est a Willelmo, priore ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ Eboraci, in ecclesia Innocentum, et vocatus est Willelmus, et sic evasit mortis periculum, et manus persequentium. Benedict, ii. 84. Quod cum cives Lundonienses audissent, invaserunt Judæos civitatis, et domos eorum combusserunt, et illos interfecerunt, pauci tamen evaserunt beneficio amicorum suorum Christianorum. Sept. 4. Richard punishes the rioters. In crastino autem coronationis regis misit rex servientes suos, et comprehendi fecit malefactores illos, qui civitatem incenderunt, non propter Judæos, sed propter domos et facultates Christianorum quas incenderunt et rapuerunt, et de illis quosdam fecit suspendi. Et eodem die fecit rex præfatum Willelmum, qui de Judæo factus erat Christianus, sibi præsentari; et ait illi, "Tu quis es?" et respondens dixit, "Ego sum Benedictus Judæus tuus de Eboraco;" et conversus rex [ad] archiepiscopum Cantuariensem et cæteros, qui dixerant ei prædictum Benedictum factum fuisse Christianum, ait illis; "Nonne dixistis mihi, quod ipse Christianus "est?" et responderunt illi, "Etiam, domine." Archbishop Baldwin loses his temper. Et ait illis: "Quid ergo faciemus de eo?" cui archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, minus circumspecte quam esset necesse, respondit in spiritu furoris sui, [2] "Ille Christianus esse non vult, "homo Diaboli sit:" debuerat enim respondisse; "Petimus

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[1] Hoveden's version of this story departs here in arrangement, from that of Benedict, although the wording and the matter are for the most part the same. Here as in some other passages he seems to have made it a point of honour to rewrite his Yorkshire news.

[2] *Ille*] Si, præf., B. D. I.

Benedict, ii. 84.

A.D. 1189. Sept. 4. The end of the relapsed Jew.

"de eo judicium Christianorum, desicut ipse Christi-"anus sit factus, et modo contradicit." Sed quia non erat qui resisteret, præfatus Willelmus reversus est ad Judaicam pravitatem, qui postmodum parvo interlapso tempore obiit apud Northamtoniam, et factus est alienus a communi sepultura Judæorum, similiter et Christianorum, tum quia factus fuerat Christianus, tum quia ipse, sicut canis reversus ad vomitum, rediit ad Judaicam pravitatem.

Sept. 5. Richard receives the homages.

Benedict, ii. 87, 90.

He sells castles, towns and estates.

Secunda autem die post coronationem suam Ricardus rex Angliæ recepit homagia et fidelitates ab episcopis[1] et comitibus et baronibus Angliæ: quibus expletis, rex exposuit venditioni omnia quæ habuit, scilicet, castella, villas et prædia. Unde factum est, quod Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus emit a rege bonum manerium suum de Sadberga, cum wapentac et feodis militum, pro sexcentis marcis argenti, in puram et perpetuam eleemosynam: et hac[2] carta confirmavit;

(Not in Benedict.)

Carta regis Ricardi de manerio de Sadbere vendito Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo.[3]

Sept. 18. Grant of Sadberge to the see of Durham.

"Ricardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aqui-"taniæ, comes Andegaviæ, archiepiscopis, episcopis, baroni-"bus, vicecomitibus, et omnibus ballivis et ministris totius "Angliæ, salutem. Sciatis nos dedisse et concessisse, et "præsenti carta confirmasse, Deo, et beato Cuthberto, et ec-"clesiæ Dunelmensi, et Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo, caro "consanguineo nostro, et successoribus ejus, in puram et "perpetuam eleemosynam, pro anima patris nostri et ante-"cessorum nostrorum,[4] et pro salute nostra et hæredum "nostrorum, et pro stabilitate et incremento regni nostri, "manerium nostrum de Sadberge, cum wapentac ad idem

[1] *episcopis*] et abbatibus, ins. B. I.

[2] *hac*] om. B. D. I.

[3] This charter is printed from the original deed in the *Scriptores Dunelmenses Tres*: App. p. lix.

[4] *et . . . nostrorum*] et ante successorum nostrorum, A.; et antecessorum et successorum nostrorum, B. D. I. The original deed confirms the text.

A.D. 1189. Sept. 18. Grant of Sadberge to the see of Durham.

(Not in Benedict.)

" manerium pertinente, et cum omnibus aliis rebus ad illud " pertinentibus, tam in hominibus, quam in terris[1] cultis et " incultis, in viis et semitis, in pratis et pasturis, in stagnis " et molendinis, in aquis et piscariis; et servitium Petri " Carou et hæredum suorum de feodo unius militis de Se-" tune, et de Ovetune; et servitium Thomæ de Amundevile " et hæredum suorum de feodo unius militis de Cottona,[2] et " de Treiford; et servitium filii Godefridi Baard et hæredum " suorum, de feodo duarum partium unius militis de Midel-" tun, et de Herteburne; quas terras de nobis tenebant inter " Tinam et Teisam; cum omnibus aliis rebus ad prædicta " feoda pertinentibus: in escambium pro servitio feodi trium " militum, quod Philippus de Kimba de ipso episcopo in " Lincolnesire tenebat, et pro feodo duorum militum, quod " Girardus de Camvilla de eodem ibidem tenebat, et pro " feodo unius militis, quod Baldewinus Wac, et filius Rogeri " de Osevile ibidem de eodem tenebant. Quare volumus et " præcipimus, quod prædictus Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, " et successores sui, prædicta duo feoda militum, et duas " partes feodi unius militis, cum prædicto manerio de Sad-" berge et wapentacco, sicut prædictum est, teneant, habeant, " et possideant libere et quiete et honorifice, cum omnibus " rebus ad ea pertinentibus in bosco et plano, cum socca et " sacca, et tol et them, et infangenthef, et cum omnibus " aliis libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus, et cum placitis " ad coronam pertinentibus, sicut nos ipsi in propria manu " nostra habebamus, et sicut ipse episcopus habet et tenet " alias terras suas, et feoda militum in episcopatu suo; et " ut tam ipse episcopus quam successores sui disponant de " hominibus et terris ad idem manerium pertinentibus, ad " libitum suum et voluntatem, sicut de aliis hominibus et " terris suis in eodem episcopatu suo faciunt. His testibus: " Baldewino Cantuariensi, Waltero Rothomagensi, Johanne " Dublinensi archiepiscopis; Reginaldo Bathoniensi, Hugone " Lincolniensi, Johanne Norewicensi,[3] Hugone Coventrensi, " Sefrido Cicestrensi, Gilleberto Rofensi, Johanne Exoniensi " episcopis; domino Johanne fratre domini regis, Willelmo " de Mandevilla comite de Exesse, Roberto comite de Lei-" cestria, Hamelino comite de Warennia, Gwalaranno comite " de Warewic, Willelmo comite de Arundel, Ricardo comite " de Clare, Willelmo comite de Saresbiri, Rogero Bigoto,

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[1] *terris*] cæteris, B. I.

[2] *Cottona*] Coctona, I.; Coctana, G.; Cotham, *orig.*

[3] *Norewicensi*] Willelmo Wigorniensi, *add. orig.*

(Not in Benedict.) "Willelmo Marescallo domino[1] de Striguil. Datum anno primo "regni nostri, xviii°. die Septembris, apud Gatingtun, per "manum Willelmi de Longo-campo, cancellarii nostri." A.D. 1189. Sept. 18.

Bishop Hugh buys the county of Northumberland.

Benedict, ii. 90. Præterea idem episcopus dedit prænominato regi[2] marcas argenti pro comitatu Northumbriæ habendo in vita sua, cum castellis et aliis pertinentiis suis.

Sept. 15-16. Richard holds a great council at Pipewell.

Benedict, ii. 85. Deinde venit rex ad abbatiam quæ dicitur Pipewelle, et congregatis ibi Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, et Waltero Rotomagensi archiepiscopo, et Johanne Dublinensi archiepiscopo, et Formale Treverensi archiepiscopo, et Hugone Dunelmensi episcopo, et Hugone Lincolniensi episcopo, et Hugone Cestrensi episcopo, et Johanne Northwicensi episcopo, et Johanne Ebroicensi episcopo, et Johanne Exoniensi episcopo, et Willelmo Herefordensi episcopo, et Willelmo Wigornensi episcopo, et Reginaldo Batoniensi episcopo, et Gilleberto Rofensi episcopo, et Sefrido Cycestrensi episcopo, et Henrico Bajocensi episcopo, et Petro episcopo de Sancto David in Walia, et Albino Fernensi episcopo, et Concorde Hegdonensi[3] episcopo, et abbatibus et prioribus fere totius Angliæ; idem rex dedit Godefrido de Luci episcopatum Wintoniensem; et Ricardo thesaurario, Eliensi archidiacono, episcopatum Londoniensem;[4] et Willelmo de Lunchamp, cancellario suo, episcopatum Eliensem; et Huberto Walteri, decano Eboraci, episcopatum Salesbiriensem; et abbatiam de Selebi Rogero ejusdem abbatiæ priori; et abbatiam de Glastingbiri[5] priori de Bermundesaia; et Galfrido fratri suo, quondam Lincolniensi

He gives the see of Winchester to Godfrey de Lucy: London to Richard Fitz-Neal; Ely to William Longchamp; Salisbury to Hubert Walter.

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[1] *domino*] comite, *orig.*; Strugoil, B.

[2] *regi*] The number of marks is left blank in the MSS., and the price is not mentioned by Benedict, or in the original grant, *Scr. Dun. Tres.*, App. p. lxii. Richard of Devizes (p. 8), gives 10,000 marks as the payment made by bishop Hugh for all his honours, 1,000 being given for the justiciarship. Ben. P. ii. 90. The original grant is dated Nov. 25, at Westminster.

[3] *Hegdonensi*] Heedonensi, G.

[4] *Lundoniensem*] Lincolniensem, D. I., Savile.

[5] *Glastingbiri*] Henrico de Soilli, ins. B.D.I., Savile. Henry de Soilli, or de Sulli, a descendant probably of count Stephen of Blois, and therefore a kinsman of the king. A. Domerham; *Ang. Sac.* i. 578. The Annals of Bermondsey make the prior, who became abbot of Glastonbury in 1189, a different person from Henry de Soilli, whose appointment to Bermondsey they place in 1186, and his death the same year. But there is no sufficient reason to doubt the identity of the two.

A.D. 1189. Sept. 16. Other promotions made at the council of Pipewell.

electo, archiepiscopatum Eboracensem; et Henrico, fratri Willelmi Marescalli, decanatum Eboracensis ecclesiæ; et Bucardo de Puteaco, nepoti Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi, thesaurariam Eboracensis ecclesiæ. Et Willelmo de Chimeli[1] archidiaconatum de Richemund; et Willelmo de Sanctæ Mariæ Ecclesia, præbendam quæ fuit Huberti Walteri in ecclesia Eboraci, et decanatum Sancti Martini Lundoniæ.

Benedict, ii. 85.

Benedict, ii. 86.

The archbishop of Canterbury claims the right of consecrating the archbishop elect of York.

Cum igitur Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus videret[2] archiepiscopatum Eboracensem datum fuisse præfato Galfrido, calumniatus est consecrationem illius, et prohibuit ei ne ipse ab alio quam ab eo consecrationem seu sacerdotalem ordinem susciperet, et super hoc appellavit ad dominum papam; et coram rege, et universis episcopis, et clero et populo, cartam[3] Willelmi regis Bastardi, in qua continebatur controversia quæ olim vertebatur inter Cantuariensem et Eboracensem ecclesiam super primatia Angliæ, et quibusdam aliis dignitatibus, protulit. In carta autem illa continebatur, quod Thomas, tunc temporis Eboracensis archiepiscopus, ordinem sacerdotalem, et episcopalem consecrationem, suscepit de manu Lamfranci, tunc temporis Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et totius Angliæ primatis, et ei canonicam obedientiam fecit, et ad concilia sua, cum Lindisfarnensis ecclesiæ episcopo, et cæteris suffraganeis suis, venit, et ei reverentiam omnem sicut primati suo exhibuit. Carta autem illa testabatur hæc omnia supradicta facta fuisse coram rege Willelmo in generali concilio apud Lundonias per diffinitivam sententiam ab Alexandro papa secundo prolatam.

Sept. 17. Consecration of the bishop of Whithern.

Insequenti vero die Johannes electus Candidæ Casæ consecratus est in episcopum a Johanne Dublinensi archiepiscopo,[4] apud Pipewelle, xv°. kalendas Octobris, die Dominica.

Benedict, ii. 87.

Richard appoints the bishop of Durham and earl of Essex, chief justiciars.

In eodem vero concilio dominus rex constituit Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum, et Willelmum comitem Albemarliæ, summos justitiarios Angliæ, et associavit eis in regimine regni Willelmum Marescallum, et Gaufridum filium Petri, et Willelmum Bruere, et Robertum de Wihtefeld, et Rogerum filium Reinfridi.[5]

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[1] *Willelmo de Chimeli*] He is called William de Chamvil by Benedict; but in this case Hoveden, who is consistent throughout, is probably right.

[2] *videret*] vidisset, Savile.

[3] This charter may be found in William of Malmesbury, *G. R.* iii., and in many other places.

[4] Benedict here gives the names of the assistant bishops Formalis of Treves and Concord of Enaghdun.

[5] *Wihtefeld . . . Reinfridi*] Witefeld . . . Refredi, B. The associa-

Benedict, ii. 88, 91.

A.D. 1189. September.

Geoffrey elect of York, objecting to some of the promotions, is dispossessed of his estates.

Gaufridus vero Eboracensis electus statim murmuravit contra Henricum fratrem Willelmi Marescaldi, et Bucardum nepotem Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi, et Willelmum de Chimili, et Willelmum de Sanctæ Mariæ Ecclesia, et Rogerum electum abbatiæ Sancti Germani de Selebi, quibus rex supradictos honores dederat, et juravit quod donatio illa regis[1] non staret, nisi de consensu et voluntate illius. Unde rex iratus disseisivit eum de archiepiscopatu Eboraci, et facta est inter regem et illum discordia gravis, adeo quod etiam rex disseisivit eum de omnibus tenementis suis citra mare et ultra. Sed paulo post prædictus Eboracensis electus recepit ordinem sacerdotalem a Johanne episcopo Candidæ Casæ, suffraganeo suo, mense Septembris, Sabbato quatuor temporum, apud Suuelle.

Benedict, ii. 88.

He is ordained priest, Sept. 23, at Southwell.

Interim Ricardus rex Angliæ missis nunciis suis ad Clementem papam, obtinuit ab eo litteras patentes, ut quoscunque ipse vellet dimittere ad terras suas custodiendas, essent quieti a captione crucis, et ab itinere Jerosolimitano, unde ipse sibi[2] inæstimabilem acquisivit pecuniam.

Richard gets leave from the pope to dispense with the vow of pilgrimage.

Henricus autem frater Willelmi Marescalli, cui rex dederat decanatum Eboracensis ecclesiæ, venit usque Burhtun[3] in Lindesia, et ibi suscepit ordinem subdiaconi et diaconi in una die, a Concorde Hegdunensi episcopo. Cumque[4] idem Henricus Eboracum veniret, cum litteris regis, ad recipiendum decanatum, non invenit qui eum in stallum decani mitteret. Dicebant enim clerici Eboracensis ecclesiæ, quod nullus præter archiepiscopum debuit mittere eum in stallum decani.

Henry, dean of York, ordained deacon.

He comes to York, and is installed by the precentor as a prebendary only.

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tion of the five last named barons in the commission of the justiceship is not mentioned by Benedict, as part of the business done at Pipewell; but he names Hugh Bardolf and William Bruer as judicial colleagues of the Chancellor and Justiciar in December following, ii. 101, and in the corresponding place Hoveden adds the names of William Marshall and Geoffrey Fitz-Peter. Whether these or any of them received a formal commission is a little doubtful; but they were the principal judges of the curia and barons of the Exchequer, and therefore naturally the counsellors of the Great Justiciar.

[1] *regis*] om. D. I.

[2] *sibi*] om. D. I.

[3] *Burhtun*] Burthun, B.G.I. MS. D. omits all from this point to the last line of the next page.

[4] *Cumque*] Cum, G. I.

A.D. 1189. September. The precentor refuses to install the treasurer.

Sed Hamo Eboracensis ecclesiæ præcentor misit eum in stallum præbendæ, quam rex ei dederat. Cum autem[1] Bucardus[2] de Puteaco, archidiaconus Dunelmensis, cui rex thesaurariam Eboracensis ecclesiæ dederat, venisset cum litteris regis[3] Hamoni præcentori directis, ut prædictum Bucardum in stallum mitteret, noluit mandatis regis obedire. Dicebat enim quod Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus ipsi prædictam thesaurariam dederat, et quod rex Henricus illam ipsi confirmaverat, et super hoc ad sedem apostolicam appellavit, et sic uterque fraudatus a suo desiderio recessit. Benedict, ii. 88.

Death of the archbishop of Treves.

Eodem anno Formalis,[4] Treverensis archiepiscopus, obiit in Anglia apud Northamtun. Benedict, ii. 89.

Capture of Silvia in Portugal by the London crusaders.

Eodem anno, mense Septembris, homines Lundonienses, et cæteri multi, qui de diversis regnis per naves iter Jerosolimitanum arripuerant, obsederunt in Hyspania civitatem quandam Sarracenorum, quæ dicitur Silvia, et ceperunt eam: et deletis inde[5] Sarracenorum spurcitiis, legem Christianam ibi in perpetuum tenendam statuerunt, et ecclesiam in honorem Dei, et beatæ Dei genitricis Mariæ fabricaverunt, et a vicinis episcopis dedicari fecerunt, et clericum quendam Flandrensem, qui cum eis[6] venerat, fecerunt consecrari in episcopum ejusdem civitatis, et tradiderunt eam Sanctio regi Portugalensi.[7] Benedict, ii. 90.

The bishop of Winchester buys Wargrave and Meon; the abbot of S. Edmund's Mildenhall.

Eodem anno Godefridus de Luci, Wintoniensis episcopus, emit a Ricardo rege Angliæ[8] duo maneria optima, videlicet Werregrava et Menes, olim pertinentia ad episcopatum Wintoniensem, ut dicebatur; et Samson abbas de Sancto Edmundo emit ab eo manerium quod dicitur Mildehala,[9] pro mille marcis, quod de antiquo jure dicebatur pertinere abbatiæ Sancti Edmundi. Cæteri autem, omnes quicunque volebant, emerunt a rege sua et aliena jura, unde rex[10] sibi maximam acquisivit pecuniam. Benedict, ii. 91.

Geoffrey comes to York,

Galfridus vero Eboracensis electus venit Eboracum, et cum solenni processione receptus est a clero et populo. Venerunt etiam Eboracum Henricus frater Willelmi Marescalli, cui rex

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[1] *autem*] om. I.

[2] *Bucardus*] Buccardus, G.; Burgardus, I.

[3] *regis*] om. I.

[4] *Formalis*] Formator, Savile.

[5] *deletis inde*] dejectis, Savile.

[6] *eis*] illis, I.

[7] The dates of this affair are given by Ralph de Diceto: the expedition sailed from Dartmouth, May 18; reached Lisbon, June 29; besieged Silvia, July 16: took it, Sept. 6. The mosque was consecrated, Sept. 8. R. de Dic. 646.

[8] *Angliæ*] om. B. I.

[9] *Mildehala*] Mildelhale, I.; Mildenhale, B.; Mildehale, G.

[10] *rex*] om. B. I.

Benedict, ii. 91.

A.D. 1189. September.

decanatum Eboracensis ecclesiæ dederat, et Bucardus nepos Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi, cui rex thesaurariam Eboracensis ecclesiæ dederat; sed Eboracensis archiepiscopus noluit eos recipere, nec in stallos mittere, dicens quod non mitteret eos in stallos, donec electio sua confirmata esset a summo pontifice.

and refuses to install the dean and treasurer.

Benedict, ii. 92.

October. Henry the Lion recovers Saxony.

Eodem anno, mense Octobris,[1] Henricus dux Saxoniæ, gener Henrici regis Angliæ, rediit in Saxoniam, terram suam, et magno congregato exercitu, invasit illos[2] quibus imperator terram suam dederat, et expugnavit eos,[3] et plusquam triginta castella obtinuit.

November. Death of William Mandeville and Hugh of Bar.

Eodem anno, mense Novembris,[4] Willelmus de Mandevilla, comes Albemarliæ, obiit in Normannia apud Rotomagum; et Hugo de Puteaco, nepos Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi, comes de Bahr supra Secanam, obiit apud Acle,[5] et sepultus est in loco qui dicitur Galilæa apud Dunelmum.

The count of Perche, on the part of the king of France, fixes the day of departure on the crusade for April 1, 1190.

Eodem mense[6] Rothrodus comes de Pertico, et alii nuncii Philippi regis Franciæ, venerunt in Angliam ad Ricardum regem Angliæ, dicentes quod rex Franciæ, in generali concilio Parisius, juraverat tactis sacrosanctis evangeliis, et omnes principes regni sui, qui crucem[7] susceperant, quod, Deo volente, immutabiliter erunt apud Vizeliacum ad clausum Pascha, inde Jerosolimam ituri; et in testimonium illius sacramenti rex Franciæ misit regi Angliæ cartam suam, petens ab eo, ut ipse et comites et barones sui facerent illi simili modo securum, quod ad eundem terminum essent[8] apud Vizeliacum. Unde[9] factum est, quod Ricardus rex Angliæ, et comites et barones sui, qui crucem susceperant, in generali concilio constituti apud Lundonias, juraverunt tactis sacrosanctis evangeliis, quod per auxilium Dei immutabiliter venirent Vizeliacum in clauso Pascha, parati inde[10] iter Jerosolimitanum arripere; et prædictus comes de Pertico, et cæteri nuncii regis Franciæ, hoc idem

Benedict, ii. 93.

Richard, in a council at London, undertakes to meet Philip at Vezelai.

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[1] *mense Octobris*] Henry the Lion landed at Stade about Michaelmas; was received by archbishop Hartwig of Bremen, and seized the county of Holstein: he took Bardevic, Oct. 28, and Lübeck and Lauenburg soon after Martinmas. Arn. Lub. ap. Leibnitz, ii. 684.

[2] *illos*] eos, Savile.

[3] *eos*] om. B. I.

[4] *Novembris*] On the 14th: R. de Dic. 650.

[5] *Acle*] Aclet, B.; Adet, I.

[6] *mense*] anno, B. D. I.; autem mense, G.

[7] *crucem*] Domini, ins. Savile from D.

[8] *essent*] esset, D. I.

[9] *Unde*] Hinc, Savile.

[10] *inde*] om. B. D. I.

A.D. 1189. November. The arrangement ratified by oaths.

juraverunt in animam regis Franciæ, coram rege Angliæ in concilio illo; et Willelmus Marescaldus et quidam alii hoc idem juraverunt in animam regis Angliæ, coram nunciis regis Franciæ in eodem concilio, et misit inde cartam suam regi Franciæ. Benedict, ii. 93.

De redemptione Gwidonis regis Jerusalem.

Guy of Lusignan, on his release, is refused entrance into Tyre, by Conrad.

Eodem anno[1] Sibilla regina Jerusalem reddidit Saladino Scalonam pro liberatione Guidonis de Lezinant, mariti sui, et Saladinus permisit eum liberum et absolutum abire, et invenit ei salvum conductum usque ad civitatem Tyri. Quo cum venisset, Conradus Marchio non permisit illum intrare. Rex itaque ille, non habens in civitate ubi caput suum reclinaret, extra urbem Tyri in tentoriis remansit. Confluebant ergo ad eum Templarii et Hospitalares, et omnes Christiani qui propter metum paganorum dispersi erant in regione illa, et adhæserunt illi sicut domino et regi suo.

De obsidione Accon.

Aug. 22. Opening of the siege of Acre by Guy of Lusignan.

Deinde Guido rex per consilium Heraclii Patriarchæ Jerusalem, et illorum qui cum eo erant, profectus est usque ad civitatem Acon,[2] et obsedit eam in loco qui dicitur le Turun, mense Augusti, in octavis Assumptionis Sanctæ Mariæ, videlicet undecimo kalendas Septembris; et quia rex modicum habebat exercitum, pagani qui in civitate Acon erant, non clauserunt portas civitatis, neque de die neque de nocte, sed ibant et revertebantur cum camelis suis, attrahentes victualia et alia quæ erant illis necessaria. Benedict, ii. 94.

Aug. 24. Arrival of the French and German crusaders.

Tertia autem die sequenti applicuerunt apud Accon Robertus comes de Drues, et[3] Belvacensis episcopus frater ejus, et comes Airardus de Breines,[4] et Jakes de Avennis, et Landegrave de Alemannia,[5] et alii Christiani peregrini multi, de quorum adventu rex, et omnes qui cum eo erant, gavisi

[1] *Eodem anno*] Hoveden follows the mistake of Benedict. Ascalon had been taken in 1187, and Guy of Lusignan released in May 1188: Itin. 20.

[2] *Acon*] Accon, B. I.; Achon, G.

[3] *et*] a blank in A. for the Christian name; Philippus, ins. B. I.

[4] Erard II., count of Brienne. MS. B. has *Ricardus*.

[5] *Landegrave*] Landegrava, D.; Lantegrave, B., corrected to *Lantegrava*, and *Lantegravus*. The Landgrave Lewis of Thuringia, whose title seems sadly to have puzzled our historians.

Benedict, ii. 94. sunt gaudio magno valde. Saladinus igitur, magno congregato exercitu, venit prope exercitum Christianorum, et commisit cum eis prælium, feria quarta post festum Sancti Michaelis, in planitie inter Accon et Casale Episcopi, in quo prælio Saladinus confectus fuit et fugatus, ita quod ipse omnia tentoria sua reliquit Christianis, et amisit de melioribus militiæ suæ partem unam: et Christiani magnam partem suorum perdiderunt. Postmodum Saladinus recuperavit super gentem Christianam, propter peccata eorum, ita quod Christiani usque ad castra sua repulsi sunt; et Girardus de Rideford,[1] summus magister Templi, et marescallus Templi cum fratribus duodeviginti, qui optime se continuerant, ibi interfecti fuerunt; et aliam etiam amiserunt Christiani militiam usque ad milites quadraginta, et centum Turcoplos. Saladinus autem primogenitum suum Mirasalim, et nepotem suum Tekehedin, et Migemal senescallum suum perdidit, et centum de melioribus militiæ suæ, et multos alios, quorum non erat numerus.

A.D. 1189. Oct. 4. Battle between Saladin and the crusaders before Acre.

Great losses on both sides.

Et feria quarta sequenti[2] venit iterum Saladinus cum exercitu suo; et cum Christiani vellent cum eo congredi, velocius retulit pedem; et tertia die[3] sequenti castra sua movit, et usque ad locum qui dicitur Saffran[4] divertit; et exercitus ejus occupaverat omnem locum a Casali Episcopi usque ad Docum, quoniam ex quo Saladinus natus fuit nunquam antea tantum exercitum congregavit. Nam de tota terra sua nullus remansit aptus ad bellum, qui non fuerit in illo exercitu adunatus. Nec credo quod aliquis unquam tantam tamque bonam aliquando alicubi militiam viderit Christianorum, quantam ibi videre posset. Et post peractum bellum venerunt quingenti milites Christiani optimi, et decem millia hominum pugnatorum, et armis omnibus instructorum.

Oct. 11. Retreat of Saladin.

Benedict, ii. 95.

Oct. 12. He takes up a new position.

Assembly of forces on both sides.

Et eodem anno applicuerunt ibi naves et buciæ[5] plusquam quingentæ, exceptis galeis et cursariis, quæ multæ fuerunt, et statim revertebantur in Apuliam, ut plus afferrent, videlicet homines et victualia. Naves autem Teuthonicorum et Dacorum remanserunt apud Accon ad comburendum. Non habebant enim ibi Christiani unde cibos suos coquerent, nisi de navibus, et ex his quæ naves attulerant.

Arrival of ships of crusaders.

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[1] *Rideford*] Bedeforde, Savile. Benedict has *Ridesfor*; the Author of the Itinerarium, *Bidesford*.

[2] *sequenti*] om. Savile.

[3] Saladin moved on Oct. 12 to Cheruba (Bohadin, 109); probably Khureibeh: the Saffran of the text is probably the place now called Shefa' Amar, near Haifa (*ib.* 144).

[4] *Saffran*] Safran, Savile.

[5] *buciæ*] buzciæ, I.

A.D. 1190. Arrangement of the camp of the besiegers.

Et est notandum, quod civitas Accon obsessa erat in hunc modum. Gwido rex Jerusalem, cum regina uxore sua, et duabus filiabus suis, hospitatus est in Thorono[1] subtus versus mare, versus caput montis, et Eraclius patriarcha, et Gaufridus frater regis erant cum eo; tota vero maritima, qua itur ad[2] Cayphas, Pisani castrametati sunt, ita quod[3] nullus ex illa parte a civitate exire poterat: et ex alia parte Toroni,[4] ubi sedet Macomatum,[5] id est, La Mahamarie Sarracenorum, ibi dominus Landigravus, et dominus Jacobus de Avennis, omnesque Teutonici et Januenses[6] castra posuerunt. Postea Templum cum gente sua hospitatum est, ubi fuerant horti, et cisternæ Latinorum. Hospitale cum fratribus et familia sua ibi castra posuit, ubi erat hortus et terra ejusdem Hospitalis. Ex alia parte usque in mare hospitati sunt Conradus Marchio, et multi de ultramontanis, usque ad montem Musardum. Et comes Robertus de Drus, et episcopus Belvacensis, et comes Ahirardus de Brene, et Franci, et Campani cum gentibus regis, morabantur ibi, juxta Toronum prope villam; et archiepiscopus Pisanus, et archiepiscopus de Nazareth, et archiepiscopus de Besenzun, et archiepiscopus de Arleblanc, et archiepiscopus de Monte Regali erant ibi cum eis.[7]

Benedict, ii. 95. Benedict, ii. 96.

The crusaders intrench their camp.

Deinde Christiani fecerunt unum fossatum magnum a mari usque in mare, ubi erat fossatum Templi, inter se et exercitum paganorum; et alium fossatum fecerunt inter se et Accon; ita quod nullum, ab eis qui erant in Accon, timebant insultum; et nullus paganorum egredi potuit de Accon, nisi per manus illorum; et ingenia Christianorum et perariæ eorum retro fossata erant, ita quod nullus poterat eis nocere ex parte adversa; et Christiani ibi erant expositi ventis et imbribus, nullas habentes domos vel tuguria, quibus operirentur. Nec inde si jurassent moveri poterant, sed ibi oportebat eos vivere aut mori. Et, ut dictum est, ita obsederunt Accon ex omni

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[1] *Thorono*] Throno, B. I.; Trono, D.; Turono, Savile.

[2] *ad*] om. B. I.

[3] *quod*] om. I.

[4] *Toroni*] Throni, I.

[5] *Macomatum*] So all the MSS., but the word in A. was originally *Macomarum*, as in Benedict; it has been altered with the knife.

[6] *Januenses*] Javennenses, D. I.; Genuenses, G.

[7] The archbishops, of whom all but the first died on the Crusade, were Ubaldo Lanfranchi, of Pisa, 1174—1209; Letard, of Nazareth, 1158—1190; Thierri of Montfaucon, of Besançon, 1179—1191; Peter Aynard, of Arles, 1183—1189; and the fifth is probably the archbishop of Petra (Itin. R. R. 29.); for the archbishop of Montreal, in Sicily, was at home when Richard visited Sicily in 1190. See below, p. 62.

Benedict, ii. 96. parte, ut nullus omnino posset ab ea exire. Et de die in diem insultum faciebant in eam. A.D. 1189.

The crusaders beset on both sides.

Hæc contra ex una parte Christianorum erat Accon plena paganis bellicosis, et ex alia parte eorum erat Saladinus cum exercitu suo magno. Et in veritate dico, quod nulli unquam Christiani in tali vel tanta fuerunt expectatione; et nulla poterant eis deferri victualia nisi per mare. Oratio autem sine intermissione fiebat pro eis ab ecclesia ad Dominum. Act. xii. 5.

October. Consecration of bishops.

Eodem anno, mense Octobris,[1] Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus consecravit Godefridum Wintoniensem, et Willelmum Eliensem, et Hubertum Salesbiriensem, et Ricardum Lundoniensem episcopos.

Benedict, ii. 97.

Rhys ap Griffith comes to Oxford to meet Richard, and returns home.

Eodem mense Resus filius Griffini, regulus de Suthwales, venit in Angliam usque Oxenforde, per conductum Johannis comitis Moretonii fratris regis; et quia rex Angliæ noluit occurrere illi, sicut rex pater suus solebat, indignatus est valde, et reversus est in terram suam sine allocutione regis.

Benedict, ii. 99, 97.

November. Arrival of the legate, John of Anagni, at Dover.

Eodem anno, mense Novembris, Johannes Anagninus cardinalis, missus a latere domini papæ ad dirimendam litem quæ erat inter Baldewinum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum et monachos Sanctæ Trinitatis Cantuariæ, applicuit[2] in Anglia apud Dovre, et prohibitum est ei ne ipse ulterius procederet, nisi per mandatum regis; et ille ibidem remansit, donec dominus rex misit pro illo.

Richard makes peace between the archbishop and the monks of Canterbury.

Interim[3] dominus rex venit Cantuariam, et fecit pacem et finalem concordiam inter Baldewinum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum et monachos suos, in hunc modum: videlicet, quod Rogerus le Norreis, quem prædictus archiepiscopus contra voluntatem monachorum priorem fecerat in ecclesia Cantuariensi, deponeretur; et capella, quam idem archiepiscopus in suburbio contra voluntatem monachorum construxerat, prosterneretur; et prædicti monachi facerent eidem archiepiscopo obedientiam et professionem, sicut prædeces- Benedict, ii. 98.

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[1] Hoveden is wrong in placing the four consecrations in October; the bishops of Winchester and Salisbury were consecrated at Westminster, Oct. 22; but those of Ely and London, not until Dec. 31, at Lambeth. R. de Diceto, 649, 651; Gervase, 1550, 1564. Benedict avoids the mistake.

[2] *applicuit*] Nov. 20, R. de Dic., 649.

[3] *Interim*] Nov. 27, Gerv., 1558, or the day before, on which an act of the king is dated at Canterbury, *Fœd.*, i. 49.

A.D. 1189. Dec. 1. Settlement of the quarrel between Baldwin and the monks of Canterbury.

soribus suis facere consueverunt. Et factum est ita: et dominus rex, ad petitionem Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, dedit prænominato priori deposito abbatiam de Evesham,[1] et factus est inde abbas. Archiepiscopus autem alium constituit priorem in Cantuariensi ecclesia, consilio regis et consensu capituli; sed monachi Cantuarienses deposuerunt eum post mortem ejusdem archiepiscopi. Archiepiscopus vero interim construxit ecclesiam apud Lamee,[2] ex opposito Westmonasterii, et præbendas, quas assignaverat in capella quam fecerat in suburbio civitatis Cantuariæ, assignavit in ecclesia illa nova quam construxit apud Lamee. Huic autem paci et finali concordiæ inter archiepiscopum et monachos suos factæ, interfuerunt Ricardus rex Angliæ, et Alienor regina mater ejus; et Walterus Rotomagensis, et Joannes Dublinensis archiepiscopi; et Hugo Dunelmensis, et Johannes Northwicensis, et Hubertus[3] Salesbiriensis, et Godefridus Wintoniensis, et Gillebertus Rofensis, et Reginaldus Batoniensis, et Hugo Coventrensis, et Hugo Lincolniensis, et Willelmus Wigornensis episcopi; et abbas Sancti Augustini Cantuariensis, et Benedictus abbas de Burgo, et Sampson abbas de Sancto Edmundo, et abbas de Bello, et abbas de Westmonasterio, et Guarinus abbas de Sancto Albano, et alii abbates et priores multi; qui omnes sigilla sua apposuerunt scripto illi, in quo supradicta continebatur concordia.[4] Deinde misit rex pro Johanne Anagnino cardinali, qui Cantuariam veniens, et cum solemni processione receptus, moleste tulit quod in absentia illius pax facta fuit inter archiepiscopum Cantuariensem et monachos suos.

Benedict, ii. 98.

John of Anagni visits Canterbury.

Benedict, ii. 99.

November. William of Scotland is conducted to Canterbury.

Eodem anno, mense Novembris, Gaufridus Eboracensis electus, una cum baronibus Eboracensis-syræ et vicecomite Eboraci, per mandatum domini regis perrexit usque ad aquam de Twede.[5] Et ibi recepit Willelmum regem Scottorum, et exhibuit ei honorem debitum, et securum conductum

Benedict, ii. 98.

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[1] *Evesham*] Eveseham, G.; Hevesam, D.; Evessham, I.

[2] *Lamee*] corrected to Lamhee, in a later hand, in A.; Lamhee, B.D.G.I.

[3] *Hubertus*] Johannes, A.

[4] See *Epp. Cantuar.* pp. 322, 323.

[5] *Twede*] Thwede, B. D. I.

Benedict, ii. 98. usque ad regem Angliæ. Venit igitur Cantuariam Willelmus rex Scottorum mense Decembris ad regem Angliæ, et fecit ei homagium pro dignitatibus suis habendis in Anglia, sicut Malcolmus[1] frater ejus habuit. Et Ricardus rex Angliæ reddidit ei castellum de Rokesburh et castellum de Berwic[2] libera et quieta, et eum et omnes hæredes suos clamavit liberos et quietos ab ipso et regibus Angliæ in perpetuum, de omnia ligantia et subjectione de regno Scotiæ; et pro hac redditione castellorum suorum, et pro quieta clamantia fidelitatis et ligantiæ de regno Scotiæ, et pro carta Ricardi regis Angliæ inde habenda, Willelmus rex Scottorum dedit Ricardo regi Angliæ decem millia marcarum sterlingorum.[3] Unde Ricardus rex Angliæ fecit ei cartam suam in hac forma;

A.D. 1189. December. Richard restores to William the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick; and releases him from subjection.

Carta Ricardi regis Angliæ de libertatibus regiis Scotiæ adeptis.[4]

Benedict, ii. 102. "Ricardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus et baronibus, justitiis et vicecomitibus, et omnibus ministris et fidelibus suis totius Angliæ, salutem. Sciatis nos carissimo consanguineo nostro Willelmo, eadem gratia regi Scottorum, reddidisse castella sua Rokesburh et Berewic, tanquam ejus propria, jure hæreditario ab eo et hæredibus suis in perpetuum possidenda. Præterea quieta- (Benedict, ii. 103.) vimus ei omnes conventiones et pactiones, quas bonæ memoriæ pater noster Henricus rex Angliæ per novas caetas et per captionem suam extorsit, ita videlicet ut nobis faciat integre et plenarie quod rex Scottorum Malcolmus, frater ejus, antecessoribus nostris de jure fecit, et de jure facere debuit; et nos faciamus ei quicquid antecessores nostri prædicto Malcolmo de jure fecerunt et facere debuerunt, scilicet in conductu veniendo ad curiam, et redeundo a curia,

Dec. 5. Richard's charter of release, granted to William king of Scots.

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[1] *Malcolmus*] Malgolmus, I.

[2] *Berwic*] Berewic, I.

[3] *sterlingorum*] sterlinggorum, A.

[4] This document is printed from the original in the *Fœdera*, i. 50, and a collation of that text with that of Benedict will be found in Ben. Pet., ii. 102, 103. The version of Hoveden in one or two points comes nearer the original than that of Benedict, but in general agrees with the latter. Benedict omits, however, the names of the witnesses, which are supplied by Hoveden, though not in exact accordance with the original, and without the date.

A.D. 1189. Dec. 5.

Charter of release granted by Richard to the king of Scots.

Benedict, ii. 103.

"et in morando in curia, et in procurationibus, et in omnibus libertatibus et dignitatibus et honoribus eidem jure debitis, secundum quod recognoscetur a quatuor proceribus nostris ab ipso Willelmo rege electis, et a quatuor proceribus illius a nobis electis. Si autem fines sive marcias[1] regni Scotiæ aliquis nostrorum hominum, postquam prædictus Willelmus rex a patre nostro captus fuit, usurpaverit absque judicio, volumus ut integre restituantur, et ad eum statum reducantur quo erant ante ejus captionem. Præterea de terris suis quas habet in Anglia, seu dominicis seu feodis, scilicet in comitatu Huntendoniæ[2] et in omnibus aliis, in ea libertate et plenitudine possideat, et hæredes ejus in perpetuum, qua[3] Malcolmus possedit vel possidere debuit, nisi prædictus Malcolmus vel hæredes sui aliquid postea infeodaverint: ita tamen quod si qua postea infeodata sunt, ipsorum feodorum servitia ad eum vel hæredes ejus pertineant. Et si quid pater noster prædicto Willelmo regi Scotiæ donaverit, ratum et firmum habere volumus: reddidimus etiam ei ligantias hominum suorum, et omnes cartas quas dominus pater noster de eo habuit per captionem suam. Et si aliquæ aliæ forte per oblivionem retentæ aut inventæ fuerint, eas penitus viribus carere præcipimus. Ipse autem ligius homo noster devenit de omnibus terris de quibus antecessores sui ligii homines antecessorum nostrorum fuerunt. Et fidelitatem juravit[4] nobis et hæredibus nostris. Testibus his: Baldewino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo,[5] et Waltero Rothomagensi archiepiscopo; et Hugone Dunelmensi, et Johanne Northvicensi, et Huberto Saresbiriensi, et Hugone Lincolniensi, et Godefrido Wintoniensi, et Gilleberto Rofensi, et Reginaldo Batoniensi, et Hugone Coventrensi, et Willelmo Vigorniensi episcopis; et Alienor matre regis, et Johanne comite Moretonii fratre regis, et multis aliis."

(Not in Benedict.)

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[1] *marcias*] marchias, B. D. I.

[2] *Huntendoniæ*] de Huntendune, D. I.; Huntedoniæ, B.; Huntenduniæ, G.

[3] *qua*] quam, D. I.

[4] *juravit*] juraverunt, B. D. I.

[5] Change of hand in A. The running hand which has once or twice before annotated on the margin, now takes up the text. This may account for the variation of the text from both Benedict and the original Act; in the latter of which the order is,—the archbishops of Canterbury, Rouen, and Dublin; the bishops of Durham, Lincoln, Winchester, Salisbury, and Bath; earls John, Robert of Leicester, and Hamelin of Warenne; Hugh Bardolf, Stephen of Longchamp, "*et* " *multis aliis.*" The date is also there given Dec. 5.

Benedict, ii. 99.

A.D. 1189. Dec. 5. Hugh of Durham and Hubert of Salisbury appeal against Geoffrey's election to York; but it is confirmed by the legate.

Eodem die ibidem, videlicet apud Cantuariam, Hugo Dunelmensis, et Hubertus Saresbiriensis episcopi appellaverunt Gaufridum Eboracensem electum ad præsentiam domini papæ, coram prædicto cardinali et supradictis archiepiscopis et episcopis, volentes probare quod illius electio stare non debuit, quia ipsi, ad quos prima vox eligendi spectabat, non interfuerunt electioni illius. Et Bucardus Eboracensis ecclesiæ thesaurarius, et Henricus ejusdem ecclesiæ decanus, appellaverunt eundem Eboracensem electum ad præsentiam domini papæ, dicentes ipsum non fuisse canonice electum, tum quia homicida erat, tum quia erat in adulterio genitus et de scorto natus. Sed quamvis hæc omnia objicerentur illi, tamen prædictus Johannes Anagninus cardinalis, apostolicæ sedis legatus, electionem suam confirmavit.

Richard makes additional provision for his mother and brother.

Deinde Ricardus rex Angliæ dedit Johanni comiti Moretonii fratri suo, in augmentum, comitatum Cornubiæ, et comitatum Devoniæ, et comitatum de Dorsete, et comitatum de Sumersete.[1] Præterea idem rex Angliæ dedit matri suæ Alienor totum dodarium quod Matildis regina uxor Henrici regis senioris habuit, et totum dodarium quod Alicia regina uxor regis Stephani habuit, et totum dodarium quod Henricus rex Angliæ, filius Matildis imperatricis, maritus ejus ei dedit.

Benedict, ii. 100.

He goes from Canterbury to Dover.

Et ipse rex Ricardus, v^{to}. die Decembris, feria tertia, recessit a civitate Cantuariæ, et perrexit inde usque Dovere ad transfretandum, ubi multæ naves convenerant per mandatum illius de diversis portibus Angliæ.

Dec. 6. Benediction of Roger, abbot of Selby.

In crastino autem adventus sui ad Doroberniam, Rogerus electus abbatiæ Sancti Germani de Selebi, recepit apud Doroberniam, die Sancti Nicholai, benedictionem suam ab Hugone Dunelmensi episcopo, per præceptum regis, contra prohibitionem Gaufridi Eboracensis electi.

Geoffrey purchases Richard's good will.

Videns igitur Gaufridus Eboracensis electus quod, nisi mediante pecunia, ipse amorem regis fratris sui nullatenus habere posset, promisit ei tria millia librarum esterlingorum pro amore ejus habendo; et rex reddidit ei archiepiscopatum Eboracensem, et carta sua confirmavit; et reddidit ei omnes laicos feodos quos Henricus rex pater suus illi dederat, citra mare et ultra; scilicet in Anglia villam de Vicumba cum

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[1] *Sumersete*] The former more formal hand resumes in A.

A.D. 1189. Dec. 6. Richard grants privileges to the church of York.

Benedict, ii. 100.

pertinentiis suis, et in Normannia comitatum Giffardi, et in Andegavia honorem de Baugi[1] cum pertinentiis suis. Et idem rex clamavit Deo, et Sancto Petro Eboraci, et eidem Gaufrido Eboracensi electo, et omnibus illi successuris in archiepiscopatu Eboracensi, omnes terras suas et canonicorum suorum, in Eboracensi et in Notingham-sira, quietas in perpetuum de reguardo forestæ, et ab omnibus aliis exigentiis et gravaminibus forestæ et forestariorum, et liberam potestatem eis dedit, et carta sua confirmavit licentiam capiendi venationes per omnes præbendas suas in Eboracensi[2] et Notingham siriis.

Geoffrey is reconciled to the appellants, and confirms the dean and treasurer.

Præterea Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, Hubertus Salesbiriensis episcopus, et Henricus Eboracensis ecclesiæ decanus, et Bucardus ejusdem ecclesiæ thesaurarius, per præceptum regis remiserunt appellationes quas fecerant contra Eboracensem electum; et ipse Eboracensis electus ad petitionem regis confirmavit prædicto Henrico decanatum Eboraci, et Bucardo thesaurariam, et Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo confirmavit omnia privilegia sua, et conventiones quæ fuerunt inter ipsum et Rogerum Eboracensem archiepiscopum, promittens quod hæc omnia confirmaret sigillo consecrationis suæ.

Benedict, ii. 101.

Dec. 11. Richard crosses to Calais.

Deinde Ricardus rex Angliæ, undecimo die Decembris, feria secunda, transfretavit a Dorobernia usque ad Kaleis[3] in Flandriam, et venit illuc obviam illi Philippus comes Flandriæ, et cum gaudio suscipiens perduxit illum in salvo conductu usque Normanniam. Transfretaverunt etiam cum rege Johannes Anagninus cardinalis, et Walterus Rotomagensis archiepiscopus, et Henricus Bajocensis, et Johannes Ebroicensis[4] episcopi: et Hugo Dunelmensis, et Willelmus Eliensis, episcopi, remanserunt in Anglia summi justitiarii. Quibus rex associaverat ante recessum suum Hugonem Bardolf, et Willelmum Marescallum, et Gaufridum filium Petri, et Willelmum Brure; et rex tradidit Willelmo Eliensi episcopo cancellario suo unum de sigillis suis, per quod fieri præcepit mandata sua in regno, et tradidit illi in custodia turrim Lundoniarum. Et tradidit Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo castellum de Windesovers cum forestis, et comitatu in custodia.

His disposition of the great offices of state.

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[1] *Baugi*] Blangi, B. D. G. I. It is altered to Blaugi in A., in a later hand.

[2] *Eboracensi*] Eboraco, B. I.

[3] *Kaleis*] Kaleys, D. I.

[4] *Ebroicensis*] Eboracensis, Savile.

Benedict, ii. 101. Transfretato itaque rege, statim fit contentio inter prædictos Dunelmensem et Eliensem episcopos, quis eorum major haberetur; nam quod uni placuit, alteri displicuit. Nam omnis potestas A.D. 1189. December. Jealousy between the bishops of Durham and Ely.

Lucan, Pharsalia, i. 92. "Impatiens consortis erit."

Et ne longe petatur exemplum,

Ib. i. 95. "Fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri."

Benedict, ii. 102. Eodem anno obiit sine prole Willelmus rex Siciliæ, ducatus Apuliæ, et principatus Capuæ, in Sicilia apud Panormum, mense Novembris. Iste Willelmus rex Siciliæ longe ante obitum suum dederat Constantiam, filiam Rogeri quondam regis Siciliæ, amitam suam, Henrico regi Alemannorum, postea Romanorum imperatori, in uxorem, et constituit eam sibi hæredem in regno Siciliæ successuram, si ipse sine prole decederet; et hoc fecit sacramentis principum regni confirmari. Defuncto itaque rege Willelmo, Thancredus comes de la Liche, consanguineus ejus, usurpavit sibi regnum Siciliæ, contra sacramentum fidelitatis quod fecerat prædictæ Constantiæ. November. Death of William king of Sicily.

Benedict, ii. 140. Unde Henricus Romanorum imperator misit in Apuliam exercitum magnum, sub principibus Maguntino archiepiscopo [1] et Henrico Teste.[2] Qui post multarum civitatum combustiones et oppidorum subversiones, imperfecto negotio domum redierunt. Usurpation of Tancred: and war between Tancred and Henry VI.

Benedict, ii 141. Et post eorum recessum, Ricardus comes de Cerne,[3] frater reginæ Siciliæ, uxoris Thancredi regis, congressus est in bello cum comite Rogero de Andria, ea ratione, quod ipse auxilium præstiterat regi Alemannorum contra regem Thancredum: et cepit eum, et tradidit regi Thancredo.[4] Johanna vero, soror Ricardi regis Angliæ, quæ fuerat uxor Willelmi regis Siciliæ ultimo defuncti, remansit in custodia regis Thancredi.[5] Capture of the count of Andria.

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[1] Conrad of Wittelsbach.

[2] Marshall of the Empire. R. de S. Germano.

[3] *Cerne*] Richard count of Acerra, brother of Sibylla, Tancred's wife.

[4] *Thancredo*] Tancredo, B.; Tanchredo, I.

[5] *Thancredi*] Tancredi, B. A sentence of four lines has been erased in A. after this word; but it was probably only the beginning of the next year's annal, for which a new page is taken.

Primus annus regni Ricardi regis Angliæ, filii regis Henrici Secundi.

A.D. 1189. Dec. 25. Richard keeps Christmas at Bur.

Anno gratiæ MCXC., Ricardus rex Angliæ fuit in Normannia apud Burum die Natalis Domini, quæ feria secunda evenit: et tenuit ibi solenne festum cum primatibus terræ illius; erat enim Nativitas illa Dominica proxima post primam coronationem ejusdem Ricardi. Benedict, ii. 104.

Primum colloquium inter Ricardum regem Angliæ et Philippum regem Franciæ.

A.D. 1190. Jan. 13. Renewal of the treaty between Richard and Philip.

Et post Natale Domini[1] prædictus Ricardus rex Angliæ, et Philippus rex Franciæ, collocuti sunt ad Vadum Sancti Remigii, ubi pacem firmam statuerunt inter se et regna sua; et ipsi eam, scriptis commendatam, sacramento et sigillis suis confirmaverunt, in festo Sancti Hylarii: et archiepiscopi et episcopi utriusque regni in verbo veritatis dixerunt, et comites et barones regnorum præstito sacramento juraverunt, quod ipsi pacem illam fideliter tenerent, et servarent illibatam. Benedict, ii. 105.

Terms of alliance.

Erat itaque talis forma pacis: quod uterque illorum honorem alterius servabit, et fidem ei portabit, de vita et membris et terreno honore suo; et quod neuter illorum alteri deficiet in negotiis suis; sed rex Franciæ ita juvabit regem Angliæ ad terram suam defendendam, ac si ipse vellet civitatem suam Parisius defendere, si esset obsessa; et Ricardus rex Angliæ juvabit regem Franciæ ad terram suam defendendam, ac si ipse vellet civitatem suam Rotomagi defendere, si obsessa esset. Comites autem et barones utriusque regni juraverunt, quod a fidelitate regum non discedent, nec guerram movebunt ullam in terris illorum, quamdiu ipsi fuerint in peregrinatione sua. Et archiepiscopi et episcopi firmiter promiserunt in

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[1] *post Natale Domini*] The peace was drawn up at Nonancourt, Dec. 30; and confirmed at Gué S. Remi, about Jan. 13. The conferences held on these two occasions have been confounded with a third held at the same place, Gué S. Remi, near Nonancourt, on the 15th of March; on which day Philip's wife died. See the note on Benedict, vol. ii., p. 104.

Benedict, ii. 105.

verbo veritatis, quod in transgressores hujus pacis et conventionis, sententiam anathematis dabunt.

A.D. 1190. Jan. 13. The term of departure postponed to June 24.

Præterea prædicti reges statuerunt, quod si alter illorum decessisset in peregrinatione Jerosolimitana, alter qui vixerit, pecunias defuncti et gentes habebit ad servitium Dei faciendum. Et quia ad præfixum terminum Paschæ parati esse non poterant, iter Jerosolimitanum distulerunt usque ad festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ; statuentes quod immutabiliter essent apud Vizeliacum.

Principium discordiæ inter Gaufridum Eboracensem electum et canonicos suos.

Jan. 5. At York the dean and treasurer begin vespers without waiting for the archbishop elect.

Eodem anno, in vigilia Epiphaniæ Domini, orta est gravis dissensio inter Gaufridum, Eboracensem electum,[1] et Henricum, ejusdem ecclesiæ decanum, et Bucardum thesaurarium. Cum enim prædictus electus in tanta solennitate voluisset audire vesperas in metropolitana ecclesia, prædictus Henricus et Bucardus noluerunt expectare eum, sed vesperas inchoaverunt: cumque electus ille venisset in choro, una cum Hamone præcentore, et aliis quibusdam ejusdem ecclesiæ canonicis, vehementer indignatus est, et præcepit ut tacerent: similiter præcepit præcentor. Decanus autem et thesaurarius præceperunt ut cantarent: tamen ad præceptum electi et præcentoris siluerunt omnes; et electus iterum inchoavit vesperas, et thesaurarius præcepit omnes cereos extingui; quibus extinctis, et vesperis finitis electus conquestus est Deo, et clero et populo, de injuria quam decanus et thesaurarius ei fecerant; et

He arrives late, and stops the service.

He begins the service over again himself: and the treasurer puts out the lights.

[1] This story, which is not derived from the Chronicle of Benedict, is perhaps a contribution drawn from Hoveden's personal knowledge, to the history of Archbishop Geoffrey. It is a valuable illustration of his character, the more important as Hoveden was by no means a partizan of his. It is very difficult to conjecture what conduct of his laid him open to the persistent and most vexatious attacks of the clergy of the cathedral, of which this is the first.

A.D. 1190. Jan. 5. Geoffrey closes the church. illos et ipsam ecclesiam a celebratione Divini officii suspendit, donec ei inde satisfieret.[1]

Jan. 6. The dean and treasurer refuse to apologize. In crastino autem, cum omnis populus civitatis conveniret more solito ad metropolitanam ecclesiam, ut in ea propter diem solennem commodius audirent Divinum officium, et electus ille, et prædicti decanus et thesaurarius, essent in choro una cum canonicis ejusdem ecclesiæ, ad pacem et concordiam inter eos faciendam; decanus et thesaurarius noluerunt electo suo aliquam facere satisfactionem de tali et tanta transgressione, sed superbe locuti sunt contra eum. The people take the part of Geoffrey. Unde populus adversus eos iratus, cum in illos irruere vellet, electus non permisit eos. Illi autem valde perterriti fugerunt a facie hominum; quorum alter fugit ad tumbam Sancti Willelmi, et alter recepit se in domo decani; et electus excommunicavit eos. There is no service that day. Unde factum est quod metropolitana ecclesia, illo die, a Divino cessavit officio.

March. Richard summons his counsellors to Normandy; Eodem anno, post Purificationem Sanctæ Mariæ, Alienor regina mater Ricardi regis, et Alays[2] soror Philippi regis Franciæ, et Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus;[3] et Johannes Norwicensis, et Hugo Dunelmensis, et Godefridus Wintoniensis, et Reginaldus Batoniensis, et Willelmus Elyensis, et Hubertus Salesbiriensis, et Hugo Cestrensis, episcopi; et Gaufridus Eboracensis electus, et Johannes comes Moretonii frater regis, transfretaverunt de Anglia in Normanniam per mandatum domini regis: and makes the bishops of Durham and Ely justiciars. et habito cum illis consilio, dominus rex statuit Willelmum Eliensem episcopum, cancellarium suum, summum justitiarium Angliæ; et concessit Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo justitiariam a fluvio Humbri usque ad terram regis Scotiæ; The oaths of John and Geoffrey. et fecit Gaufridum Eboracensem electum, et Johannem comitem Moretonii, fratres suos, jurare tactis sacrosanctis evangeliis, quod Angliam non intrarent infra tres annos proximo subsequentes, nisi per licentiam illius: tamen deinde relaxavit Johanni fratri suo sacramentum quod fecerat, et dedit ei licentiam redeundi in Angliam, præstito sacramento quod fideliter ei serviret.

Benedict, ii 105. Benedict, ii. 106.

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[1] *satisfieret*] satisfaceret, Savile, from D.

[2] *Alays*] Alesia, G.; Alais, B. I.

[3] Baldwin sailed on the 6th of March: Gerv. 1564.

Benedict, ii. 106.

A.D. 1190. March. Richard applies for the legation for William Longchamp:

Et rex misit in Angliam Willelmum Eliensem episcopum, cancellarium suum, ad præparandum sibi et itineri suo necessaria: et volens exaltare eum super omnes tam clericos quam laicos regni sui, misit nuncios suos ad Clementem papam, et effecit adversus eum, quod ille commisit præfato cancellario legatiam totius Angliæ et Scotiæ.

who makes a ditch round the Tower of London. His exactions.

Cumque cancellarius ille[1] in Angliam veniret, fecit Turrim Lundoniarum circumdari fossato profundissimo, sperans quod Tamensis fluvius perinde transiret. Deinde idem cancellarius cepit ad opus domini regis de unaquaque civitate Angliæ duos palefridos et duos summarios de auxilio; et de unaquaque abbatia Angliæ[2] palefridum et unum summarium; et de unoquoque manerio regis unum palefridum et unum summarium.

De interfectione Judæorum Eboraci.

Benedict, ii. 107.

March 16. Five hundred Jews throw themselves into York castle; and are besieged by the sheriff.

Eodem anno, mense Martii,[3] xvii. kalendas Aprilis, feria sexta ante Dominicam in Ramis Palmarum, Judæi civitatis Eboraci, numero quingenti viri, exceptis mulieribus et parvulis, incluserunt se in turrim Eboraci, consensu et voluntate custodis turris et vicecomitis, propter metum Christianorum: quam cum prædicti vicecomes et constabularius repeterent, Judæi noluerunt illam eis tradere. Unde factum est, quod populus civitatis, et extranei, qui ad comitatum venerant, per exhortationem vicecomitis et constabularii, fecerunt impetum unanimiter in Judæos. Qui cum insultum facerent in turrim die ac nocte, Judæi obtulerunt populo pecuniam magnam pro licentia abeundi cum vita; sed noluit populus accipere. Tunc surrexit quidam legisperitus, et ait: "Viri Israelitæ, audite consilium meum. "Melius est, ut nosmet ipsi[4] nos mutuo interficiamus, "quam incidamus in manus inimicorum legis nostræ." Omnes igitur Judæi, tam viri quam mulieres, assensum præbuerunt consilio illius, et accedens unusquisque paterfamilias,

They determine on self-destruction.

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[1] *ille*] om. B. D. I.

[2] *Angliæ*] unum, ins. Savile, after Benedict; blank in A.

[3] *Martii*] Februarii, B. D. G. I., also A.: following the mistake in Benedict, as to the month, and correcting him as to the day of the week, which he gives "Dominica in "Ramis Palmarum."

[4] *ipsi*] ipsos, D. G. I.

A.D. 1190. March 16. They destroy themselves.

incipiens a majoribus domus suæ, primo incidit cum novaculo acuto guttura uxorum et filiorum et filiarum suarum, deinde totius familiæ suæ, et extremo[1] sui ipsius. Quidam autem illorum projecerunt interfectos suos extra murum super populum: quidam vero incluserunt interfectos suos in domo regia, et imposito igne combusserunt eos et domos regis. Et illi qui cæteros interfecerant a populo interfecti sunt. Benedict, ii. 107.

The Jews' houses burned.

Interim quidam Christianorum incendebant domos Judæorum, et rapinis intendebant, et sic consummati[2] sunt omnes Judæi qui erant in civitate Eboraca, et cartæ universorum debitorum combustæ.[3]

Death of the the queen of France.

Eodem anno obiit Ysabel regina Franciæ, filia comitis de Henou, antequam Philippus rex Franciæ, maritus ejus, iter Jerosolimitanum arriperet. Benedict, ii. 108.

March 25. Easter.

Eodem anno Annunciatio Dominica evenit in ipso die Paschæ, quod a multis retro temporibus non evenit.[4]

William Longchamp is made legate.

Interim nuncii regis, quos ipse Romam misit pro legatia Angliæ et Scotiæ habenda ad opus Willelmi cancellarii sui, redierunt cum litteris domini papæ super eodem negotio.[5] Auctoritate igitur legationis suæ prædictus Eliensis episcopus, apostolicæ sedis legatus, et domini regis cancellarius, et totius Angliæ justitiarius, clerum et populum opprimebat, confundens fasque nefasque; nec erat in toto regno qui auderet suæ resistere voluntati, nec in verbo.

April. He goes to York to punish the persecutors of the Jews.

Post Pascha prædictus regis cancellarius cum magno exercitu venit Eboracum, ad comprehendendum malefactores illos qui Judæos civitatis destruxerunt: et cognito quod per præceptum vicecomitis et custodis turris hoc factum fuisset, utrumque deposuit: et a civibus civitatis cepit centum obsides de fide et pace servanda regi et regno, et quod juri starent in curia domini regis de morte Judæorum.

He makes his brother Osbert sheriff, and builds a new castle in York.

Deinde idem cancellarius tradidit Osberto de Lunchamp, fratri suo, comitatum Eboracensem in custodia, et præcepit firmari castellum in veteri castellario quod rex Willelmus Ruffus ibi construxerat. Milites autem

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[1] *extremo*] postremo, Savile.

[2] *consummati*] consumpmati, A; consumpti, Savile.

[3] *combustæ*] sunt, add. G.

[4] It had last happened in 1117.

[5] Longchamp's legation dates from June 5, 1190: R. de Diceto, 655.

Benedict, ii. 108. provinciæ, qui ad rectum noluerunt venire, præcepit comprehendi. A.D. 1190. April.

He suspends the Minster clergy.

Deinde præfatus cancellarius, auctoritate legationis suæ, suspendit canonicos et vicarios et clericos ecclesiæ Sancti Petri Eboraci, quia noluerunt recipere eum cum processione; et ipsam ecclesiam tam diu sub interdicto tenuit, donec canonici et vicarii et clerici ecclesiæ Sancti Benedict, ii. 109. Petri venirent ad pedem ejus; et campanas ejusdem ecclesiæ in terram deponere fecit.

Hugh of Durham returns home, and meets the chancellor at Blythe.

Interim Ricardus rex Angliæ dedit Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo licentiam repatriandi, qui cum obviaret cancellario in villa de Blie, et offerret ei litteras regis, in quibus concesserat ei rex justitiariam a flumine Humbri usque ad terram regis Scotiæ in longitudine, et latitudine a mari usque ad mare, respondit ei cancellarius se libenter facturum mandatum regis: et duxit eum secum usque Suwelle,[1] et ibi cepit eum et tenuit, donec reddiderat ei castellum de Vindeshoveres, et cætera quæ rex illi tradiderat in custodia.

He is arrested, and compelled to surrender Windsor.

He gives hostages, and goes to Howden.

Et insuper episcopus Dunelmensis tradidit cancellario Henricum de Puteaco, filium suum, et Gillebertum de la Leia, obsides de fide servanda regi et regno: et sic episcopus Dunelmensis a captione cancellarii liberatus, venit ad villam suam, quæ dicitur Hovedene. Ubi cum ipse[2] per aliquot dies moram fecisset, venerunt Hovedene Osbertus de Lungchamp,[3] frater cancellarii, et Willelmus de Stutevilla, cum multa plebe armata, volentes episcopum per mandatum cancellarii capere; sed idem episcopus securi-Benedict, ii. 110. tatem illis dedit, quod inde non recederet, nisi per licentiam regis vel cancellarii. Unde episcopus Dunelmensis misit nuncios suos ad regem Angliæ, significans illi omnia quæ ei acciderant per cancellarium.

He promises not to stir thence without leave.

Richard takes the castle of William de Chisi in Gascony.

Interim rex Angliæ profectus fuit in Gasconiam, et obsedit castellum Willelmi de Chisi, et cepit; et ipsum Willelmum, dominum castelli, suspendit, quia ipse peregrinos Sancti Jacobi, et alios per terram suam transeuntes, spoliaverat. Deinde perrexit rex Angliæ in

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[1] *Suwelle*] Suuuelle, D.; Sudwelle, G.; Swwelle, I.

[2] *ipse*] episcopus, ins. Savile.

[3] *Lungchamp*] Lunchamp, B. I.; Nunchamp, A., corrected to Lungchamp; Lungchamp, G.; Lunechamp, D.

A.D. 1190. June.

Richard appoints commanders of his fleet.

Andegaviam ad Chinonem: et ibi constituit Girardum[1] Auxiensem archiepiscopum, et Bernardum[2] episcopum de Baonia, et Robertum de Sablun,[3] et Ricardum de Camvilla, et Willelmum de Forz de Ulerum,[4] ductores et constabularios totius navigii sui, quod in terram Suliæ iturum erat; et tradidit eis cartam suam in hac forma; Benedict, ii. 110.

Carta Ricardi regis Angliæ de statutis illorum qui per mare ituri erant.

His laws for the crusading fleet:

"Ricardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, et dux Normanniæ et "Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, omnibus hominibus suis "Jerosolimam per mare ituris, salutem. Sciatis nos, de com- "muni proborum virorum consilio, fecisse has justitias sub- "scriptas. (Against murder.) Qui hominem in navi interfecerit, cum mortuo "ligatus projiciatur in mari. Si autem eum ad terram in- "terfecerit, cum mortuo ligatus in terra infodiatur. (Against violence short of murder.) Si quis "autem per legitimos testes convictus fuerit, quod cultellum "ad alium percutiendum extraxerit, aut quod alium ad san- "guinem percusserit, pugnum perdat. Si autem de palma "percusserit sine effusione sanguinis, tribus vicibus mergatur "in mari. (Against bad language.) Si quis autem socio opprobrium, aut convicia, aut "odium Dei injecerit: quot vicibus conviciatus ei fuerit, tot "uncias argenti det. (Thieves to be tarred and feathered.) Latro autem de furto convictus, tonde- "atur ad modum campionis, et pix bulliens super caput ejus "effundatur, et pluma pulvinaris super caput ejus excutia- "tur, ad cognoscendum eum, et in prima terra, qua naves "applicuerint, projiciatur. Teste meipso apud Chinonem."[5]

Præterea idem rex præcepit in alio brevi suo, ut omnes homines sui, qui per mare essent ituri, obedirent dictis et præceptis prædictorum justitiariorum navigii sui. Benedict, ii. 111.

He receives the scrip and staff at Tours.

Deinde perrexit rex Turonim, et ibi recepit peram et baculum peregrinationis suæ, de manu Willelmi Turonensis

[1] *Girardum*] Gerard de la Barte, archbishop of Auch.

[2] *Bernardum*] Bernard de la Carra, bishop of Bayonne.

[3] *Sablun*] Sabuil, B. I.; Sabul, D.; Sabluis, G.; Sablol, Benedict.

[4] *Ulerum*] Ulerun, I.

[5] *apud Chinonem*] Richard was at Chinon on the 20th of June; and in the neighbourhood until the 26th, on which day he probably set out for Vezelai. See the note on Benedict, ii. 111.

Benedict, ii. 111.

archiepiscopi. Cumque rex se baculo fulciret, fractus est baculus. A.D. 1190. June.

Deinde idem rex et Philippus rex Franciæ convenerunt apud Vizeliacum,[1] ubi requiescit corpus beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ: et facta est ibi mora duarum dierum; in octavis Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ recesserunt inde. July 4. The kings meet at Vezelai.

Benedict, ii. 112.

Et cum[2] venirent ad civitatem Leonum[3] supra Rodanum, et ipsi cum majori parte familiarum suarum pontem Rodani præterirent, pons ipse[4] onustus viris ac mulieribus corruit, non sine multorum læsione. Ibidem vero præfati reges ab invicem divisi[5] sunt propter multitudinem hominum sequentium illos; unus enim locus illos capere non potuit. Rex autem Franciæ cum suis perrexit usque Jeneues: et rex Angliæ cum suis perrexit usque Marsiliam. They go to Lyons, where the bridge breaks down; and there separate. Richard goes to Marseilles, Philip to Genoa.

Planctus super itinere versus Jerusalem.[6]

(Not in Benedict.)

Poem on the sorrows of Jerusalem, and on the new Crusade.

"Graves nobis admodum dies effluxere,
"Qui lapillis candidis digni non fuere.
"Nam luctus materiam mala præbuere,
"Quæ sanctam Jerusalem constat sustinere.
"Quis enim non doleat tot sanctorum cædes,
"Tot[7] sacratas Domino profanatas ædes,
"Captivatos principes, et subversas sedes,
"Devolutos nobiles ad servorum pedes?
"Sed hæc non effugient oculos videntis,
"Videns vidit Dominus nostræ mala gentis,
"Et audivit gemitum plebis innocentis,
"Et caput conterere descendit serpentis.
"Suscitavit igitur Deus Hebræorum
"Christianos principes, et robur eorum,

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[1] *Vizeliacum*] Veziliacum, D.; Vezeliacum, I. The kings met here on the 4th of July: Rigord, 186.

[2] *Et cum*] The cursive hand resumes, in A.

[3] *Leonum*] Richard's march from Vezelai to Lyons occupied probably July 6 to July 14: he stayed three days at Lyons, July 14 to July 17; and marched from Lyons to Marseilles in a fortnight, July 17–July 31. After spending eight days at Marseilles he embarked, Aug. 7. See note on Ben. Pet. ii. 112.

[4] *ipse*] Rodani, B. I.; idem, D.

[5] *divisi*] separati, Savile.

[6] This poem is not in Benedict. Some remarks on the authorship of it, which can hardly be ascribed to Roger Hoveden, will be found in the Preface.

[7] *Tot*] Et tot, D. I.

A.D. 1190. July.

Hopes for the new Crusade.

(Not in Benedict.)

" Vindicare scilicet sanguinem sanctorum,
" Subvenire filiis mortificatorum.
" Procedunt cum millibus multis armatorum
" Illustris rex Angliæ, atque rex Francorum.
" Est videre gloria agmen senatorum
" Armis justitiæ et cultibus[1] Deorum.
" Est audire gratius fidei amicum
" Romani[2] imperii caput Fredericum
" Debellantem jugiter crucis inimicum,
" Ut reformet patriam statum in antiquum.
" Tendunt cruce prævia versus Orientem,
" Atque secum contrahunt totum Occidentem:
" Lingua, ritu, moribus, cultu differentem
" Producunt exercitum, sed fide ferventem.
" Ut victores redeant, imploremus Deum,
" Ut tollant de medio terræ Cananæum,[3]
" Ingressi Jerusalem pellant Jebusæum,
" Christianæ gloriæ portantes trophæum."

Richard orders the chancellor to make amends to the bishop of Durham.

Benedict, ii. 110.

Dum autem Ricardus rex Angliæ moram faceret apud Marsiliam, venerunt ad eum nuncii Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi: et audita ab eis injuria quam prædictus cancellarius ei fecerat, præcepit rex comitatum Northimbriæ[4] et manerium de Sadberga reddi episcopo Dunelmensi. Unde rex iterum fecit illi cartam suam in hac forma:[5]

Alia carta Ricardi regis de Sadberge reddito domino Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo.[6]

Letter of Richard ordering the restoration of Sadberge and its dependencies to the bishop of Durham.

(Not in Benedict.)

" Ricardus, Dei gratia rex Angliæ, et dux Normanniæ et " Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, archiepiscopis, episcopis, " abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, vicecomitibus, et omnibus " ministris et fidelibus suis totius Angliæ, salutem. Sciatis " nos reddidisse Deo, et beato Cuthberto, et ecclesiæ Dunel- " mensi, et Hugoni episcopo, et successoribus ejus in perpe- " tuum, manerium de Sadberga, cum wapentacco et feodis

[1] *cultibus*] cultoribus, Savile.

[2] *Romani*] Romanum, B. D. I.

[3] *Cananæum*] Chananeum, B. D. I.

[4] *Northimbriæ*] Northamhumbriæ, B. I.

[5] *in hac forma*] om. B.

[6] This charter is omitted in MSS. B. D. I.: and it is not in Benedict. It is found in A. G. It will be seen that it does not mention the county of Northumberland.

(Not in Benedict.) "militum, quæ prius ei in puram et perpetuam eleemosynam "dederamus, et carta nostra confirmavimus, pro sexcentis "marcis, quas idem nobis donavit. Quare volumus, et præ-"cipimus, quod ipse prædictum manerium, cum vapentacco "et feodis militum, et cum aliis omnibus pertinentiis suis, in "puram et perpetuam eleemosynam, libere et quiete et ho-"norifice teneat et habeat, sicut in cartis nostris, quas inde "habet, continetur. Et bene volumus et concedimus, quantum "ad nos pertinet, quod si quis inde vim ei, vel molestiam "contra cartas et confirmationes nostras fecerit, iram et ma-"ledictionem Dei et nostram incurrat. Teste meipso apud "Marsiliam." A.D. 1190. July.

Benedict, ii. 112. Cumque rex Angliæ apud Marsiliam per octo dies[1] [moram] fecisset, expectans et sperans de die in diem adventum navigii sui, fraudatus a desiderio suo conduxit decem bucias[2] magnas, et viginti galeas bene armatas, et intravit cum familiis[3] suis, dolens et confusus propter moram navigii sui. Richard hires ships, and sails from Marseilles.

De recessu Ricardi regis Angliæ a Marsilia, et itinere suo versus Jerusalem.

Journal of Richard's voyage.

Septima igitur die Augusti recessit rex Angliæ a Marsilia in galea Pumbone, et transivit per insulam Sancti Stephani, et per Aquilam, et per Montem Nigrum, et per insulam Sancti Honorati, et per civitatem de Nices, et per Vintemile[4] civitatem. Aug. 7-13. Marseilles to Vintimiglia.

Et est sciendum, quod inter Nices et Vintemile[4] est divisio terrarum regis Arragoniæ et Italiæ.[5]

Deinde transivit rex per Sanctam Mariam de Funz, et per Nole.

Benedict, ii. 113. Tertia decima die Augusti transivit rex per castellum quod dicitur Suwene:[6] et eodem die venit rex ad Geneues, ubi locutus est cum rege Franciæ, qui ibi infirmabatur in ædibus juxta ecclesiam Sancti Laurentii. Aug. 13. Savona to Genoa.

Quartadecima die Augusti venit rex Angliæ ad portum Delfini[7] in vigilia Assumptionis Sanctæ Mariæ, et ibi moram fecit per quinque dies: et illuc misit ad eum rex Franciæ, Aug. 14-18. Portofino.

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[1] *octo dies*] July 31–Aug. 7. See above, p. 37, note 3.

[2] *bucias*] butias, I.

[3] *familiis*] famulis, I.

[4] *Vintemile*] Wentemile, B.; Wintemile, I.

[5] *Italiæ*] Ytaliæ, B. I.

[6] *Suwene*] Swene, G.; Seune, Benedict.

[7] *Delfini*] Delphini, Savile.

A.D. 1190. August. rogans ut commodaret ei quinque galeas; et rex Angliæ obtulit ei tres, quas rex Franciæ refutavit. Benedict, ii. 113.

Aug. 19. Porto Venere. Nono decimo die Augusti recessit rex Angliæ de portu Delfini, et venit ad portum Veneris.

Aug. 20. Pisa. Et in crastino venit ad portum de Pisa: et illuc venit ad eum Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus. Johannes Ebroicensis episcopus infirmabatur in civitate Pisana.

Aug. 21. Gorgona. Vicesima prima die mensis Augusti transivit rex per insulam quæ dicitur Gurgune.

Aug. 22. Baratto. Vicesima secunda die Augusti venit rex ad portum de Barate.

Aug. 23. He lands, and rides to Piombino: thence he sails to Talamone by Argentario and Giannuti. Vicesima tertia die Augusti, in vigilia Sancti Bartholomæi apostoli, perrexit rex duas leucas per terram, et pauci milites cum eo super equos conductos, et venerunt ad portum juxta castellum quod dicitur Plumbin,[1] obviam galeis suis: et ibi intravit rex galeam Fulconis Rustac, quam prius non intravit; et vento gaudens optato præteriit insulam quæ dicitur Feraire, et insulam quæ dicitur Argentaire,[2] et insulam quæ dicitur Genut; et venit ad portum qui dicitur Talemunde.[3]

Aug. 24. Porto Ercole. Vicesima quarta die Augusti venit rex ad portum qui dicitur Portekere, qui est in medio viæ inter Marsiliam et Messanam. Eodem die rumpebatur velum galeæ in qua rex erat; Corneto. et iterum intravit rex galeam Pumbone, et præteriit Cornet civitatem, et Senes la veile civitatem, et Laune civitatem, et Benedict, ii. 114. Civita Vecchia. Arrone. locum qui dicitur Le[4] Far de Rume; et postea intravit Tyberim. Ad cujus introitum est turris pulchra, sed solitaria: et sunt ibi ruinæ maximæ antiquorum murorum; et illuc Interview at Ostia with cardinal Octavian. venit ad eum Octovianus Hostiensis episcopus, cardinalis, cui rex turpia multa dixit, improbrando Romanis Simoniam, quod septingentas marcas debuerant habere pro consecratione episcopi Cenomanensis;[5] et mille et quingentas marcas pro legatione Eliensis episcopi; et pecuniam magnam ne deponeretur Burdegalensis, qui a clericis suis accusabatur in crimine.

Aug. 26. The wood of Laurentum. Vicesima sexta die Augusti transivit rex per quoddam nemus, quod dicitur Selvedene;[6] in quo est via marmorea ad modum pavimenti facta, et durat via illa marmorea per medium

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[1] *Plumbin*] Plumbun, D. I.; Plumbini, B.

[2] *Argentaire*] Argenaire, B. D. I.

[3] *Talemunde*] Talamunde, D. I.

[4] *Le*] de, B. D. I.

[5] *Cenomanensis*] Cinomanensis, G. Hamelin, bishop of Le Mans, was consecrated at Rome by Celestine III.: Mabillon, Anal. 337. The archbishop of Bourdeaux was Helias de Malemort.

[6] *Selvedene*] Selvede, G.

Benedict, ii. 114. nemus quater viginti[1] milliaria; et nemus illud abundat cervis et capreolis et dammis. Et eodem die transivit rex per castellum quod dicitur Lettun.[2] Hic est portus qui quondam tegebatur cupro; et erat ibi introitus cryptæ per quam pecunia undique allata ferebatur Romam; et postea transivit rex per castellum quod dicitur Esture. A.D. 1190. Aug. 26. Nettuno. Astura.

Vicesima septima die Augusti rex præteriit rupem extensam in mari, quæ dicitur Le Cap de Cercel, et insulam quæ dicitur Parmerole,[3] et insulam quæ dicitur Punce, et insulam quæ dicitur Palmere. In summitate montis de Cap de Cercel est castellum, in quo latrones et piratæ se sæpius abscondunt. Aug. 27. Capo Circello, Palmarola, Ponza;

Deinde venit rex ad civitatem quæ dicitur Tharracene, ubi quondam erat portus cupro tectus. Terracina

Deinde venit ipse ad Garillam: et inde ad castellum quod dicitur[4] le Cap del Espurun. Hic est divisio terræ Romanorum et terræ regis Siciliæ, in illa parte quæ dicitur principatus Capuæ. Garigliano;

Benedict, ii. 115. Deinde præteriit rex insulam quæ dicitur Lapantee, quæ distat a Gaeta civitate per quadraginta milliaria. Pantee terra fuit Pilati: et ibi erat portus cupro tectus. Vandotena;

Deinde præteriit rex insulam quæ dicitur Istele majur,[5] quæ semper fumat. Hæc insula dicitur accensa fuisse ab insula quæ dicitur[6] Vulcanus; igne volante, et comburente, ut dicitur, mare et pisces. Ab hac non multum distat insula quæ dicitur Isle de Girun, ubi est castellum bonum et portus. Ischia;

Deinde præteriit rex insulam quæ dicitur Baterun,[7] et portum de Baie, ubi sunt balnea Virgilii: et distat per decem milliaria a Neapolis. Baiæ;

Deinde præteriit rex Caprie,[8] et Cap de Manherbe: quæ est media via inter Neapolim et Salernum. Capri.

Vicesima octava die Augusti venit rex Neapolim, et perrexit ad abbatiam Sancti Januarii ad videndum filios Naimundi, qui stant ibi in crypta in pellibus et ossibus: et ibidem moram fecit usque ad Nativitatem Sanctæ Mariæ virginis matris Domini. Et eodem die perrexit rex Salernum in equis conductis: et ibidem moram facit magnam. Aug. 28. He stays at Naples until Sept. 8, and then goes to Salerno.

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1 *quater viginti*] 24, Savile.

2 *Lettun*] Lectun, G.; Letun, D. I.; Leicum, Bened. Perhaps Nettuno.

3 *Parmerole*] Palmerole, Bened.

4 *dicitur*] om. I.

5 *Istele majur*] Istele maiure, B. I.; Istellemanie, D.; Iscele majur, Bened.

6 *dicitur*] om. I.

7 *Baterun*] Betterun, B.

8 *Caprie*] Capue, D.

A.D. 1190. Archbishop Baldwin and Ranulf Glanvill reach Acre. The bishop of Norwich returns home.

Interim Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Hubertus Salesbiriensis episcopus, et Ranulfus de Glanvilla, qui venerant cum rege Angliæ ad Marsiliam, ibidem naves intraverunt. Et fecit illis Dominus prosperum iter, ita quod in brevi perduxit eos sine impedimento per magnum pelagus usque ad obsidionem Accon.[1] Johannes vero Norwicensis episcopus papam adiit, et accepta ab eo licentia redeundi, dimisit crucem, et domum rediit absolutus; quod cum regi domino suo constaret, cepit de illo, per manum Templariorum et Hospitalorum, mille marcas de redemptione. Benedict, ii. 115.

The fleet sails through the Bay of Biscay.

Navigium autem regis Angliæ, cui archiepiscopus Auxiensis, et episcopus Baoniensis, et Robertus de Sablul, et Ricardus de Camvilla, et Willelmus de Forz de Ulerun præfuerunt, iter arripuit Jerosolimitanum statim post Pascha, de diversis portibus Angliæ, et Normanniæ, et Britanniæ, et Pictaviæ. Cujus navigii[2] pars quædam convenit in portu de Dertemue, et post moram aliquot dierum ibidem factam, cum prædictæ naves numero decem velificarent versus Ulixisbonam, et præteriissent quandam terram protensam in mari, quæ dicitur Godestert; et præteriissent Britanniam, habentes Sanctum Mathæum de Finibus terræ, vel de Fine Posternæ, in sinistra navigii parte, et mare magnum, quo itur in Hyberniam, in dextris navigii, dimiserunt totam Pictaviam et Gasconiam et Biskay in sinistra parte navigii. Benedict, ii. 116.

Quomodo beatus Thomas martyr apparuit peregrinis per mare euntibus versus Jerusalem.

May 6. Apparition of S. Thomas of Canterbury, S. Edmund, and S. Nicolas.

Et cum præterirent jam mare Britannicum et mare Pictavicum, et venirent in mare Hispanicum, in sancta die Ascensionis Domini, hora tertia, arripuit illas tempestas valida et horribilis; et ab invicem in momento, in ictu oculi, sunt separatæ: et dum tempestas sæviret, et omnes clamarent ad Dominum cum tribularentur, Beatus Thomas Cantuariensis archiepiscopus et martyr, per tres vices visibiliter apparuit tribus personis qui erant in nave Lundoniensi, in qua erant Willelmus filius Osberti, et Gaufridus aurifaber, cives Lundonienses, dicens illis: "Nolite terreri; ego Thomas Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Beatus Edmundus[3] martyr, et "Beatus Nicholaus confessor, constituti sumus a Domino "custodes hujus navigii regis Angliæ: et si homines hujus

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[1] Archbishop Baldwin arrived at Tyre on Sept. 16, and at Acre on Oct. 12: *Epp. Cant.* 328, 329.

[2] *navigii*] om. B. D. I.

[3] *Edmundus*] Eadmundus, I.

Benedict, ii. 116. "navigii se a pravis operibus custodierint, et de præteritis "pœnitentiam egerint, Dominus dabit eis prosperum iter, et "in semitis Ejus gressus eorum diriget." His itaque sub trina repetitione dictis, Beatus Thomas ab oculis eorum elapsus est, et statim cessavit tempestas, et facta est in mari tranquillitas magna. Et jam navis illa Lundoniensis, in qua Beatus Thomas martyr apparuit, prætererat portum Ulixisbonæ, et caput Sancti Vincentii, et pervenerat prope civitatem Silviæ, quæ in finibus illis tunc temporis ultima fuit omnium villarum Christianitatis; et erat adhuc ibi Christiana fides novella, utpote quæ in anno proximo præterito erepta erat de manibus paganorum, et facta Christicola, ut supra dictum est. Ignorantes igitur illi qui in nave illa erant, ubi essent, emissa navicula sua navigaverunt ad terram, et cognoverunt per indicia quod terra illa terra erat Christianorum, et quod non erat eis ulterius via tuta sine bono et magno comitatu. Accesserunt ergo ad civitatem: et cognita adventus eorum causa, episcopus civitatis Silviæ, et clerus et populus, receperunt eos gratanter, gratias Deo agentes pro illorum adventu; erant enim in navi illa centum juvenes probi, et bene armati.

A.D. 1190. May 6. Arrival of the London ship at Silvia.

Benedict, ii. 117.

De adventu Boyac Almiramimoli, imperatoris Africæ, in terram Sanctii regis Portugalensis.

Interim Boiac Almiramimoli,[1] imperator Africæ et Hispaniæ Saracenicæ, magno congregato exercitu, venit in terram Sanctii[2] regis Portugalensis in vindictam imperatoris Africæ patris sui, anno sexto[3] proximo præterito defuncti in obsidione apud Sanctam Erenam, castellum Aldefonsi[4] regis, patris prædicti Sanctii regis Portugalensis. Cives autem Silviæ, timentes adventum prædicti imperatoris, non permiserunt juvenes illos Lundonienses ab illis recedere; sed et navem illorum fregerunt, et de asseribus illius fecerunt civitatis propugnacula; promittentes et omnimodam securitatem facientes, quod rex Portugalensis bene solveret eis moram quam faciebant, et damnum quod habebant de amissione navis suæ; et factum est ita.

Invasion of Portugal by the emperor of Morocco.

Benedict, ii. 118.

The people of Silvia engage the Londoners as allies.

[1] *Boiac Almiramimoli*] Boiac Almiramili, B. I. Abou-Yousouf Yacoub Al Mansour Bifadl-Allah, emperor of Morocco, 1184–1199.

[2] *Sanctii*] Sancho I., 1185–1211.

[3] *anno sexto*] Yousouf, father of Yacoub, or Boiac, died in Portugal, after besieging Santarem, June 18, 1184. *Art de Verif. les Dates*, Ser. iii. vol. iii. pp. 36, 37.

[4] *Aldefonsi*] Adelfonsi, B. Alfonso I., 1112–1185.

A.D. 1190. May. Rex namque Portugalensis dedit eis navem pro nave, et expensas pro expensis solvit. Benedict, ii. 118.

Nine more ships reach Lisbon. Præterea novem aliæ naves de navigio regis Angliæ, quæ in eadem tempestate erant, applicuerunt in diversis partibus Hispaniæ; tamen Domino duce tandem pervenerunt ad civitatem Ulixisbonæ, ascendentes per fluvium Thagi.[1] In eadem vero civitate Ulixisbonæ requiescit corpus Sancti Vincentii martyris. Et antequam illuc pervenirent, prædictus imperator June 24. Africæ, die Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, transivit fluvium Thagi per vadum, et omnis exercitus ejus cum eo; et obsedit castellum Sanctii regis Portugalensis, quod dicitur Turresnoves. The Emperor crosses the Tagus and besieges Torres Nuevas. Rex vero Portugalensis misit legatos suos ad peregrinos, qui in navibus venerant ad civitatem Ulixisbonæ, et petiit ab eis succursum contra Sarracenos. Quingenti igitur viri bene armati, et ex omnibus qui in navibus venerant præelecti, fortiores et animosiores, elegerunt magis mori in bello pro nomine Jesu Christi, quam videre mala gentis suæ, et exterminium; et relictis navibus et sociis suis, perrexerunt ascendentes per fluvium Thagi usque ad Sanctam Herenam, quæ distat a civitate Ulixisbonæ per duas dietas: The Crusaders join king Sancho at Santarem. et invenerunt ibi Sanctium regem Portugalensem auxilio et consilio destitutum; paucos enim habebat viros bellicosos, et fere omnes inermes. Et jam prædictus imperator ceperat castellum regis, quod obsederat; et alium castellum quod dicitur Tumar,[2] castellum Templariorum, obsedit; qui cum audisset adventum peregrinorum timuit valde; et missis legatis ad regem Portugalensem petiit ab eo Silviam, et ipse recederet cum exercitu suo, et redderet ei castellum quod ceperat, et pacem haberet cum illo per septem annos. Benedict, ii. 119. Quod cum rex Portugalensis facere nollet, prædictus imperator mandavit ei, quod in crastino veniret obsessurus Sanctam Herenam.

They prepare for a siege. Tunc rex Portugalensis, inito consilio cum peregrinis, qui de navibus venerant, constituit homines suos in turribus, et in fortioribus murorum propugnaculis. Peregrini autem, qui de navibus venerant, debiliores partes civitatis sibi elegerunt, audaciam habentes pro muro.

News of the emperor's death. In crastino autem, cum omnes essent succincti ad bellum, et clangor esset in foribus "Jamjam veniet, et non tardabit;" repente venit nuncius dicens: "Imperator mortuus est jam "triduanus, et exercitus ejus fugit:" et adhuc eo loquente, venerunt duo, deinde tres, deinde plures eundem sermonem

[1] *Thagi*] Tagi, Savile.

[2] *castellum regis . . . . Tumar*] Castellum quod dicitur Thumar, I.

Benedict, ii. 119. dicentes. Crediderunt ergo illis rex et universus populus, et civitas replebatur gaudio et exultatione. A.D. 1190. June.

In crastino autem dedit rex viris qui de navibus venerant licentiam redeundi ad naves suas, promittens quod bene recompensaret eis labores suos. Sed antequam illi ad naves suas venissent, Robertus de Sabluil et Ricardus de Camvilla venerunt Ulixisbonam, cum sexaginta tribus navibus magnis de storio regis Angliæ: storium idem est quod navigium. Quidam vero hominum qui in comitatu Roberti de Sablul et Ricardi de Camvilla venerant, malefactores erant et perversi; qui exeuntes de navibus in civitatem Ulixisbonæ ascenderunt, et per vias et vicos incedentes superbe locuti sunt cum populo civitatis; et cum mulieribus et filiabus civium per vim coinquinati sunt; et paganos et Judæos, servos regis, qui in civitate habitabant, fugaverunt, diripientes res et possessiones eorum; et domos eorum combusserunt, et vineas eorum vindemiaverunt, non relinquentes in eis uvam neque racemum.

Sixty-three ships arrive at Lisbon.

Misbehaviour of the Crusaders.

Benedict, ii. 120. Quod cum regi Portugalensi, domino civitatis Ulixisbonæ, constaret, velocius advenit cum manu potenti, et inventis[1] ibi Roberto de Sablul et Ricardo de Camvilla, cum navigio regis Angliæ, faciem hilarem et pacem spondentem eis exhibuit, patienter sustinens injurias sibi et plebi suæ illatas.

Sancho returns to Lisbon.

In crastino autem adventus regis, prædicti duces navigii receperunt ab universis hominibus navigii sacramentum, quod fideliter tenerent, et inviolabiliter observarent, prædictas assisas in carta regis Angliæ signatas. Post triduum vero orta est[2] dissensio inter cives Ulixisbonæ et quosdam illorum qui in navibus venerant, ita quod ex utraque parte multi ceciderunt in bello interfecti: et clamor populi pervenit ad aures regias; et statim clausæ sunt portæ civitatis; et omnes qui de navibus in civitatem ascenderant ad edendum et bibendum, capti sunt et incarcerati, numero viri septingenti. Et antequam illi a captione regis exirent, fecit rex Portugalensis cum Roberto de Sablul et Ricardo de Camvilla pacem qualem voluit; videlicet in hac forma: quod mala præterita ex utraque parte remitterentur, et quod ipsi pacem firmam tenerent regi et regno, ubicunque fuerint in terra sua; et ipse rex similiter et sui pacem servarent peregrinis in tota terra sua, et quod arma et cætera omnia, quæ in prælio illo amissa fuerant ex utraque[3] redderentur.

The justiciars of the fleet enforce the king's ordinances.

Punishment of the transgressors.

Agreement with king Sancho

[1] *inventis*] inventos, D. I.
[2] *est*] om. I.
[3] *utraque*] parte, ins. Savile.

A.D. 1190. July 24. The ships leave Lisbon, and are joined by the rest of the fleet.

Benedict, ii. 120.

Quod cum factum fuisset, Robertus de Sablul et Ricardus de Camvilla recesserunt a civitate Ulixisbonæ, cum classe regis Angliæ, in vigilia Sancti Jacobi apostoli, feria quarta, et eodem die venerunt ad introitum maris, ubi Tagus cadit in mare. Et eodem die venit illuc Willelmus de Fors de Ulerun, cum triginta tribus magnis navibus de navigio regis Angliæ; et erant pariter in eodem loco, de storio regis Angliæ, centum et sex magnæ naves, onustæ viris bellicosis, et victualibus et armis.

July 26. The conjoint fleet sails past Cape Espichel, Alcacer, Palmella, Cape Sines, Barra de Odimira; Cape S. Vincent.

In crastino autem festi Sancti Jacobi apostoli, feria sexta, Robertus de Sabluil, et Ricardus de Camvilla, et Willelmus de Forz de Ulerun, recesserunt a portu Ulixisbonæ cum navigio regis Angliæ, transeuntes per montem magnum protensum in mari, qui dicitur Spichel, et per portum Dalchath, et per Palmel, et per Sinnes, terram quandam arenosam protensam in mari; et per portum Deordimire,[1] et per montem magnum et excelsum, protensum in mari,[2] qui dicitur Caput Sancti Vincentii; in quo corpus Sancti Vincentii requievit intumulatum per multa tempora, usque dum translatum fuit ad civitatem Ulixisbonæ. Deinde transierunt ante portum Silviæ, quæ tunc temporis ultima fuerat Christianorum civitas in partibus illis Hyspaniæ.[3] Deinde transierunt per civitatem paganorum quæ dicitur Sancta Maria de Hayrun; et est notandum quare civitas illa sic nominatur Sancta Maria de Hayrun. Hayrun dicitur locus in quo civitas illa sita est, et Christiani, qui ædificaverunt eam, sic nominaverunt eam; et in memoriam Beatæ Dei genitricis Mariæ yconiam quandam lapideam super murum statuerunt. Deinde cum pagani prævaluissent adversus Christianos, obtinuerunt eam; et cum yconiam illam supra murum stantem invenissent, amputaverunt caput et pedes et brachia illius, in contemptum fidei Christianæ et Beatæ Mariæ, et projecerunt illa longius in

Silvia (Silves), and Faro.

Benedict, ii. 121.

Miraculous story of an image of the blessed Virgin.

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[1] *Deordimire*] Deordemire, B.; which omits the three following words.

[2] *qui dicitur . . . in mari*] om. I.

[3] Benedict omits the geographical details of the voyage from Silvia to S. Maria de Hayrun. We must conclude either that the two writers had before them some diary of the voyage, corresponding with that of the fleet which took Lisbon on the second crusade; or else that Hoveden filled in the geography, not very correctly, from some geographical account of the coasts of Spain and Portugal, as he appears to have done further on.

Benedict, ii. 121.

A.D. 1190. July. Miracle of S. Maria de Faro.

mare. Quo facto, mare et tellus facta sunt sterilia, et fames prævaluit super terram illam, adeo quod omnia fere, homines et animalia, fame interirent. Tunc seniores populi et juvenes omnes, a maximo usque ad minimum, die ac nocte plorantes, et in sacco et cinere pœnitentiam agentes, recordati sunt yconiæ, cujus caput et manus et pedes absciderant; dicentes, "Peccavimus, injuste egimus, iniquitatem fecimus, quando "caput et manus et pedes amputavimus. Quid enim mali "fecit? Quæramus ergo illa, et apponamus ea in locis suis, ut "sic saltem avertat Deus iram Suam a nobis, et a civitate ista." Et miserunt sagenas suas in mare, ubi projecerant caput et manus et pedes yconiæ, et trahentes ea in terram cum sagenis, apposuerunt caput collo, et manus brachiis, et pedes tibiis, et solidaverunt ea cum auro et argento primo et purissimo; et deinde statuerunt yconiam illam in loco honorabili, et habetur in magna veneratione usque in hodiernum diem: et statim cessavit fames, et terra dedit fructum suum.

The fleet sails by Mertola, the Guadiana, Huelva;

Deinde transierunt ante castellum quod dicitur Mertel.[1] Deinde ante portum de Hodiene. Deinde ante portum de Calice. Deinde ante montem qui dicitur Muntalve. Deinde ante quandam terram arenosam protensam in mari, quæ dicitur caput Almilan.[2] Deinde ante castellum et portum qui dicitur Saltis. Deinde ante portum Sibillæ, qui dicitur Wudelkebir. Et inter Sibillam et introitus portus, in medio viæ, est castellum quod dicitur Captal. Deinde venerunt ad districtas Affricæ, et transierunt per medium districtarum Affricæ prima die Augusti, festo Sancti Petri ad Vincula, feria quinta, et ibi incipit Mediterraneum mare: et dicitur Mediterraneum mare ideo, quod undique circumcluditur terra, excepto uno introitu et uno exitu; quorum alter dicitur districtæ Affricæ; et alter brachium Sancti Georgii, quod est apud civitatem Constantinopolim. Et est notandum, quod ab introitu districtarum Affricæ usque prope Scalonam, est terra paganorum in dextra parte navigii; et ex opposito, ab introitu districtarum Affricæ usque ad montem magnum qui dicitur Muncian,[3] est Hyspania Saracenica, quæ dimittenda est in sinistra

Saltis; the port of Seville at the mouth of the Guadalquivir; and enters the Straits of Gibraltar, Aug. 1.

Account of the navigation of the Mediterranean.

[1] *Mertel*] Mercel, I.
[2] *Almilan*] Marginal note in A., "Hucusque clerico scriptum."
[3] *Muncian*] Muntian, I.

A.D. 1190. August. Navigation of the Straits. Calpe and Atlas. African cities: Spartel, Tangier, Alcazar, Masmuda, Velez, Ceuta. Spanish cities: Bithar, Algeciras, Tarifa, Gebel-el Khadra, Gibraltar, Malaga.

parte navigii. Et est notandum, quod ad æstimationem nautarum, introitus districtarum Affricæ, ab una ripa in alteram, non habet plusquam sex milliaria in latitudine; et ex utraque parte habetur mons magnus, scilicet unus in Hispania, qui dicitur Calpes, et alter in Affrica in opposito, qui dicitur Athlas; et ad introitum districtarum Affricæ sunt in Affrica secus mare civitates, quarum nomina hæc sunt: Esparte, Thange, Cacermin,[1] Muee, Boloos, et Scep, quæ est nobilissima omnium civitatum Affricæ: et in Hispania quasi ex opposito sunt civitates et castella, quorum nomina hæc sunt: Beche, Dudemarbait,[2] Leziratarif,[3] Gezehacazera, et Jubaltarie insula, Mertel,[4] Swail castellum Maurorum. Ad pedem montis Jubaltariæ sunt duæ nobiles civitates sitæ, quarum una dicitur Alentia, et altera Jubalar. Deinde est Magga civitas.

Almuneçar; Almeria, Carthagena,

Cumque navigium regis Angliæ prope supradictas civitates Hispaniæ præterisset, transivit ante Salamenec[5] civitatem: deinde ante Vilages, civitatem magnam muro clausam; in cujus[6] circuitu sunt[7] centum sexaginta turres lapideæ. Deinde transivit per montem magnum et excelsum, qui dicitur Caput de Melich. Deinde per Munacas castellum. Deinde per nobilem civitatem quæ dicitur Almaria, ubi fit nobile sericum et delicatum, quod dicitur sericum[8] de Almaria. Deinde per montem magnum et excelsum protensum in mare, qui dicitur Caput de Almaria. Deinde ante Cartaginem, civitatem bonam in littore maris sitam. Deinde ante Penisecle[9] castellum bonum et pulchrum. Deinde transivit per quandam arenam[10] protensam in mari, quæ dicitur Alascerat; deinde per quandam terram

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[1] *Cacermin*] Catermin, I.; Bethe, Dudenardi, præf. Savile.
[2] *Dudemarbait*] Dudemarbarc, B.
[3] *Leziratarif*] Lezimatarif, G.
[4] *Mertel*] Mercel, I.
[5] *Salamenec*] Salamenee, B.; Salamence, I.
[6] *cujus*] om. I.
[7] *sunt*] om. B. I.
[8] *sericum*] om. I.
[9] *Penisecle*] Peniscle, B. I.
[10] *arenam*] harenosam, I.

protensam in mari, quæ dicitur Caput Martini. Deinde ante civitatem magnam, quæ dicitur Denie. Deinde ante portum Valentiæ. Et est sciendum quod Valentia civitas bona est, et distat ab introitu portus sui per septem milliaria. A.D. 1190. August. C. S. Martin, Denia, Valencia.

Deinde transivit ante Biane[1] castellum. Deinde ante Peniscule, castellum in littore maris situm, et illud est ultimum castellum paganorum in Hispania[2] supra mare. Deinde transierunt per montem magnum et excelsum protensum in mari, qui dicitur Muscian; et mons ille dividit terram paganorum a terra Christianorum, et ibi incipit terra regis Arragoniæ; et prope montem illum, inter montes longe a mari, sita est bona civitas quæ dicitur Cervere; et ad pedem montis illius, super littus maris, stat castellum quod dicitur Ampost, in terra regis Arragoniæ, quod Hospitales tenent; et ibi est magnus fluvius aquæ dulcis, qui dicitur Ebre; et nobilis civitas quæ dicitur Turtusa stat super fluvium illum, quæ distat ab introitu portus per triginta millaria. Burriana, Peniscola, Monsant; Amposta; the mouth of the Ebro; Tortosa.

Deinde transierunt per civitatem magnam archiepiscopalem sitam in littore maris, quæ dicitur Taragune; et prope illam est mons magnus protensus in mare, qui dicitur Caput de Salut: et sub monte illo est bonus portus. Deinde ante civitatem magnam episcopalem sitam in littore maris, quæ dicitur Barzelune. Deinde transierunt castellum bonum[3] situm in littore maris, quod dicitur Sainte Felice, et ibi est bonus portus. Tarragona; Cape Salou. Barcelona, S. Felice.

Deinde transierunt terram comitis Pontii,[4] transeuntes ante civitatem bonam quæ dicitur Empiris, et ibi est bonus portus. Deinde transierunt per montem magnum protensum in mare, qui dicitur Caput de Castilun,[5] et ibi est bonus portus qui dicitur portus de Castilun; Empurias; Castello;

[1] *Biane*] Baiane, G.
[2] *Hispania*] Hispaniis, B. D. I.
[3] *bonum*] om. Savile.
[4] *comitis Pontii*] Pontius Hugo, count of Empurias, died about 1160. His son Hugo reigned until 1230. *Art. de V. les Dates.* If this is right, the details in the text may have been taken from the journal of an earlier voyage.
[5] *Castilun*] Castillun, B.; Castillum, I.

A.D. 1190. August. et in ascendendo per fluvium illum est castellum bonum, quod dicitur Castelun.[1] Deinde transierunt ante bonum portum et magnum, qui dicitur Cadakis. Deinde transierunt per montem magnum protensum in mari, qui dicitur Caput de Crous:[2] et ibi est bonus portus. Deinde transierunt per castellum bonum, situm in littore maris, quod dicitur Cockeliure; et ibi est portus bonus, qui dicitur portus Veneris. Deinde transierunt per quandam arenam protensam in mare, quæ dicitur Caput Leucate, faciens signum magnum, in quo prope littus maris est bona civitas episcopalis, quæ dicitur Nerbona, et monasterium, quod dicitur Sancta Maria de mari. Deinde transierunt per quandam terram protensam in mare, quæ dicitur Briscou.

Cadaques; C. Creux; Collioure; Port Vendres; Leucate; Narbonne; Brescou.

Deinde intraverunt terram comitis[3] de Agda, transeuntes ante civitatem bonam sitam in littore maris, quæ dicitur Agda. Deinde transierunt prope Vilenove, episcopatum[4] de Maggalona: et prope inde est portus de Monte Pessolano, qui dicitur Lates. Deinde transierunt ante insulam quæ dicitur Odur, quæ est ad introitum Rodani, et in ascendendo per Rodanum itur ad civitatem bonam archiepiscopalem, quæ dicitur Arle le Blanc; et in ascendendo superius per eundem fluvium, itur prope Sanctum Ægidium,[5] et in ascendendo superius per eundem fluvium itur ad bonam civitatem, quæ dicitur Liun sur le Rodne.[6]

Agde; Magalona; Montpellier; the mouth of the Rhone. Benedict, ii. 122.

They reach Marseilles. Deinde pervenerunt usque ad Marsiliam, quæ distat per viginti milliaria ab introitu[7] Rodani. Marsilia est civitas episcopalis sub potestate regis Arragoniæ.[8] Ibi sunt relliquiæ Sancti Lazari, fratris Sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ et Marthæ, qui ibidem septem annis episcopatum tenuit, postquam Jesus suscitavit eum a mortuis.

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[1] *Castelun*] Castillun, G.; Casteillun, I.

[2] *Crous*] Trous, D. I.

[3] *comitis*] om. D. I.

[4] *episcopatum*] episcopatu, B. I. D. has "*civitatem bonam sitam in* "*littore maris.*"

[5] *et . . . Ægidium*] om. I.

[6] *Liun sur le Roene*, corrected to Rodne, A.

[7] *ab introitu*] ad introitum, B. I.

[8] Provence was held by the king of Arragon, Alfonso II., from 1167 to 1196.

In civitate autem illa est bonus portus multis et magnis navibus, fere circumclusus montibus altis, et ex una parte portus illius est civitas illa episcopalis; et ex altera parte portus ex opposito est abbatia Sancti Victoris, in qua centum nigri monachi Deo serviunt; et ibi, ut dicunt, sunt corpora septies viginti innocentum pro Christo interfectorum, et relliquiæ Sancti Victoris, sociorumque ejus; et virgæ quibus flagellatus erat Dominus; et maxilla Sancti Lazari, et una costarum Sancti Laurentii martyris: et inter Marsiliam et abbatiam illam, non longe a via recta, est monasterium in quo habetur brachium Sanctæ Margaretæ virginis: et juxta abbatiam Sancti Victoris sunt duo alti montes, quorum unus dicitur mons Rollandi, et alter mons Hospinelli.

A.D. 1190. Relics at Marseilles and in the abbey of S. Victor.

Et est sciendum, quod a Marsilia usque Accon non sunt nisi quindecim dierum et noctium siglaturæ ad bonum ventum. Sed tunc itur per magnum pelagus, ita quod, postquam montes de Marsilia desierint videri, non videbitur terra neque a dextris neque a sinistris, si rectus cursus tenetur, donec videatur terra Suliæ; et si forte aliqua terra videtur in dextra parte navigii, terra paganorum est; et si terra videtur in sinistra parte navigii, terra Christianorum est. Præterea sciendum est, quod multæ insulæ Saracenicæ[1] sunt inter districtas Affricæ et Marsiliam; quarum una dicitur Majorc, et altera dicitur Eniuce;[2] et utraque illarum tributaria est sub rege Arragoniæ; et insula de[3] Majorc reddit ei trecentos pannos sericos de Almaria per annum de tributo; et insula de Emuice reddit ei per annum de tributo ducentos pannos de serico de Almaria.

Voyage from Marseilles to Acre.

Benedict, ii. 122.

Yviça and Majorca.

Divisio regnorum secus mare.

Sciendum est, quod tota terra quæ est ab[4] Anglia usque in Hispaniam, secus mare, videlicet Normannia, Britannia,

Description of the shore of the continent.

[1] *Saracenicæ*] Sarracenæ, B. I.
[2] *Eniuce*] Enuice, B.G. here and below.
[3] *de*] quæ, I.
[4] *ab*] sub, I.

A.D. 1190. The coast of Europe, according to kingdoms: Pictavia, est de dominio regis Angliæ; et protenditur usque ad portum qui dicitur Huarz,[1] qui dividit terram comitis de Baonia a terra regis Navarræ. Et terra regis Navarræ incipit a portu de Huarz,[2] et protenditur usque ad aquam quæ dicitur Castre, quæ dividit terram regis Navarræ a terra regis Castellæ. Et terra regis Castellæ incipit ab aqua de Castre, et protenditur usque ad montes de Sore, qui dividunt terram regis Castellæ a terra regis de Sancto Jacobo; et terra regis de Sancto Jacobo incipit a montibus de Sore, et protenditur usque ad aquam de Mine, quæ dividit terram regis de Sancto Jacobo a terra regis Portugalensis; et terra regis Portugalensis incipit ab aqua quæ dicitur Mine, et protenditur ultra civitatem de Silves. Et post civitatem de Silves, incipit terra paganorum, qui sunt in Hispania secus mare, sub dominio imperatoris Africæ, quæ protenditur usque ad montem magnum qui dicitur Muntcian. Et in Hispania illa Saracenica sunt quatuor reges principales: quorum unus dicitur rex de Cordres, id est Corduba. Unde Lucanus:

(Margin notes: Benedict, ii. 122. — Castile; — Benedict, ii. 123. — Leon; — Portugal. — The possessions of the Moors: the kingdoms of Cordova;)

" Corduba me genuit, rapuit Nero, prælia dixi,
" Quæ gessere pares, hinc socer, inde gener."

Jaen; Murcia; Valencia. Alter rex dicitur Gant; tertius dicitur rex de Murcia; quartus dicitur rex de Valencia. Et terra illius protenditur usque ad montem qui dicitur Muncian;[3] et mons ille dividit terram paganorum a terra Christianorum, scilicet terra regis Arragoniæ; et terra regis Arragoniæ incipit a monte illo qui dicitur Muncian, et protenditur ultra civitatem de Nice. Et a civitate de Nice incipit terra imperatoris Romanorum; et est ibi bona civitas, quæ dicitur Vintemile.[4]

(Margin note: The kingdom of Arragon.)

The imperial dominion. The kingdom of Apulia. Et terra imperatoris protenditur inde secus mare usque ad Gaetam, quæ est in Appulia, terra regis Siciliæ; et terra illa dicitur principatus Capuæ. Et est sciendum, quod in medio viæ inter Marsiliam et Siciliam sunt duæ insulæ magnæ; quarum major dicitur Sardena, et altera dicitur Corzege; et multæ insulæ sunt in circuitu Siciliæ, quarum quæ-

(Margin note: Sardinia and Corsica.)

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[1] *Huarz*] Thuarz, I.
[2] *Huarz*] Huuarz, B. I.
[3] *Muncian*] Muntian, I.
[4] *Vintemile*] Wintemile, B. I.

Benedict, ii. 123. dam sunt ardentes: et in mari illo circa Sardenam et Corzhege[1] sunt pisces similes siccis, qui volant in aera exeuntes a mari; et cum volaverint quasi per unum stadium, iterum descendunt in mare; et sunt ibi falcones multi volantes post pisces illos, et insequentes, ut rapiant ex illis escam sibi. Et qui hoc vidit[2] testimonium perhibet, et verum est testimonium ejus: quia cum ipse in mensa sedisset, in alta navi, quidam ex piscibus illis volantibus cecidit ante illum super mensam. A.D. 1190. Flying fish in the neighbourhood of Sardinia and Corsica.

Et est notandum, quod una insularum illarum, quæ sunt in circuitu Siciliæ, major cæteris, dicitur Muntgibel, qui ita vehementer ardere solebat, quod magnam partem maris in circuitu ejus desiccabat, et pisces comburebat; sed jam diu ardere cessavit, meritis et precibus beatæ Agathæ, virginis et martyris. Quadam enim die, cum ignis vehementius solito exiret a fornace montis Gibel, et appropinquasset civitati Cathanensium, ubi sanctum corpus beatæ Agathæ requiescit, paganorum multitudo fugiens ad sepulcrum ejus, tulerunt velum ejus contra incendium; et ignis reversus est in mare, et comburens desiccavit mare fere per unum milliare, et pisces combussit, de quibus multi evaserunt semiusti; et ex genere illorum sunt ibi usque in hodiernum diem pisces semiusti, qui dicuntur pisces Sanctæ Agathæ. Et si contigerit quod aliquis illorum piscium captus fuerit ab aliquo piscatore, statim dimittitur abire propter reverentiam Beatæ Agathæ, ad laudem et gloriam Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Qui semper est mirabilis, et gloriosus in sanctis Suis. Mount Ætna. Benedict, ii. 124. The fishes of S. Agatha.

Robertus itaque de Sablul, et Ricardus de Camvilla, et Willelmus de Forz de Ulerun, transeuntes cum navigio Ricardi regis Angliæ inter Affricam et Hispaniam, post tempestates plurimas quas in itinere illo perpessi sunt, per- Progress of the Fleet.

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[1] *Corzhege*] Corzege, B. I.

[2] *qui hoc vidit*] As the whole of these geographical details are clearly taken from some independent authority, we cannot venture to identify Hoveden with the man who saw the flying fish. The marvellous story about the fishes of S. Agatha is retained in the Chronicle of Benedict, which, however, rejects the last clause, *Si contigerit*, &c., the truth of which is perhaps the only indisputable part of the legend.

A.D. 1190. Aug. 22. Arrival of the fleet at Marseilles.

venerunt Marsiliam, in octavis Assumptionis Sanctæ Mariæ, feria quarta, cum toto navigio illis commisso; et non invento ibi rege Angliæ domino suo, per octo dies fecerunt ibi moram, propter quosdam necessarios navium apparatus. (Benedict, ii. 124.)

Aug. 30. They proceed to Messina, arriving Sept. 14. Philip arrives Sept. 16.

Deinde secuti sunt regem; et in festo Exaltationis Sanctæ Crucis venerunt Messanam in Sicilia, feria sexta; et die Dominica sequenti venit illuc Philippus rex Franciæ, xvi°. kalendas Octobris; et Margaritus admiralis, et Jordanus del Pin, et cæteri civitatis custodes honorifice susceperunt eum, et tradiderunt ei palatium Tancredi regis Siciliæ ad hospitandum ibi.

Sept. 13. Richard moves from Salerno, passes Amalfi.

Cum ergo Ricardus rex audisset quod navigium suum Messanam veniret, xiii°. die Septembris a Salerno recessit, et transiens ante civitatem archiepiscopalem quæ Melfe dicitur, et ante civitatem archiepiscopalem quæ Conze dicitur, xviii°. die Septembris, venit ad civitatem et castellum quæ dicuntur Escalee.[1] Juxta hoc castellum est insula parva, ubi dicuntur fuisse scholæ Lucani; et adhuc est ibi camera pulchra sub terra, in qua Lucanus studere consueverat. Nocte sequenti jacuit rex in villa quæ dicitur Lacetrar,[2] in prioratu Montis Cassiæ. (Sept. 18. Scalea. — Benedict, ii. 125. — Cetraro.)

Sept. 19.

Nono decimo die Septembris transiens rex per prioratum qui dicitur Sanctus Michael de Josaphat, venit ad alium prioratum ejusdem ordinis, qui dicitur Sancta Maria des Foses, et ibi est castellum quod dicitur Sancte Luchee.

Sept. 20. S. Eufemia.

Vicesima die Septembris transiens rex per castellum quod dicitur Lamantee, venit ad villam quæ dicitur Sancta Eufemia.

Sept. 21. Mileto.

Vicesima prima die Septembris venit rex ad Melide, et ibi honorifice susceptus fuit et procuratus in abbatia Sanctæ Trinitatis. Ibi est turris lignea juxta abbatiam, per quam Robertus Viscardus expugnavit et obtinuit castellum et villam de Melide.

Sept 22. Richard is attacked by rustics.

Vicesima secunda die Septembris, rex Angliæ recedens de Melida cum uno solo milite, transivit per villam quandam parvam; et cum transisset, vertit se ad domum quandam, in in qua audivit accipitrem, et intrans domum cepit illum; quem cum dimittere noluisset, rustici multi undique adcurrentes

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[1] *Escalee*] Escalce, I.; Escale, Benedict.

[2] *Lacetrar*] Lacerat, G.; iacetrar, I.; Lacetar, Benedict.

Benedict, ii. 125.

impetum fecerunt in eum cum lapidibus et fustibus; et cum unus illorum cultellum suum in regem extraxisset; rex eum cum lato gladii sui verberans, gladium suum fregit, et alios lapidibus obruit, et sic vix[1] evadens a manibus eorum, venit ad prioratum qui dicitur Labaniare, et nullam ibi moram faciens, transivit fluvium magnum qui dicitur le Far de Meschines. Et juxta turrim lapideam, quæ est ad introitum del Far in Sicilia, jacuit nocte illa in tenterio. Fluvius autem ille del Far dividit Calabriam et Siciliam. Et ad introitum del Far, prope Labaniare, est periculum illud marinum quod dicitur Silla, et in exitu ejusdem fluvii est aliud periculum maris, quod dicitur Caribdis.

A.D. 1190. Sept. 22. He crosses the straits of Messina, and sleeps that night in a tent.

De adventu regis Angliæ ad Messanam.

Sept. 23. Triumphant reception of Richard at Messina.

Vicesima tertia die Septembris, Ricardus rex Angliæ venit Messanam in Sicilia, cum buciis multis, et aliis magnis navibus, et galeis, in tanta gloria, et sonitu tubarum et buccinum, quod tremor apprehendit eos qui in civitate erant. Rex vero Franciæ et sui, et omnes principes civitatis Messanæ, et clerus et populus, stabant in littore admirantes super his quæ videbant et audierant de rege Angliæ, et de potestate ejus; qui cum applicuisset, statim locutus est cum Philippo rege Franciæ. Et post colloquium istud rex Franciæ statim eodem die intravit naves suas, volens procedere versus terram Jerosolimitanam; sed cum a portu exisset, statim illo die vento sibi in contrarium mutato, dolens et invitus Messanam reversus est. Rex vero Angliæ intravit domum Reginaldi de Muhec, ubi hospitium suum præparabatur in suburbio extra civitatem infra vineas.

Benedict, ii. 126.

Sept. 24, 25. Interviews with Philip.

Vicesima quarta et vicesima quinta die Septembris, venit rex Angliæ ad hospitium regis Franciæ loqui cum eo, et e converso.

Tancred releases queen Johanna.

Interim Ricardus rex Angliæ misit nuncios suos ad Tancredum regem Siciliæ, et liberavit de custodia ejus Johannam sororem suam, quondam reginam Siciliæ.

Sept. 28. She arrives at Messina.

Vicesima octava die Septembris exivit rex Angliæ obviam Johannæ sorori suæ, quæ[2] eodem die venit Messanam de Panormo per galeas, missa a rege Thancredo.

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[1] *vix*] om. D. I. | [2] *quæ*] quod, B. I.

A.D. 1190. Sept. 29. Philip visits Johanna.

Vicesima nona die Septembris, scilicet die Sancti Michaelis, venit rex Franciæ ad hospitium sororis regis Angliæ, et vidit eam, et gavisus est. Benedict, ii. 126.

Principium discordiæ inter cives Messanæ et Ricardum regem Angliæ.

Sept. 30. Richard takes La Bagnara. Oct. 1. He lodges Johanna there.

Tricesima die Septembris rex Angliæ transivit fluvium del Far; et cepit locum munitissimum qui dicitur la Bainare; et prima die Octobris introduxit Johannam sororem suam in locum illum munitissimum, et dimittens eam ibi cum militibus et multis servientibus, Messanam rediit. Benedict, ii. 127.

Oct. 2. He occupies and fortifies a monastery of the Greeks.

Secunda vero die Octobris cepit rex Angliæ monasterium Griffonum, videlicet locum munitissimum quod est in medio fluminis del Far, inter Messanam et Calabriam, et posuit in eo victualia sua, quæ de Anglia et aliis terris suis venerant, et expulsis inde monachis et servientibus eorum, munivit illud militibus et aliis custodibus.

Jealousy of the people of Messina.

Cum autem cives Messanæ vidissent, quod rex Angliæ in castello de la Baignare, cum sorore sua, milites et servientes posuisset, et quod ipse monasterium Griffonum occupasset, habuerunt eum[1] suspectum, conjicientes quod totam occuparet insulam si posset; et inde de facili poterant contra eum commoveri.

Oct. 3. Quarrel between them and the crusaders.

Unde contigit, quod tertia die Octobris discordia emersit inter exercitum regis Angliæ et cives Messanæ; et in tantum excrevit ex utraque parte indignatio, quod cives clauserunt portas civitatis, et armati ascenderunt muros. Cumque exercitus regis hoc vidisset, venerunt cum impetu magno ad portas civitatis, et dominus rex in equo velocissimo per exercitum cursitabat, baculo verberans quoscunque ex suis attingebat, volens illos ab insultu cohibere, sed nequivit; tandem rediit ad hospitium suum, et cum se armasset, iterum exivit ad extinguendam malitiam, si posset. Postea intravit cimbam unam, et ivit ad palatium regis Thancredi,[2] ad consulendum regem Franciæ super his quæ acciderant.

Richard tries in vain to pacify them.

Interim, per consilium seniorum civitatis, discordia illa quievit; et depositis ex utraque parte[3] armis, reversus est unusquisque in domum suam.

Oct. 4. Richard is asked to make peace.

Quarto die Octobris venerunt ad regem Angliæ, Ricardus[4]

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[1] *eum*] om. B. I.
[2] *Thancredi*] Tanchredi, B. I.
[3] *parte*] om. I.
[4] *Ricardus*] Palmer, an Englishman, archbishop, 1183-1195.

Benedict, ii. 128.

A.D. 1190. Oct. 4. Deputation of the nobles to Richard.

archiepiscopus Messanæ, et Willelmus archiepiscopus de Monte Regali,[1] et Willelmus archiepiscopus de Risa,[2] et Margaritus Admiralis, et Jordanus de Pino,[3] et alii multi familiares regis Siciliæ; et adduxerunt secum Philippum regem Franciæ, et Reginaldum Carnotensem, et Manasser de Lengris episcopos, et Hugonem ducem Burgundiæ, et Petrum de Neverz,[4] et Gaufridum de Pertico,[5] comites, et de familia regis Angliæ Walterum Rotomagensem, et Girardum Auxiensem archiepiscopos, et Johannem Ebroicensem, et Bernardum Baoniensem episcopos,[6] et alios multos, in quibus habebant fiduciam, ad pacem faciendam inter ipsos et regem Angliæ. Et cum illi de pace facienda diu tractassent, et eam pene reformassent, cives Messanæ processerunt in magna multitudine congregati super montes, et expectaverunt quidam prompti et parati proditiose in regem Angliæ irruere; et quidam fecerunt insultum in hospitium Hugonis le Brun,[7] et clamor illorum non modicus venit ad aures regis[8] Angliæ; qui statim relicto colloquio regis Franciæ, et prædictorum omnium, præcepit omnes suos armari: et ipse cum paucis ascendit montem arduum, quod nemo putaret ullo modo posse contingere; et cum ad summitatem montis cum magno labore pervenisset, quotquot in monte fuerant, cum fuga celerrima civitatem intraverunt; et rex secutus est eos in ore gladii. Milites autem et servientes regis Angliæ ad portas et muros civitatis cum civibus fortiter congressi sunt, et multos et duros lapidum ictus sustinentes, aliquando portas intraverunt, aliquando vi expulsi sunt. Et occisi sunt ibi ex hominibus regis Angliæ quinque milites, et viginti servientes, vidente rege Franciæ, et nullum auxilium eis faciente, quamvis ipsi essent confratres in illa peregrinatione. Rex vero Franciæ et sui civitatem sunt ingressi, et[9] per medium illorum ibant tutissime.

During the negotiation the riot breaks out again.

Benedict, ii. 129.

A general struggle between the citizens and Richard's forces.

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[1] *Willelmus . . . Regali*] om. I. William, archbishop of Montreal, 1183–1190; Richard's candidate for the see of Canterbury.

[2] *Risa*] William, archbishop of Reggio, d. 1197.

[3] *Pino*] Primo, B. I.

[4] *Neverz*] Peter of Courtenay.

[5] *Pertico*] Geoffrey, son of Rotrou count of Perche.

[6] *et Johannem . . . episcopos*] om. Savile.

[7] *Hugonis le Brun*] of Lusignan, count of la Marche.

[8] *regis*] om. A.; Ricardi regis, B.

[9] *et*] om. B. I.

A.D. 1190.

De captione Messanæ.

Oct. 4. Messina taken by Richard's men.

Homines autem regis Angliæ tandem post maximos labores in tantas vires excreverunt, quod per vim portas civitatis fregerunt, et murum undique ascenderunt, et ita ingredientes civitatem obtinuerunt, et statim signa regis Angliæ in munitionibus per circuitum murorum posuerunt. Unde rex Franciæ plurimum indignatus est, et postulavit ut signa regis Angliæ deponerentur, et ut signa sua imponerentur; sed rex Angliæ hoc permittere noluit: sed tamen, ut voluntas regis Franciæ impleretur, rex Angliæ signa sua deposuit, et tradidit civitatem in custodia Hospitalorum et Templariorum, donec perficerentur ei omnia quæ ipse exigebat a Tancredo rege Siciliæ. Benedict, ii. 129.

The city entrusted to the Templars and Hospitallers.

De concordia facta et sacramentis confirmata, inter Philippum regem Franciæ et Ricardum regem Angliæ, apud Messanam.

Oct. 8. Renewal of agreement between Richard and Philip, and new regulations for the army.

Octava die Octobris[1] rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ, coram comitibus et baronibus suis, et clero et populo, juraverunt super reliquias sanctorum, quod alter alterum et exercitum ejus in peregrinatione illa, in eundo et redeundo, bona fide custodiret, et comites et barones hoc idem juraverunt se firmiter et[2] inconcusse servaturos. Deinde prædicti reges, per voluntatem et consilium totius exercitus peregrinorum, statuerunt, "quod omnes peregrini, qui in via hujus peregrina" tionis morientur, de omnibus armaturis et equitaturis suis, " et vestibus, quibus usuri erant, pro voluntate sua dispo" nent, et de medietate[3] possessionum suarum, quas secum " habent in via, similiter pro arbitrio suo facient, dummodo " nihil in patriam suam remittant; et clerici de capellis, et " omnibus utensilibus ad capellam pertinentibus, et de omni" bus libris suis, pro voto suo ordinabunt. Altera medietas " in manus Walteri Rotomagensis archiepiscopi, et Manasser " Lingonum episcopi, et Magistri domus militiæ Templi et " Magistri Hospitalis, et Hugonis ducis Burgundiæ, et Ra" dulfi de Choci,[4] et Drogonis de Merlou, et Roberti Benedict, ii. 130.

[1] *Octobris*] Septembris, I.
[2] *et*] om. B. I.
[3] *medietate*] sua, add. B. I.
[4] *Choci*] Chuci, B. I.; Chouci, G.

Benedict, ii. 130.

A.D. 1190. Oct. 8.

"de Sablul, et Andreæ de Chaveni, et Gilberti de "Wascuil[1] tradetur; qui ad subvectionem terræ Jerosolimi-"tanæ, ubi viderint magis necessarium, prædictam pecuniam "impendent. Hoc autem reges in propriis personis affidave-"runt firmiter et fideliter servandum in omni via, tam citra "mare quam ultra, de omnibus peregrinis utriusque regni, "tam de illis qui venturi sunt, quam de illis qui jam vene-"runt. Archiepiscopi et episcopi id idem in verbo veritatis "servandum promiserunt. Magistri Templi et Hospitalis super "ordinem suum id idem servandum concesserunt: comites "et barones in propriis personis id idem servandum jurave-"runt.

New regulations about the money of the crusaders.

All degrees adhere to these rules.

"Præterea nemo in toto exercitu ludat ad aliquod genus "ludi pro lucro, exceptis militibus et clericis, qui in tota "nocte et die non nisi viginti solidos amittent. Si autem "milites aut clerici plusquam ad viginti solidos in die natu-"rali luserint, quotiescunque viginti solidos excesserint, cen-"tum solidos prædictis archiepiscopo et episcopo, et comi-"tibus et baronibus, qui prædictam servabunt pecuniam, "dabunt prædictæ pecuniæ admiscendos. Reges autem pro "beneplacito suo ludent. Et in hospitio duorum regum pos-"sunt servientes præcepto regum usque ad viginti solidos "ludere. Et coram archiepiscopis et episcopis, et comi-"tibus et baronibus, præcepto eorum possunt servientes "ludere usque ad viginti solidos.[2]

Regulations about gaming.

Benedict, ii. 131.

"Si autem servientes aut marinarii aut alii ministri per se "inventi fuerint ludentes, servientes tribus diebus nudi per "exercitum vapulabunt, nisi se voluerint redimere arbitrio "prædictorum; et alii ministri similiter. Marinarii vero si "luserint, tribus diebus a summo mane in mare demergentur "more marinariorum, quotidie semel, nisi se voluerint arbi-"trio prædictorum redimere.

Punishment of transgressors.

"Si autem peregrinus aliquis postquam iter arripuerit ab "aliquo homine in via aliquid mutuo acceperit, mutuum solvet. "De eo autem quod ante iter accepit, non tenetur respondere "in via.

Debts of pilgrims.

"Si autem marinarius aliquis conductitius, vel serviens ali-"quis, vel quicunque fuerit, exceptis clericis et militibus, a "domino suo in via hujus peregrinationis recesserit, nemo "alius eum recipiet, nisi de voluntate domini sui fuerit.

Serving men not to desert their masters.

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[1] *Wascuil*] Wascle, D.; Waschuil, I.

[2] *Et coram . . . . solidos*] om I. The words are not found in Benedict.

A.D. 1190. Oct. 8. Penalty of transgressing these statutes.

"Et si aliquis eum invito priori domino suo receperit, pro "arbitrio prædictorum virorum puniétur. Et si quis contra "statuta ista, ita solemniter facta, aliquid temere attentaverit, "sciat se excommunicationi archiepiscoporum et episcoporum "totius exercitus subjacere; et omnes transgressores pœnis "supradictis secundum singulorum conditiones pro arbitrio "prædictorum virorum punientur. Benedict, ii. 131.

Regulation of the sale of bread and and corn and flour.

"Præterea statutum est a prædictis regibus, quod mercator, "de quacunque mercatione sit mercator, non potest emere in "exercitu panem ad revendendum, nec farinam, nisi aliquis "alienigena illam adduxerit, et qui de illa panem fecerit; nec "bladum, nisi de eo similiter panem fecerit, vel ad secum "transfretandum detinuerit. Pasta vero omnino vetatur, ne "ematur; et omnia vetentur emenda in villa, et infra leuca- "tam villæ.

Profits to be moderate.

"Si aliquis autem bladum emerit, et de eo panem fecerit, "tenetur lucrari in salma unum terrin[1] tantum, et bren. Alii "vero mercatores, de quacunque mercatione sint mercatores, "in decem denarios tenentur lucrari unum denarium. Benedict, ii. 132.

None to sound the king's coin.

"Et ne aliquis sonet monetam domini regis, in qua moneta "apparebit, nisi fracta fuerit infra circulum.

Sale of meat

"Et ne aliquis carnem mortuam emat ad revendendum, nec "bestiam vivam, nisi eam occiderit in exercitu.

and wine,

"Et ne aliquis vinum suum post primam conclamationem "carius vendat.

and bread.

"Et ne aliquis faciat panem ad vendendum, nisi ad "unum denarium; et omnes mercatores sciant quod totum "Far[2] est infra leucatam villæ. Et ut[3] de moneta Angliæ "unus denarius detur in omnibus mercaturis pro quatuor de- "nariis Andegavensis monetæ. Et est sciendum, quod "omnia supradicta constituta sunt consilio et voluntate "regis Franciæ, et regis Angliæ, et regis Siciliæ."

Oct. 6. The citizens give hostages to Richard.

Tertia vero die post captionem civitatis Messanæ, principes civitatis Messanæ, et totius provinciæ, dederunt regi Angliæ obsides de pace sibi et suis servanda, et quod in manu ejus civitatem Messanæ liberam tradent, nisi Tancredus rex Siciliæ,

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[1] *terrin*] Savile has printed this word generally *teruncium*.

[2] *totum Far*] This words seems to have puzzled both transcribers and editors. The Chronicle of Benedict has *fas*, and this is copied by Brompton. But *Far* is the proper reading, as Hoveden has it, and the reference is not to *far*, the Latin word for *corn*; but to *le Far* the Faro of Messina, which for the purpose of the Act was to be considered within the ban-lieue of Messina.

[3] *ut*] om. Savile.

Benedict, ii. 132. dominus eorum, celerius pacem fecerit cum illo de omnibus exigentiis quas ab eo exigebat. Ipse enim a rege Tancredo exigebat Montem Sancti Angeli, cum toto comitatu et aliis pertinentiis suis, ad opus Johannæ sororis suæ, quem Willelmus quondam rex Siciliæ, maritus ejus, dedit ei in dodarium; et cathedram auream ad opus ejusdem Johannæ de consuetudine reginarum illius regni; et ad opus sui ipsius mensam auream de longitudine duodecim pedum, et de latitudine unius pedis et semis; et quoddam tentorium de serico magnum adeo quod ducenti milites in eo possint simul manducare: et duo[1] tripodes aureos ad prædictam mensam auream sustinendam, et viginti quatuor cuppas argenteas, et totidem discos argenteos, et sexaginta millia salmes de frumento, et totidem de hordeo, et totidem de vino, et centum galeas armatas cum toto apparatu, et cum victu galiotarum ad duos annos. Hæc omnia petebat rex Angliæ ad opus sui ipsius sicut hæres regis Henrici, cui supradictus Willelmus rex Siciliæ omnia supradicta præparaverat, et diviserat quando in extremis laboravit. A.D. 1190. October. Claims made on king Tancred by Richard, on account of Johanna's dowry and king William's bequest. Benedict, ii. 133.

Cui Tancredus rex Siciliæ in hæc verba respondit: "Ego "dedi Johannæ sorori vestræ decies centena millia de terrins,[2] "pro quieta clamantia dodarii sui, antequam a me recederet, "et de reliquis exigentiis vestris faciam quicquid facere "debuero secundum consuetudinem regni hujus." Unde factum est quod, per consilium sapientum virorum, rex Siciliæ dedit regi Angliæ viginti millia unciarum auri pro quieta clamantia dodarii sororis suæ; et alia viginti millia unciarum auri pro omnium supradictorum quieta clamantia, quæ in jure petebat de divisa Willelmi regis Siciliæ defuncti, et pro matrimonio contrahendo inter Arthurum ducem Britanniæ, nepotem suum, et filiam regis Thancredi. Quibus ex utraque parte concessis, Ricardus rex Angliæ in hac forma scripsit Thancredo regi Siciliæ. Tancred's reply. He negotiates a marriage for his daughter with Arthur of Brittany.

Carta pacis factæ inter Ricardum regem Angliæ et Tancredum regem Siciliæ. November.

"Thancredo Dei gratia illustri Siciliæ regi, et ducatus "Apuliæ, et principatus Capuæ, Ricardus eadem gratia rex "Angliæ, et dux Northmanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, salutem in Eo Qui dat salutem regibus. Cum pro Richard makes peace with Tancred.

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[1] *duo*] duos, Savile, with G.D. | [2] *terrins*] om. G.; terris, Savile.

A.D. 1190. November. After recounting the disturbances at Messina, and the propositions of the nobles, he gives the form of peace and treaty. Names of the sureties on Richard's side.

"subvectione terræ Jerosolimitanæ, quam, peccatis exigentibus, "ex majori parte paganorum incursus obtinuit, et inimicorum "crucis Christi gladius devastavit, susceptum, inspirante Domino, peregrinationis iter ageremus per terram vestram, "transitum facientes apud Messanam civitatem vestram, moram facere compulsi sumus, ventorum et maris et temporis "inclementia navigationis nostræ propositum detinente; ubi "inter populum nostrum et cives præfatæ urbis seditione "casu exorta, damnum hinc et inde contigit rerum et virorum. Unde visum est pluribus, ut ea occasione fraterna "inter nos caritas et dilectio turbaretur. Curavimus itaque, "ut decebat peregrinationis nostræ propositum, tum per nos "et dilectos ac fideles familiares nostros, tum per venerabiles "archiepiscopos vestros, scilicet Ricardum archiepiscopum de "Messana, et Willelmum archiepiscopum de Monte Regali, "et Willelmum archiepiscopum de Risa, et Ricardum filium "venerabilis viri Walteri cancellarii vestri,[1] et alios viros "egregios missos a latere vestro, statuimus ut illibatæ pacis "inter nos arctius fœdera firmentur.[2] Cujus formam in ævum "duraturam scripturæ memoria[3] contineret. Promisimus ergo "vobis et regno vestro, et toti terræ dominationis vestræ, "per nos et nostros, terra et mari pacem perpetuam nos "fideliter servaturos, sopitis omnibus quæstionibus, quas tum "de dodario sororis nostræ reginæ, tum de rebus aliis per "nostros vobis nuncios feceramus: hoc nihilominus addito, ut "quamdiu in regno vestro moram fecerimus, ad defensionem "terræ vestræ ubicunque præsentes fuerimus, vobis auxilium "præbeamus, quicunque vellet eam invadere, aut vobis bellum "inferre. Hujus autem pacis tenorem et formam, quam in "voto habemus, et in proposito gerimus, vobis et vestris, "illæsa fide servare, per Walterum Rotomagensem et Girardum Auxiensem archiepiscopos, per Johannem Ebroicensem[4] et Bernardum Baoniensem episcopos, et per[5] Jordanum de Humez constabularium nostrum, et per Willelmum "de Curci, et per Ricardum de Camvilla, et per Girardum "Talebot, et per Robertum de Sablul,[6] et per Guidonem de "Croum[7] et per Guarinum filium Geroldi, et per Bertramnum de Verdun, et per Willelmum Chamberlangum de

Benedict, ii. 133. Benedict, ii. 134.

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[1] *et Willelmum . . . cancellarii vestri*] omitted in Benedict, and likewise in Brompton.

[2] *firmentur*] firmantur, A. B. D. G.

[3] *memoria*] om. B. I.

[4] *Ebroicensem*] Eboracensem, D., which reads *Exoniensem* for *Baioniensem* and omits the names after Jordan de Humez.

[5] *per*] om. I.

[6] *Sablul*] Sabloil, I.; Sabluil, B.

[7] *Croum*] Crou, B. I.

Benedict, ii. 134.

A.D. 1190. November. Richard's pledges.

"Tancervile,[1] et per Robertum de Novo Burgo, et per Hugo-"nem Bardolf, et per Wigain de Cheresburg,[2] et per Gille-"bertum de Wascuil, et per Hugonem le Bruin, et per Jo-"hannem de Pratellis, et per Amauri[3] de Muntfort, et per "Andream de Chavenni,[4] et per Willelmum de Forz de Ule-"run, et per Gaufridum de Rancune, et per Amauri Torel,[5] "et per multos alios de familia nostra, fecimus juramentis "præstitis, coram prædictis archiepiscopis ad hoc ipsum effi-"ciendum a vobis destinatis, et viris illustribus vestris, in "animam meam firmari, sicut capitularis forma continet. Ut "autem pax ista, et fraterna dilectio, tam multiplici quam "arctiori vinculo connectatur, prædictis curiæ vestræ magna-"tibus id ex parte vestra tractantibus, Domino disponente, "condiximus inter Arthurum egregium ducem Britanniæ, "nepotem nostrum, et hæredem si forte sine prole nos obire "contigerit, et filiam vestram, matrimonium in Christi nomine "contrahendum: ut cum illa, Deo propitio, ad nubiles annos "pervenerit, et vos eam mittatis ad locum ubi pars utraque "consenserit, prædictus nepos noster eam, infra quindecim dies "postquam ad eum venerit, debeat in uxorem legitimam de-"sponsare; aut si celsitudini vestræ placuerit eam infra "annos nubiles desponsari, prædictus nepos noster juxta bene-"placitum vestrum id faciet, si summus pontifex dispensabit. "Volentes autem ei tanquam illustri dominæ, et magnifici regis "filiæ, dodarium quod conveniat designari, de ducatu nepotis "nostri tale dodarium ei pro parte ipsius nepotis nostri paci-"scimur, et quod ad præsens per præfatos fideles nostros "jurari fecimus, et ab ipso nepote nostro concedi, et a mag-"nificentia vestra pro matrimonio isto, scilicet viginti millia "uncias auri nos recepisse ad opus nepotis nostri fatemur. "Hoc in pacto veniente, ut si (quod absit), morte alterius "interveniente, aut culpa nostri nepotis, aut nostra, vel partis "ipsius, matrimonium ipsum non fieret, nos aut hæredes "nostri, vobis aut vestris hæredibus, supradictam pecuniam "integram, sine difficultate, restituemus. Super his autem, "videlicet, et de pace quam vobiscum firmavimus, et de "matrimonio contrahendo, et de pecunia restituenda, si forte, "prædictis causis accidentibus, matrimonium non extaret, "dominum papam, et Romanam ecclesiam, in fidejussione "ponimus; ut si forte, quod Deus avertat, ex parte nostra

Benedict, ii. 135.

Agreement and terms of marriage between Arthur of Brittany and a daughter of Tancred.

Acknowledgment of receipt of 20,000 ounces of gold.

[1] *Tancervile*] Tankarwille, B. I.

[2] *Cheresburg*] Cherebure, B. I.

[3] *Amauri*] Aumarie, I.; Aumari, B.

[4] *Chavenni*] Chaveni, B. I.

[5] *et per Guidonem de Croum . . . per Amauri Torel*] omitted in Benedict, and likewise in Brompton.

A.D. 1190. November. The pope is to enforce the execution of the agreement.

"pacis integritas frangeretur, potestatem habeat Romana ecclesia nos et terram nostram districtius coercere; similiter et ad matrimonium contrahendum potestatem habeat nos et partem nepotis nostri constringere; vel, si propter causas prædictas non fieret matrimonium, ad restituendam pecuniam nos aut hæredes nostros aut terram nostram cogere habeat potestatem. Id quoque de fidejussione Romanæ ecclesiæ nos ita facturos, prædictorum virorum nos obligavimus juramentis, sicut capitularis forma continet, quod vobis misimus sigilli nostri appositione signatum. Si autem, nobis sine hæredibus decedentibus, ipse ad regnum nostrum hæreditario jure pervenerit, de regno nostro tale illi dodarium designamus, videlicet antiquum et consuetum dodarium reginarum Angliæ." Benedict, ii. 135.

Hæc est capitularis forma quæ facta est inter Ricardum regem Angliæ et Tancredum regem Siciliæ.

Oath to be taken by Richard's representatives, for the maintenance of the treaty.

[1] "Ego N. juro super hæc sancta Dei evangelia, quod dominus meus Ricardus, rex Angliæ, ab hac hora in antea servabit domino Tancredo regi Siciliæ, ducatus Apuliæ, principatus Capuæ, et regno ejus, et toti terræ dominationis suæ, pacem perpetuam per se et per suos, terra et mari: et quamdiu ipse dominus meus erit in regno regis Tancredi, dabit ei auxilium ad defendendum terram suam, ubicunque ipse fuerit in terra domini Tancredi regis Siciliæ, quicunque vellet eam invadere, aut ei facere guerram: et quod dominus meus pacem istam manu sua jurabit, si dominus rex Thancredus similiter pacem manu sua juraverit. Et si aliquando (quod absit) dominus meus vellet pacem istam infringere, ego ponam me in captione ipsius domini regis Thancredi, ubi ipse voluerit. Et hæc omnia dominus Ricardus rex Angliæ, et ego, bona fide, et sine fraude, et sine malo ingenio tenebimus: sic Deus nos adjuvet, et hæc sancta Dei evangelia, et sanctorum reliquiæ. Amen." Benedict, ii. 136.

Et est sciendum, quod in eadem forma juraverunt archiepiscopi et episcopi, et cæteri homines regis Tancredi, in animam ipsius, se et suos pacem servaturos Ricardo regi Angliæ et suis, in mari et terra, quamdiu ipsi fuerint in terra

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[1] *Ego N. juro . . . summo pontifici*] omitted in B. D. I., which have, however, the rubric. It is in MSS. C. and G., and is found in Benedict and Brompton. MS. D. has *Hæc est formalis concordia facta inter Ricardum regem Angliæ et Tancredum regem Siciliæ;* proceeding with the letter to the Pope.

Benedict, ii. 136.

sua. Et si ipse Tancredus rex Siciliæ et sui pacem non servaverint, prædicti archiepiscopi, et cæteri qui sacramentum illud ex parte regis Tancredi juraverunt, ponent se in captione Ricardi regis Angliæ, ubi ipse voluerit.

A.D. 1190. November. Exchange of oaths.

Et est sciendum, quod rex Tancredus dedit Ricardo regi Angliæ alia viginti millia unciarum auri pro quieta clamantia omnium quæstionum quas fecerat, tam de dodario sororis suæ reginæ quam de omnibus aliis exigentiis suis. Et ut Tancredus rex Siciliæ securior esset de omnibus supradictis conventionibus, Ricardus rex Angliæ in hac forma scripsit summo pontifici:

Further payment of 20,000 ounces by Tancred.

Epistola Ricardi regis Angliæ ad Clementem papam, super pace facta inter ipsum et Tancredum regem.

Nov. 11. Richard writes a report of the proceedings to the pope.

"Reverentissimo domino ac beatissimo patri Clementi, Dei "gratia sanctæ sedis apostolicæ summo pontifici, Ricardus "eadem gratia rex Angliæ, et dux Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, "et comes Andegaviæ, salutem, et sinceræ in Domino devo- "tionis affectum. Justiorem exitum facta principum sortiuntur, "cum a sede apostolica robur et favorem accipiunt, et sanctæ "Romanæ ecclesiæ colloquio diriguntur. Proinde dignum "duximus ad notitiam beatitudinis vestræ transmittere, quæ "inter nos et dominum Tancredum, illustrem Siciliæ regem, "publico nuper et admodum necessario sunt celebrata con- "tractu. Sane dilectionem fraternam et pacem perpetuam "cum eo firmavimus, quam magnatum nostrorum, archiepi- "scoporum, episcoporum, et plurimorum virorum illustrium "juramentis, ei et suis, et regno suo, et toti terræ dominationis "suæ, nos illibata fide promisimus servaturos. Cum eo[1] etiam "pacis et amicitiæ fœdus arctiori adhuc vinculo astringentes, "inter Arturum egregium ducem Britanniæ, carissimum nepo- "tem nostrum et hæredem (si nos decedere sine prole conti- "gerit), et illustrem filiam ejus, matrimonium, volente Domino, "condiximus contrahendum:[2] quod Domino largiente debitam "consummationem accipiet, cum illustris puella nubiles annos "attigerit, aut prædicto domino Tancredo regi placuerit, ut "infra nubiles annos illa in uxorem nepoti nostro desponsanda "tradatur, nos ipsum nepotem nostrum hoc facturum concessi-

Benedict, ii. 137.

[1] *eo*] om. A. B. D. I.; supplied from G. Brompton has *ipso*.

[2] *condiximus contrahendum*] conduximus trahendum, B. D. I.; conduximus contrahendum, G. An attempt has been made to turn *condiximus* into *conduximus* in A.

A.D. 1190. Nov. 11. Richard's report to the pope of his treaty with Tancred.

"mus, si sancta Romana ecclesia decreverit super[1] dispensare. "Pecuniam vero quam pro matrimonio ipso, ad opus nepotis "nostri, ab eodem domino rege Tancredo recepimus, scilicet "viginti millia unciarum auri, si forte, quod absit, morte "interveniente alterius, aut culpa nostra aut nostri nepotis, "aut partis ipsius, matrimonium non staret; nos aut hæredes "nostri ipsi domino regi Tancredo, aut hæredibus ejus, ex "integro restituere, præstitis super hoc sacramentis, ex parte "nostra tenemur. Ut igitur tenor pacis initæ, et initiati "matrimonii fides, cum integritate debita ex parte nostra et "nepotis nostri servetur, sicut ipsi domino Tancredo, inter-"posita jurisjurandi religione, firmavimus, sanctitatem vestram "et sanctam Romanam ecclesiam obnixe rogamus, quatenus et "firmatæ pacis servandæ perpetuo, et matrimonii consum-"mandi, vel, si ex prædictis causis matrimonium ipsum non "fieret, restituendæ pecuniæ, sancta sedes apostolica fide-"jussionem pro nobis suscipiat erga dominum nostrum regem "Tancredum et hæredes ipsius: cujus fidejussionis onus ut "confidenter vobiscum Romana ecclesia suscipiat, præsentium "litterarum testimonio vobis et sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ "liberam concedimus potestatem, nos et hæredes nostros et "terram nostram districtius coercere, si vel contra pacem "præfatam venerimus, vel, prædictis causis matrimonio non "secuto, nos aut hæredes nostri solutionem pecuniæ negare-"mus: ad honorem utriusque nostri vestra novit beatitudo "spectare, si, mediante Romana ecclesia, pacis pariter et "matrimonii bonum ad congruum finem deveniat, unde multi-"plex in futurum utilitas consequatur. Testibus nobis ipsis, "xi°. die Novembris, apud Messanam."

Benedict, ii. 137.

Benedict, ii. 138.

Flight of Margarit and Jordan del Pin.

Sed antequam pax ista esset concessa et confirmata inter regem Angliæ et regem Siciliæ, Margaritus admiralis et Jordanus del Pin, familiares regis Tancredi, quibus ipse civitatem Messanam tradiderat custodiendam, de nocte abierunt, adducentes secum familias suas, et substantias quas habebant in auro et argento; domos vero et galeas et alias possessiones illorum saisivit[2] rex Angliæ in manu sua, illis abeuntibus.

Richard fortifies the monastery of the Greeks.

Deinde rex Angliæ fecit fieri fossatum unum latum et profundum per medium insulæ quæ est in flumine del Far, in qua est monasterium Griffonum, ubi thesauri et victualia ejus custodiebantur: cujus fossati longitudo totius insulæ continet latitudinem, ab una ripa in alteram; et finis ejus terminatur in

[1] *super*] similiter, Benedict; super hoc, Brompton and MS. B.

[2] *saisivit*] saisiavit, B. D. I.

Benedict, ii. 138. Caribdim. Et est sciendum, quod in fluvio illo del Far de Meschines sunt illa duo pericula maris maxima, scilicet, Silla et Caribdis; quorum unum, scilicet Silla,[1] est ad introitum del Far prope prioratum de la Bangnare, et alterum, scilicet Caribdis, est prope exitum del Far: ad cujus cognitionem facta est turris lapidea in prædicta insula juxta fossatum regis Angliæ. A.D. 1190. Scylla and Charybdis.

Et est sciendum, quod Silla[1] semper evomit et in altum jactat undas, et ideo necesse est ut transeuntes elongent se ab ea, ne[2] insanis obruantur.[3] Caribdis vero indesinenter attrahit et absorbet aquas; et ideo caveant sibi transeuntes, ne absorbeantur ab ea. Quidam tamen incauti, vitare Sillam volentes, cadunt in Caribdim.

Deinde rex Angliæ, dum pax inter illum et regem Tancredum facienda moraretur, firmavit sibi castellum forte in supercilio montis ardui extra muros civitatis Messanæ, quod Mategriffun vocaverunt. Griffones vero ante adventum regis Angliæ erant potentiores omnibus regionem illam inhabitantibus, et odio habebant omnes homines ultramontanos; adeo quod pro minimo habebant illos[4] interficere, nec erat qui adjuvaret. Sed ex quo rex Angliæ illuc venit, malitia illorum quievit, et potestas eorum minuta est, et facti sunt viliores omnibus inhabitantibus terram illam; et sperantes se posse contra regem Angliæ, sicut potuerunt contra cæteros in diebus antiquis, inciderunt in foveam quam fecerunt, et facti sunt profugi in terra. Gens autem Anglicana in maxima habebatur reverentia in regno Siciliæ. Richard fortifies Mategriffon. Benedict, ii. 139. Humiliation of the Griffons.

Tunc impletum est propheticum illud, quod antiquitus scriptum inveniebatur in tabulis lapideis prope villam regis Angliæ quæ dicitur Here, quam Henricus rex Angliæ dederat Willelmo[5] filio Stephani. In qua idem Willelmus[5] Fulfilment of an ancient prophecy.

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[1] *Silla*] Scilla, B. G. I.

[2] *ne*] om. I.

[3] *obruantur*] aquis, ins. Savile. MSS. D. and G. omit *insanis*.

[4] *illos*] om. I.

[5] *Willelmo . . Willelmus*] Ranulfo . . . . Ranulfus, Benedict. William Fitz-Stephen was one of the Justices Itinerant in 1176 and 1178. Ranulf filled the same office in the 23rd, 24th, and 25th years of Henry II. Harford, in Devonshire, belonged to the family, and may have been the *Here* of which the legend is told. It is also referred to Hever, in Kent, but I know of nothing that connects Hever with the Fitz-Stephens.

A.D. 1190. Curious old prophecy.

domum novam construxit, in cujus pinnaculo effigiem cervi statuit, quod factum fuisse creditur ut adimpleretur vaticinium illud, quo dicitur, Benedict, ii. 139.

"Þan þu seches in Here hert yreret:
"Þan sulen Engles in thre be ydeled.
"Þat an sal into Yrlande altolate waie,
"Þat oher into Puille mid prude bileve,
"Þe thridde into airhahen herd alle wreke ydrehegen.[1]

October. Richard renounces the royal right of wreck in favour of the saved and of the heirs of the lost.

Deinde rex Angliæ, pro amore Dei, et salute animæ suæ et parentum suorum, quietum clamavit in perpetuum Wrec[2] per totam terram suam, citra mare et ultra: statuens quod omnis naufragus, qui ad terram vivus pervenerit,[3] omnes res suas liberas et quietas habeat; si autem in navi mortuus fuerit, filii vel filiæ, fratres vel sorores ejus habeant res suas, secundum quod ostendere poterunt se esse propinquiores illius hæredes. Vel si defunctus nec filios nec filias nec fratres nec sorores habuerit, rex catalla sua habeat. Hanc autem quietam clamantiam de Wrec[4] fecit Ricardus rex Angliæ, et carta sua confirmavit, anno secundo regni sui, mense Octobris, apud Messanam, coram Waltero Rothomagensi et Girardo Auxiensi archiepiscopis, et Johanne Ebroicensi et Bernardo Baoniensi episcopis, et multis aliis tam clericis quam laicis de familia regis Angliæ; et carta illa tradita fuit per manum magistri Rogeri Mali Catuli, vicecancellarii regis. Benedict, ii. 140.

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[1] "Þan þu seches in here hert yreret,
"Þan sulen Engles in þre be ydeled.
"Þat an sal into Yrlande altolate waie,
"Þat other into Puille mid prude bileve,
"Þe thridde into her hahen herd alle wureke ydrehegean."
MS. I.

Airhahen, B.; wreke, B.; ben ydeled, G.; þan san, G.; Yrlonde, G.; ydreghen, G.

The modern English of the prophecy is,—

When thou seest in Here hart reared,
Then shall English in three be dealed.
The one shall into Ireland all-to lead way,
The other into Apulia with pride, in speed,
The third in their own heart all sorrow endure (dree).

Whether there was, in the historian's mind, any connexion between wreke in the fifth line and the enactment of Richard which follows, is not quite clear.

[2] *Wrec*] Werc, B. I.

[3] *pervenerit*] perveniat, I.

[4] *Wrec*] Werc, B. I.

Benedict, ii. 141.

A.D. 1190.

The Saracen dependents of king William revolt from Tancred; but on the news of the treaty return to allegiance.

Eodem anno plus quam centum millia paganorum, qui erant in regno Siciliæ, servi regis Willelmi, post mortem ejus indignati sunt servire regi Tancredo; tum quia Henricus rex Alamannorum calumniatus erat regnum Siciliæ, tum quia Ricardus rex Angliæ, regnum Siciliæ ingressus, magnam illius partem occupaverat. Et abierunt in montana cum mulieribus, filiis et filiabus, et pecoribus suis, et habitaverunt ibi, opprimentes Christianos, et multa mala eis facientes. Sed audito quod pax et finalis concordia esset inter regem Angliæ et regem Tancredum, redierunt in servitutem regis Tancredi; et datis ei obsidibus de pace servanda, reversi sunt in domos suas, colentes terram sicut coluerunt eam tempore regis Willelmi, et servi facti sunt sub rege Tancredo.

De fame quæ fuit apud Accon in exercitu Christianorum propter adventum Alemannorum.

Benedict, ii. 142.

October. Arrival of the German crusaders at Acre.

Eodem anno Conradus[1] dux Suaviæ, post submersionem patris sui Frederici Romanorum imperatoris, factus est princeps Teutonicorum et Alemannorum, et cæterorum qui patrem suum sequebantur; et venit ad obsidionem Accon cum exercitu magno. Et statim[2] facta est fames magna in obsidione Accon, et in tantum excrevit, quod panis qui ante adventum eorum pro uno solo vendebatur denario, pro sexaginta solidis vendebatur postmodum. Tunc fame perierunt plurimi in exercitu, quia summa unius equi de frumento vendebatur pro sexaginta quinque marcis Anglicanæ monetæ. Tunc principes, qui in obsidione erant, pascebantur carne equina, edentes eam pro deliciis.

Benedict, ii. 144, 145.

December. Famine among the besiegers.

Cumque fames superexcrevisset, venit clamor populi ad Hubertum Walteri Salesbiriensem[3] episcopum, et ad cæteros

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[1] The name of the duke of Swabia who succeeded his father, the emperor Frederick, in the command of the German crusaders, was not Conrad, but Frederick. The emperor was drowned, June 10, 1190. Duke Frederick arrived at Acre, Oct. 3, 1190 (Bohad. p. 140); and died there, Jan. 20, 1191. On his death, Conrad his younger brother succeeded to the duchy, but he did not accompany the Crusade.

[2] *statim*] Between S. Andrew's day and Christmas; see below, p. 73.

[3] *Salesbiriensem*] Rothomagensem, Savile.

A.D. 1190. December. Collection for the starving.

Benedict, ii. 145.

episcopos exercitus, et fecerunt collectam denariorum per exercitum ad opus pauperum; et tantum incrementum dedit Dominus collectæ illi, quod sufficiebat omnium sustentationi indigentium, donec largitor omnium bonorum Deus, ex alto prospiciens, misit eis abundantiam frumenti, vini et olei.

Arrival of provisions.

Tertia enim die post collectam pauperibus distributam, venerunt ad Accon naves onustæ frumento, vino et oleo, et fecerunt forum bonum, ita quod mensura frumenti, quæ prius vendebatur pro ducentis bisantiis, data fuit postmodum pro sex bisantiis.

July 25. Defeat of a band of volunteers by Saladin.

Benedict, ii. 142.

Eodem anno, die Sancti Jacobi apostoli, decem millia proborum juvenum et bene armatorum exierunt de obsidione Accon, contra prohibitionem regis et patriarchæ et principum exercitus, volentes congredi cum Saladino et exercitu ejus.[1] Saladinus autem videns eos venientes, retraxit se cum exercitu suo, dimissis tentoriis suis et victualibus. Ingressi sunt juvenes illi tentoria paganorum, edentes et bibentes quæ apud illos erant. Deinde sumpserunt secum pretiosa quæque, et oneraverunt se; et cum redirent versus obsidionem Accon, Saladinus et exercitus ejus secuti sunt eos in ore gladii, et fere omnes perempti sunt a paganis. Pauci tamen illorum evaserunt auxilio Radulfi de Halterive[2] archidiaconi Colecestriæ, relictis oneribus suis.

Conrad of Montferrat aspires to the crown of Jerusalem.

Benedict, ii. 141.

Eodem anno[3] Sibilla regina Jerusalem, uxor Gwidonis de Lezinant, et duæ filiæ ejus, obierunt in obsidione Accon; quibus defunctis, Conradus Marchio de Munferrat, dominus Tyri, videns quod non esset propinquior hæres in regno Jerosolimitano, quam Milisant[4] uxor Amfridi del Turun,

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[1] The details of this event are more fully given here than in Benedict; and agree generally with the account in the *Itinerarium*, p. 89.

[2] *Halterive*] Hauterive, B. D. I.

[3] *Eodem anno*] Queen Sibylla and her children died before the 21st of October 1190: Epp. Cantuar. 329.

[4] *Milisant*] Properly Isabella, the daughter of king Amalric, by his wife Mary of Antioch. She was married to Henfrid III. of Toron. The divorce was strongly opposed by archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury, but after his death, which occured on the 19th of November, it was very hastily pronounced, and the marriage with Conrad performed on the same day that the Butler of Senlis was taken prisoner, that is, according to the poem of Monachus Florentinus, Nov. 24. See note on Ben. Pet. ii. 141.

Benedict, ii. 141.

A.D. 1190. November.

He procures a divorce between the heiress and her husband; and marries her himself, and claims the crown.

soror prædictæ Sibillæ, convenit prædictum patriarcham Heraclium, et matrem prædictæ mulieris, et omnes principes exercitus Christianorum, et petiit sibi donari in uxorem illam reginæ defunctæ sororem; promittens quod ipse de cætero fideliter et efficaciter promoveret negotia exercitus Christianorum, et quod nullam deinceps haberet cum Saladino familiaritatem. Mater igitur mulieris, et patriarcha, et principes exercitus quamplures, præbuerunt assensum petitioni illius; et fecerunt divortium inter prædictam mulierem et Amfridum del[1] Turun maritum suum, et tradiderunt eam Conrado in uxorem; qui statim calumniatus est regnum Jerosolimitanum, de jure uxoris suæ, adversus Gwidonem. Gwido vero obtulit se juri stare in curia regum[2] Franciæ et Angliæ, qui in proximo venturi erant; sed Conradus tamdiu expectare nolens, omnia jura regni sibi usurpavit, et Gwidonem regem expulit.

Opposition of Guy of Lusignan.

Benedict, ii. 142.

Dec. 19.

Great thunder-storm at Messina.

Eodem anno, Philippo rege Francorum, et Ricardo rege Anglorum, moram facientibus apud Messanam in Sicilia, mense Decembris, decimo quarto kalendas Januarii, feria quarta, audita sunt tonitrua magna apud Messanam, et visa sunt fulgura multa et terribilia discurrere, et unus ictus fulminis cecidit in una galearum regis Angliæ, et demersit eam in profundum, percussitque murum civitatis Messanæ, et magnam illius partem contrivit. Milites autem et servientes regis Angliæ, qui custodiebant monasterium Griffonum, in quo erant thesauri regis Angliæ, dixerunt pro certo, se vidisse globum igneum super pinnaculum monasterii illius, qui non erat comburens, sed illuminans, et ibidem moram fecit quamdiu tempestas sæviit, et cessante tempestate recessit globus ille igneus. Admirantibus illis, et diligenter requirentibus, quid hoc esset, Griffones ibidem Deo jugiter servientes responderunt, quod sic semper evenit, quandocunque tempestas sit.

Benedict, ii. 143.

Repairs of the ships.

Rex vero Angliæ interim, dum moram fecit apud Messanam, fecit omnes navigii sui naves duci in ter-

[1] *del*] de, B. D. I. | [2] *regum*] regis, B. D. I.

A.D. 1190. December. Richard tries to secure his ships against worms.

ram, et eas refici; nam multæ earum per corrosionem vermium deterioratæ erant. Sunt enim in fluvio del Far vermes graciles qui in lingua illa[1] vocantur Brom, quorum cibus est omne genus ligni: qui cum alicui ligno adhæserint, nunquam nisi per vim inde recedent, donec perforaverint illud; foramina autem faciunt stricta cum intrant, et ex corrosione ligni adeo crescunt et pinguescunt, quod exeuntes faciunt foramina lata.

He prepares his engines.

Interim Ricardus rex Angliæ fecit parari perarias, et alias machinas suas bellicas, quas secum in terram Jerosolimitanam laturus erat.

Arrogance of the bishop of Ely.

Benedict, ii. 143.

Eodem anno Willelmus Eliensis episcopus, apostolicæ sedis legatus, domini regis cancellarius, et totius Angliæ justitiarius, plebem Angliæ sibi commissam gravibus exactionibus premebat. In primis namque omnes socios, quos rex sibi in regimine regni associaverat, spernebat, et eorum consilia. Socium aut parem sibi neminem putabat in regno, nec etiam Johannem fratrem regis, comitem Moretonii. Ipse quidem castella, prædia, abbatias, ecclesias, et omnia jura regis sibi vendicabat. Auctoritate quidem legationis suæ ad episcopatus, et abbatias, et prioratus, et ad alias religiosorum domos hospitaturus veniebat, in tanta superfluitate hominum et equorum, et canum et avium, quod domus in qua ipse per unam noctem hospitabatur, vix infra tres annos subsequentes in pristinum statum redire posset.

His exactions and extravagance.

Clericis vero et laicis, ecclesias, prædia, terras et possessiones suas abstulit, quæ aut nepotibus suis et clericis et servientibus erogabat, aut damnabiliter sibi retinebat, aut in usus extraordinarios dilapidabat.[2] Nonne considerabat infelix ille quod moriturus esset? Nonne cogitabat quod Dominus ab unoquoque suæ villicationis rationem, aut sui principatus honorem requiret? Sed bene de talibus dicitur:

Claudian, In Eutropium, 181–184.

"Asperius humili nihil est cum surgit in altum.
"Cuncta ferit, dum cuncta timet, desævit in omnes,
"Ut se posse putent, nec belua[3] tetrior ulla,
"Quam servi rabies in libera terga[4] furentis."

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[1] *illa*] sua, B. D. I.

[2] *dilapidabat*] Change of hand in A.

[3] *belua*] bellua, B.

[4] *terga*] jura, B. D. I.

Benedict, ii. 143. Eodem anno, tertia die post festum Sancti Michaelis, exierunt Saraceni a civitate Accon circiter quatuor millia armati, et combusserunt quatuor hurdicios per ignem Græcum; sed viriliter retrusi sunt per milites exercitus armatos, et amiserunt viginti Turcos occisos, præter multos vulneratos. A.D. 1190. Oct. 1. Unsuccessful sally of the Saracens from Acre. Benedict, ii. 144.

Deinde ad festum Sancti Martini[1] iterum exierunt Saraceni a civitate Accon, et impetum fecerunt in Christianos, qui viriliter restiterunt eis; et Baldewinus de Carun, et Walterus de Oyri, et Baldewinus de Dargus bene sustinuerunt eorum impetum, donec comes Henricus[2] et Gaufridus de Lezinnant[3] cum Templariis supervenirent; qui cum tanto impetu coegerunt paganos retroire, quod pagani amiserunt in illa fuga quadraginta Turcos occisos, et multos vulneratos. Nov. 11. A second sally defeated.

Deinde, inter festum Sancti Andreæ et Natale Domini, fuit totus exercitus Christianorum armatus, ut insultum faceret in civitatem Accon: et Alemanni et Angli traxerunt scalas suas ad fossata, ut muro apponerent eas; et exierunt per posternas civitatis pagani, et abstulerunt Alemannis scalas suas, et Anglos fugaverunt a fossato, et funes ligaverunt super scalam Anglorum, volentes eam infra muros civitatis trahere; sed Radulfus de Tilli,[4] et Humfridus de Veili,[5] et Robertus de Lalande, et Rogerus de Glamvilla,[6] ascenderunt super scalam Anglorum, et quater extinxerunt ignem Græcum superinjectum; et Radulfus de Thilli, cæteris propius accedens, abscidit cum gladio suo funes, et sic[7] liberavit scalam illam a manibus paganorum. December. The besiegers attempt an escalade. The Germans lose their ladders.

Deinde, inter festum Sancti Andreæ et Natale Domini, incepit supradicta fames in exercitu Christianorum; et duravit usque ad Purificationem Sanctæ Mariæ. Famine from November to February.

Benedict, ii. 145. Eodem anno Henricus rex Alemannorum, audita morte Frederici Romanorum imperatoris, patris sui, reddidit Henrico duci Saxoniæ universa quæ pater suus ei abstulerat, et in incrementum dedit ei decem castella optima.[8] Similiter fecit Restoration of Henry the Lion.

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[1] *ad festum S. Martini*] The battle described in the Itinerarium, 115; and by Bohadin, 148: after it Saladin retired from Tel Ajadia to Tel Caisan.

[2] *Henricus*] count of Champagne, and afterwards third husband of queen Isabella, and king of Jerusalem.

[3] *Lezinnant*] Lizinant, B. I.

[4] *Tilli*] Radulf de Tilli, constable to archbishop Roger of York in 1174. Vol. ii. 60.

[5] *Veili*] Velli, B. G. I.; corrected to Velli in A., in a later hand. MS. D. omits the names.

[6] *Glamvilla*] Roger de Glanvill, sheriff of Cumberland in 1189.

[7] *sic*] om. B. D. I.

[8] The peace of Fulda was con-

A.D. 1190. Henry VI. applies for the imperial crown. cæteris omnibus a quibuscunque pater suus aliquid abstulerat, reddens unicuique quod suum erat. Reconciliatis itaque sibi omnibus hominibus suis, misit nuncios suos ad Clementem papam, et ad cardinales, et senatores urbis, petens Romanum imperium, et promittens se in omnibus leges et dignitates Romanas servaturum illæsas. Clemens vero papa, habito cum cardinalibus et senatoribus et populo Romano, super petitionibus regis Alemannorum, cum deliberatione consilio, concescessit regi Alemannorum quod petebat, salvis dignitatibus et consuetudinibus Romanorum; et statuerunt ei terminum veniendi Romam proximum Pascha sequens; sed antequam illuc venisset, Clemens papa obiit.[1] Benedict, ii. 145. Benedict, ii. 146.

He is bidden to appear at Rome at Easter.

Marriage of David of Scotland. Eodem anno David, frater Willelmi regis Scotiæ, duxit in uxorem [Matildam,][2] sororem Ranulfi comitis Cestriæ.

Bucard the treasurer impedes the consecration of Geoffrey of York. Eodem anno iterum orta est dissensio inter Gaufridum, Eboracensem electum, et Bucardum, ejusdem ecclesiæ thesaurarium, ita quod electus ille excommunicavit prædictum Bucardum; qui Clementem papam adiit, et ab eo absolvi meruit; et adeo impedivit adversus summum pontificem negotium Eboracensis electi, quod summus pontifex nec electionem illius confirmare voluit, nec eum consecrari permisit. Privileges granted by the pope to Hugh of Durham. Præterea idem summus pontifex privilegiavit Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum, ne ipse professionem aut subjectionem aliquam faceret in tota vita sua Gaufrido Eboracensi electo, nec etiam si ipse fuerit in archiepiscopum consecratus, ea ratione, quod idem Dunelmensis episcopus semel fecerat professionem suam Eboracensi ecclesiæ, et beato Willelmo, tunc temporis Eboracensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopo, et ejus catholicis successoribus.

Penitence of king Richard. Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliæ, Divina inspirante gratia, recordatus fœditatis vitæ suæ, post contritionem cordis, convocatis in unum, in capella Reginaldi de Moyac,[3] universis archiepiscopis et episcopis suis, qui cum eo erant apud Messanam, nudus procidens ad pedes eorum, vitæ suæ fœditatem coram illis Deo confiteri non erubuit. Vepres

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cluded about July; too soon for Henry to have heard of his father's death, which he learned probably in November: v. Godefr. Mon. (ap. Freher, i. 354.)

[1] *obiit*] April 10, 1191.

[2] *Matildam*] blank in A.; om. G.; Matildem, I.; Matildam, B.

[3] *Reginaldi de Moyac*] called Muhec, p. 55 above. Walter de Moyac was admiral of king William's fleet. See vol. ii. p. 97.

Benedict, ii. 146. enim libidinum excesserant caput illius, et non erat eradicantis manus; sed pater misericordiarum Deus, Qui non vult mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur et vivat, respexit eum oculis misericordiæ Suæ, et dedit ei cor pœnitens, et ad pœnitentiam vocavit. Ipse enim a prædictis episcopis pœnitentiam recepit; et ab illa hora deinceps factus est vir timens Deum, et recedens a malo, et faciens bonum. O felicem illum, qui sic cadit ut fortior resurgat! O felicem illum, qui post pœnitentiam non est relapsus in[1] culpam.

A.D. 1190.

He does penance, receives absolution, and sins no more.

Benedict, ii. 147.

De Joachim abbate de Curacio.

Benedict, ii. 151. Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliæ, audiens per communem famam, et multorum relationem, quod quidam vir religiosus erat in Calabria, dictus Johachim,[2] abbas de Curacio,[3] de ordine Cistrensi, habens spiritum propheticum, et ventura populo prædicebat, misit pro eo, et libenter audiebat verba prophetiæ illius, et sapientiam et doctrinam. Eruditus enim[4] erat in Divinis scripturis, et interpretabatur visiones Beati Johannis Evangelistæ, quas ipse Johannes narrat in Apocalypsi, quam ipse manu sua scripsit.

Richard hears abbot Joachim explaining the Apocalypse.

In quibus audiendis, rex Angliæ et sui plurimum delectabantur. Erat autem hæc visio Beati Johannis Evangelistæ: "Reges septem sunt, quinque ceciderunt, et "unus est, et unus[5] nondum venit." Et alibi in Apocalypsi, visio ejusdem; "Mulier amicta Sole, et Luna "sub pedibus ejus,[6] et in capite ejus corona stellarum duo- "decim, et pariens cruciabatur ut pareret: et ecce Draco "magnus ruffus, habens capita septem et cornua decem, et "in capitibus ejus septem diademata, et cauda ejus trahebat "tertiam partem stellarum cœli, et misit eas in terram; qui "stetit ante mulierem, quæ paritura erat, ut cum peperisset, "filium suum devoraret. Mulier autem peperit filium mas- "culum, qui recturus erat omnes gentes in virga ferrea, et "raptus est filius ejus ad Deum, et ad thronum Ejus. Mulier "autem fugit in solitudinem Ægypti, ubi habet locum

The passage explained (Rev. xvii. 9, and xii. 1, &c.)

[1] *in*] ruinam et, ins. Savile, from D.

[2] *Johachim*] Joachim, I.; abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Corazzo, who in 1189 founded the order of Fiore, and died, aged 90, in 1202.

[3] *Curacio*] Curatio, I.

[4] *enim*] vir, ins. Savile.

[5] *unus*] septimus, Savile; vii^{us}., B. D.

[6] *ejus*] significat sanctam ecclesiam, solem justitiæ. Item mulier amicta sole, et luna sub pedibus ejus,—ins. Savile.

A.D. 1190. Abbot Joachim's exposition.

"paratum a Deo, ut ibi pascant eam diebus mille ducentis "et sexaginta." Benedict, ii. 151.

Hujus igitur visionis interpretatio talis est, secundum Johachim abbatem de Curacio: "Mulier amicta sole, et luna sub "pedibus ejus," significat sanctam ecclesiam, sole justitiæ, Qui est Christus Deus noster, obumbratam et amictam; sub cujus pedibus mundus iste, cum vitiis et concupiscentiis suis, est semper conculcandus: "et in capite ejus corona[1] stellarum "duodecim;" caput ecclesiæ Christus est; corona ejus fides catholica, quam duodecim prædicaverunt apostoli: "et pariens "cruciabatur ut pareret;" ecclesia itaque sancta, quæ semper novo gaudet fœtu, cruciatur de die in diem, ut animas lucrifaciat Deo; quas diabolus conatur eripere, et secum trahere in Gehenna.[2] "Et ecce Draco magnus ruffus, "habens capita septem, et cornua decem;" Draco iste diabolum significat, qui bene dicitur habere capita septem; caput enim diaboli omnis iniquus est: septem ponit, quasi finitum pro infinito. Infinita enim sunt capita diaboli, id est, persecutores ecclesiæ, et iniqui. De quibus licet infiniti sint, tamen idem Johachim in expositione sua ponit septem principes ecclesiæ persecutores, quorum nomina hæc sunt: Herodes, Nero, Constantius, Maumet, Melsemutus, Saladinus, Antichristus. Dicit quoque Beatus Johannes in Apocalypsi: "Reges septem sunt: quinque ceciderunt, et unus est, et "unus nondum venit;" quod idem Johachim ita exponit;[3] Benedict, ii. 152.

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[1] *corona*] coronam, B. I.

[2] *Gehenna*] Gehennam, B. I.

[3] Abbot Joachim's Commentary on the Revelation, *Expositio magni prophetæ abbatis Joachim in Apocalypsim*, was printed at Venice in 1527. His explanation there of the passages in the text is not in close agreement with the account given in Benedict and Hoveden, but is not sufficiently inconsistent with it to prove the latter to be a fabrication. The Bollandists contended that the whole account is a forgery, but this is extremely improbable; the inconsistencies between the two explanations are not greater than will commonly be found in the opinions taken at different times of any exponent of unfulfilled prophecy. It is extremely curious to mark the identification of the five kings who have fallen and the one already come; which is determined by the date, not of the prophecy, but of the interpreter. On this abbot Joachim, in the introduction to his commentary (fo. 10), after making the first four Herod, Nero, Constantius, and Chosroes, proceeds: "Quintum caput draconis fuit unus "de regibus Babylonis Novæ, qui "volens sedere super montem Testamenti, et apparere similis Altissimo, multas super hoc ecclesiæ "persecutiones ingessit. Sextum "caput draconis ille est de quo "dicitur in Daniele, 'Alius rex "'surget post eos, et ipse potentior "'erit prioribus,' quamvis initium

Benedict, ii. 152.

A.D. 1190.

Abbot Joachim's exposition.

"Reges septem sunt, scilicet, Herodes, Nero, Constantius, "Maumet, Melsemutus,[1] Saladinus, Antichristus. Ex his "quinque ceciderunt, scilicet, Herodes, Nero, Constantius, "Maumet, Melsemutus; et unus est, scilicet Saladinus, qui "in præsenti opprimit ecclesiam Dei, et eam cum sepulcro "Domini, et sancta civitate Jerusalem, et cum terra in qua "steterunt pedes Domini, occupatam detinet; sed ipse in "proximo perdet illam."

Richard asks the time of the fulfilment. Joachim fixes A.D. 1194.

Tunc interrogavit eum rex[2] Angliæ, "Quando erit "hoc?" Cui Johachim respondit, "Quando septem anni "elapsi erunt a die captionis Jerusalem." Tunc ait rex

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"sexti capitis a rege isto Turcho-"rum Saladino nomine sumptum "putem, qui nuper calcare cœpit "sanctam civitatem, quique peccatis "nostris exigentibus in cervicibus "Christianorum supra quam puta-"vimus crassatus est." At the beginning of the volume is a picture of the dragon with seven heads, and the following explanation professing to be by the same author: "Primum "caput draconis cœpit ab Herode "proselito, et perseveravit ad Ne-"ronem impium (2); et ab eo "usque ad Constantium Arria-"num (3); et ab eo usque ad Cos-"droem regem Persarum, sub quo "perditus Maometus invaluit (4); "sub illo usque ad Henricum pri-"mum regem Alemannorum (5); "et ab ipso usque ad Saladinum "Soldanum Babylonis (6); ab eo "usque ad Federicum primum, et "ab eo usque ad Antechristum cum "successione sua." But this was probably written after the quarrel of Frederick II. with the papacy; as on another explanation in the same page the heads are made Herod, Nero, Constantius, Cosdroes, Henricus Primus, and "Fredericus "II. venit in proximo cornutus, et "alius nondum venit."

[1] *Melsemutus*] Mausamuz (*R. de Monte*, 927); or Macemut (*R. de Diceto*, 624); Youssouf-abu-Yacoub, the second monarch of the Almohad dynasty. The name of Masmudi or Massamuti is given to that race generally.

[2] Although the inconsistencies of the interpretation of the prophecy are not sufficient to disprove the historical character of the interview between Richard and Joachim, the treatment of the following conversation by the two authors who give it throws great doubt on the details. In the Chronicle of Benedict, the abbot boldly promises that Saladin will shortly lose the kingdom of Jerusalem, and be put to death; and that victory is reserved for Richard, with the complete restoration of Palestine. This could not have been written after the comparative failure and return of Richard. Hoveden's version, by giving a margin of seven years from 1187, shows that it was written indeed before 1194; but the fact of it being thought necessary to alter the terms of the prophecy shows that it was written after the success of the crusade had become problematical, and perhaps after Richard's departure.

A.D. 1190. Richard's early arrival necessary.

Angliæ, "Ergo quare venimus huc tam cito?" Cui Johachim respondit; "Adventus tuus valde necessarius "est, quia Dominus dabit tibi victoriam de inimicis "Suis, et exaltabit nomen tuum super omnes principes "terræ."

Joachim's views of Antichrist.

Sequitur, "et unus illorum nondum venit, scilicet Antichris- "tus." De isto Antichristo dicit idem Johachim, quod jam natus est in civitate Romana, et in sede apostolica sublimabitur, et de isto Antichristo dicit apostolus; "extollitur et "adversatur super omne quod dicitur Deus. Et tunc revelabitur "ille iniquus, quem Dominus Jesus interficiet spiritu oris Sui, "et destruet illustratione adventus Sui." Et conversus ad eum rex ait: "Putabam, quod Antichristus nasceretur in Antiochia sive in Babylonia, de progenie Dan, et regnaret "in templo Domini quod est in Jerusalem, et in terra illa "ambularet in qua Christus ambulavit, et regnaret in "ea per tres annos et dimidium anni, et disputaret contra "Elyam et Enohc, et eos interficeret, et postea moreretur; "et post mortem illius daret Deus sexaginta dies pœnitendi, "in quibus pœnitentiam possint agere illi qui a via veri- "tatis erraverint, et seducti fuerint per prædicationem Anti- "christi et pseudoprophetarum ejus."

Benedict, ii. 153.

2 Thes. ii. 4.

Benedict, ii. 154.

Richard's views on the same.

Continuation of Joachim's exposition.

Sequitur, "et cornua decem:" decem cornua diaboli sunt hæreses et schismata, quæ hæretici et schismatici opponunt contra decem præcepta legis, et mandata Dei.

"Et in capitibus ejus septem diademata." Per diademata significantur reges et principes hujus sæculi, qui in Antichristo credituri sunt.[1]

"Et cauda ejus trahebat tertiam partem stellarum cœli,[2] "et misit eas in terram." Stellas vocat minores homines qui in Antichristo credituri sunt, et ideo dicit tertiam partem stellarum cœli, propter nimiam multitudinem hominum credentium in eo. "Et misit eas in terram," id est, in Gehennam mittet omnes qui perseverantes crediderint[3] in illo.

"Qui stetit ante mulierem, quæ paritura erat, ut cum "peperisset, filium devoraret." Diabolus semper insidiatur

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[1] *credituri sunt*] First hand resumes, A.

[2] *cœli*] propter nimiam multitudinem hominum credentium in eum, ins. Savile.

[3] *crediderint*] crediderunt, B. I.

Benedict, ii. 154. ecclesiæ, ut partum ejus rapiat, et raptum devoret: qui bene dicitur stare, quia nunquam declinat a malo, sed semper stat rigidus in malitia, et inflexibilis in versutia suæ fraudis. Vel aliter, cauda ejus significat finem sæculi hujus, in qua surgent quædam gentes iniquæ, quæ dicuntur Gog Magog, et destruent ecclesiam Dei, et subvertent gentem Christianam, et ex tunc erit dies judicii. Sed in tempore hujus Antichristi multi Christianorum in cavernis terræ et in solitudinibus petrarum morantes, fidem Christianam in timore Domini servabunt, usque ad consummationem Antichristi; et hoc est quod dicit: "Mulier fugit in solitudinem[1] Ægypti, ubi habet "locum paratum a Deo, ut ibi pascant eam diebus mille et "ducentis et sexaginta." Filius autem ejus masculus, "qui "recturus erat omnes gentes in virga ferrea," est præcipue Dominus noster Jesus Christus, Qui post passionem et resurrectionem Suam ascendit in cœlum, sedetque ad dextram Dei Patris, et venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos, et sæculum per ignem. Cujus sequaces si fuerimus, et in mandatis Ejus perseveraverimus, rapiemur in aera obviam Illi, et cum Illo semper erimus.

A.D. 1190. Abbot Joachim's exposition of Rev. xii. Benedict, ii. 155.

Conflicting views on these points.

Et licet prædictus abbas de Curacio hanc sententiam de adventu Antichristi proferret, tamen Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, et archiepiscopus de Appamia, et Girardus Auxiensis archiepiscopus, et Johannes Ebroicensis, et Bernardus Baoniensis episcopi, et alii viri ecclesiastici, in Divinis scripturis bene eruditi, nitebantur probare in contrarium, et quamvis multa argumenta verisimilia hinc et inde proferrent, tamen adhuc sub judice lis est.[2] Nam antiqui in scripturis suis, mentionem facientes de Antichristo, in hunc modum scripserunt;

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[1] *solitudinem*] solitudine, B. D. I.

[2] *lis est.*] Here end the conversations and extracts from the prophecy of Joachim in MSS. B. D. I. MS. G. has the additions; as also, curiously enough, MS. C.

A.D. 1190.

Alia opinio de adventu Antichristi.[1] (Not in Benedict.)

Description of Antichrist.

"Ergo de Antichristo scire volentes, primo notabitis quare "sic vocatus sit. Ideo scilicet, quia Christo in cunctis con- "trarius erit, et Christo contraria faciet. Christus venit humi- "liter, ille venturus est superbus. Christus venit humiles "erigere, peccatores justificare: Antichristus e contra humiles "dejiciet, peccatores magnificabit, impios exaltabit, semperque "vitia, quæ sunt contraria virtutibus, docebit; legem evan- "gelicam dissipabit, dæmonum culturam in mundo revocabit, "gloriam propriam quæret, et Omnipotentem Deum se nomi- "nabit. Hic itaque Antichristus multos habebit suæ maligni- "tatis ministros, ex quibus in mundo jam multi præcesserunt. "Qualis fuit Antiochus, Nero, Domitianus; nunc quoque nostro "tempore Antichristos novimus esse multos. Quicunque, sive "laicus, sive monachus, sive canonicus, contra justitiam vivit, "et ordinis sui regulam impugnat, et quod bonum est blas- "phemat, Antichristus et minister Sathanæ est. Sed jam de "exordio Antichristi. Non autem quod dico ex proprio sensu "fingo vel excogito; in libris enim diligenter religendo hæc "scripta invenio.

He is to be born of the tribe of Dan.

"Sicut ergo auctores nostri dicunt, Antichristus exemplo "Judæorum nascetur, de tribu scilicet Dan, secundum pro- "phetiam dicentem: 'Fiat Dan coluber in via, cerastes in "'semita.' Sicut enim serpens in via sedebit, et in semita "erit, ut eos qui per semitam justitiæ ambulant, feriat, et "veneno suæ malitiæ occidat. Nascetur autem ex patris et

Gen. xlix. 17.

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[1] This is the famous description of Antichrist, written originally by Adso, to Gerberga, queen of Lewis "Outremer," shortly before the year 954. Adso was afterwards abbot of Der. It has been at different times attributed to Augustine, among whose spurious works it is printed in the Benedictine edition, vol. vi., app. p. 243; to Alcuin, on whose work de Trinitate, lib. iii. c. 19, Opp., ed. Froben, i. 734, it is partly founded; to Rabanus Maurus, Opp. vi. 177: under these names it appears in various forms and with different titles; as also in the shape of a letter to archbishop Herebert of Cologne, from Albinus or Albuinus, cir. 999 A.D. It may be found in the works of Alcuin, ed. Froben, ii. 528; ed. Quercetan., 1209; ed. Migne, ii. 1289 et seqq. The form in which it is given by Hoveden closely resembles that in which it appears in Rabanus Maurus, and very closely the version of the MS. quoted by Froben on Alcuin, as "Cod. Vat. 6444, perg. in 4to." See the learned account of it by that famous scholar in his edition of Alcuin.

(Not in Benedict.) " matris copulatione, sicut et alii homines, non, ut quidam dicunt, de sola virgine. Sed tamen in peccatis totus concipietur, in peccato generabitur, et in peccato nascetur. In ipso suæ conceptionis initio diabolus simul introibit in uterum matris, et ex virtute diaboli confovebitur, et contuebitur in ventre matris, et virtus diaboli erit semper cum illa. Et sicut in matrem Domini nostri Spiritus Sanctus supervenit, et eam Sua virtute obumbravit, et Divinitate replevit, ut de Spiritu Sancto conciperet, et quod nasceretur Divinum esset et sanctum: ita quoque diabolus in matrem Antichristi descendet, totamque eam replebit, totam circumdabit, totam tenebit, totam interius et exterius possidebit, ut diabolo per hominem cooperante, concipiat, et quod natum fuerit, totum sit nocivum, totum malum, totum perditum. Unde et ille homo filius perditionis appellatur, quia, in quantum poterit, genus humanum perdet, et ipse in novissimo perdetur. A.D. 1190. Conception and birth of Antichrist.

"Ecce audistis qualiter nascetur, audite etiam locum ubi nascetur. Nam sicut Dominus et Redemptor noster Bethleem Sibi prævidit, ut ibi pro nobis humanitatem assumere, et nasci dignaretur: sic diabolus illi homini perdito, qui Antichristus dicitur, locum novit aptum, unde radix omnium malorum oriri debeat, scilicet civitatem Babiloniæ. In hac enim civitate, quæ quondam fuit inclyta et gloriosa urbs gentilium, et caput regni Persarum, Antichristus nascetur, et in civitatibus Bethsayda et Corozaim nutriri et conversari dicitur. Quibus civitatibus Dominus in Evangelio improperat,[1] dicens, 'Væ tibi Bessayda, væ tibi Corozaim.' He is to be born at Babylon, and to live at Bethsaida and Chorazin. S. Matt. xi. 21.

"Habebit autem Antichristus magos, maleficos, divinos et cantores: qui eum, diabolo inspirante, nutrient, et docebunt eum in omni iniquitate et falsitate et nefaria arte; et maligni spiritus erunt duces ejus et socii, et comites individui. Deinde Jerosolimam veniet,[2] et omnes Christianos quos ad se convertere non poterit, per varia tormenta jugulabit: et suam sedem in sancto templo parabit. Templum etiam destructum, quod Salomon Deo dicavit, in statum suum restaurabit, et circumcidet se, et filium Dei Omnipotentis se esse mentietur. Reges autem et principes primum ad se convertet; deinde per illos cæteros populos: loca vero per quæ Christus Dominus ambulavit, peragrabit, et prius destruet quod Dominus illustravit. Deinde per universum mundum mittet nuncios et prædicatores suos. Prædicatio autem ejus et potestas tenebit a mari usque ad mare, ab He will have magicians to nurse him: will come to Jerusalem and persecute Christians. He will have his apostles.

[1] *improperat*] impropriat, Savile. | [2] *veniet*] venient, Savile.

A.D. 1190. Kingdom of Antichrist. (Not in Benedict.)

" oriente usque ad occidentem, ab aquilone usque ad septen- " trionem.

His miracles. " Faciet ergo signa multa, miracula magna et inaudita : " faciet de cœlo ignem terribiliter venire, arbores subito flo- " rere et arescere, mare turbari, et subito tranquillari; na- " turas in diversas figuras mutari ; aquarum cursus et ordines " converti; aera ventis et commotionibus agitari; et cætera in- " numerabilia et stupenda; mortuos etiam in conspectu homi- " num suscitari: ita ut in errorem inducantur, si fieri potest, " etiam electi. Nam quando tanta et talia signa viderint, " etiam illi qui perfecti et electi Dei sunt, dubitabunt utrum " ipse sit Christus, Qui in fine mundi secundum scripturas " venturus est, an non. Excitabit enim persecutionem sub

His arts and terrors. " omni cœlo supra Christianos et omnes electos. Eriget ita- " que se contra fideles tribus modis: id est, terrore, et mu- " neribus, et miraculis. Dabit in se credentibus auri et " argenti copias. Quos enim muneribus corrumpere non " poterit, terrore superabit. Quos autem terrore non poterit, " signis et miraculis seducere tentabit. Quos nec signis nec " miraculis, in conspectu omnium mirabili morte cruciatos " crudeliter necabit.

Great tribulation. S. Matt. xxiv. 21.

" Tunc erit talis tribulatio, qualis non fuit super terram " ex tempore quo gentes esse cœperunt usque ad tempus illud; " tunc qui in agro erunt, fugient ad montes; et qui supra, " non descendet in domum suam, ut tollat aliquid de ea. " Tunc omnis fidelis Christianus, qui inventus fuerit, aut Deum " negabit; aut per ferrum, sive per ignem fornacis, seu per " serpentes, sive per bestias, sive per aliud quodlibet tormenti " genus interibit, si in fide permanserit. Hæc autem tam " terribilis et timenda tribulatio, tribus annis et dimidio in " toto mundo manebit. Tunc breviabuntur dies propter elec- " tos; quia nisi Dominus abbreviasset dies, non fuisset salva " omnis caro.

Signs of his coming. 2 Thess. ii. 4.

" Tempus siquidem quando idem Antichristus veniet, vel " quando dies judicii apparere incipiet, Paulus apostolus " in epistola ad Thessalonicenses designat, dicens: 'Roga- " 'mus vos per adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi;' " manifestat etiam eo loco ubi ait, 'Quoniam nisi veniat dis- " 'sensio primum, et revelatus fuerit homo peccati, et filius " 'perditionis.' Scimus enim quod post regnum Græcorum, " sive etiam post regnum Persarum, ex quibus unumquodque " suo tempore magna gloria ingruit, et magna potentia floruit; " ad ultimum quoque post cætera regna regnum Romanorum " cœpit, et quod fortissimum omnium regnorum superiorum " fuit, et omnia regna terrarum sub dominatione sua habuit,

(Not in Benedict.) "omnesque populorum nationes Romanis subjacebant sub tri- A.D. 1190.
"buto. Inde ergo dicit Paulus apostolus, 'Antichristum non Signs preceding the coming of Antichrist.
"'antea in mundum esse venturum, nisi venerit dissensio
"'primum.' Id est, nisi prius dissenserint omnia regni mundi
"a Romano imperio, cui pridem subdita erant. Hoc autem
"tempus nondum venit, quia licet videamus Romanum im-
"perium ex magna parte destructum, tamen quamdiu reges
"Francorum dominaverint, qui Romanum imperium tenere
"debent, Romæ dignitas ex toto non peribit, quia in regibus
"suis stabit. Quidam vero doctores nostri dicunt, quod unus
"ex regibus Francorum Romanum imperium ex toto et in-
"tegro tenebit: qui in novissimo tempore erit, et ipse erit
"maximus, et omnium regum ultimus, qui postquam regnum End of the Roman empire.
"suum feliciter gubernaverit, ad ultimum Jerosolimam veniet,
"et in monte Oliveti sceptrum et coronam deponet. Hic erit
"finis et consummatio Romanorum Christianorumque imperii.
"Statimque, secundum prædictam Pauli apostoli sententiam,
"Antichristum dicunt esse affuturum, et tunc revelabitur qui-
"dem homo peccati, Antichristus videlicet, qui licet homo sit, Revelation of the man of sin.
"fons tamen erit omnium peccaminum, et filius perditionis, id
"est, filius diaboli, non per naturam, sed per imitationem, quia
"per omnia adimplebit diaboli voluntatem; quia plenitudo dia-
"bolicæ potestatis, et totius mali ingenii, corporaliter habitabit
"in illo, in quo erunt omnes thesauri malitiæ et iniquitatis
"absconditi. 'Qui adversatur,' id est, contrarius est Christo,
"et omnibus ejus membris: 'et extollitur,' id est, in super-
2 Thess. ii. 4. "biam erigitur; 'supra omne quod dicitur Deus,' id est, super
"omnes deos gentium; Herculem videlicet, et Apollinem, et
"Jovem, et Mercurium, quos pagani deos esse existimant;
"super omnes deos istos extolletur Antichristus, quia majo-
"rem et fortiorem se his omnibus faciet; et non solum supra
"hos, sed et supra omne quod colitur: id est, supra Sanctam
"Trinitatem, Quæ solummodo colenda et adoranda est ab
"omni creatura, ita se extollet, ut in templo Dei sedeat,
"'ostendens se tanquam sit Deus.' Nam, sicut supra dixi-
"mus, in civitate Babiloniæ natus, Jerosolimam veniens,
"circumcidet se, dicens Judæis: 'Ego sum Christus vobis
"'repromissus, qui ad vestram salutem veni, ut vos, qui dis-
"'persi estis, congregem, et defendam.'

"Tunc confluent ad eum omnes Judæi, existimantes se The Jews will flow to him.
"Deum suscipere; sed suscipient diabolum.[1] Sive etiam 'in

[1] In the version which was ascribed to Augustin or to other writers earlier than the author, there is here interpolated a prophecy of Charles the Great and the Frank empire.

A.D. 1190.

He will fulfil prophecy.

" 'templo Dei sedebit' Antichristus; id est, in sancta eccle-" sia, omnes Christianos faciens martyres; et elevabitur et " magnificabitur, quia in ipso erit omnium malorum caput " diabolus, qui est 'rex super omnes filios superbiæ.' (Not in Benedict.) Job. xli. 25.

" Sed ne subito et improvise Antichristus veniat, et totum " simul humanum genus suo errore decipiat et perdat, ante " ejus ortum duo magni prophetæ mittentur in mundum, Enoc " et Helias, qui contra impetum Antichristi fideles Dei Divinis " armis præmunient, et instruent eos, et confortabunt, et præ-" parabunt electos ad bellum, docentes et prædicantes tribus " annis et dimidio. Filios autem Israel, quicunque eo tem-" pore fuerint inventi, hi duo magni prophetæ et doctores ad " fidei gratiam convertent, et a pressura tanti turbinis in " parte electorum insuperabiles reddent.

Enoch and Elias will come first for three years and a half.

" Tunc implebitur quod scriptura ait; 'Si numerus filiorum " 'Israel sicut arena maris fuerit, reliquiæ salvæ fient.' " Postquam ergo per tres annos et dimidium prædicationem " suam impleverint, mox incipiet exardescere Antichristi per-" secutio, et contra eos primum arma sua Antichristus arripiet, " eosque interficiet, sicut in Apocalypsi legitur: 'Et cum " 'finietur (inquit) testimonium suum, bestia quæ ascendet " 'de abysso faciet adversus eos bellum, et vincet eos, et " 'occidet eos.' Postquam ergo isti duo interfecti fuerint, " inde cæteros fideles persequetur, ut eos aut martyres glo-" riosos faciat, aut apostatas reddat; et tum qui in eum cre-" diderint, signum characteris ejus in fronte accipient. Rom. ix. 27. Apoc. xi. 7.

Antichrist will slay them.

The end of Antichrist.

" Sed quia de principio ejus diximus, quem finem habeat " inde dicamus. Hic itaque Antichristus, diaboli filius, et " totius malitiæ artifex pessimus, per tres annos et dimidium, " sicut prædictum est, magna persecutione totum mundum " vexabit, et omnem populum Dei variis pœnis cruciabit: et " postquam Heliam et Enoc interfecerit, et cæteros in fide " permanentes coronaverit martyrio, ad ultimum veniet judi-" cium Dei super eum, sicut Beatus Paulus scribit, dicens: " 'Quem Dominus Jesus interficiet spiritu oris Sui.' Sive " Dominus Jesus interfecerit illum potentia jussionis, sive " archangelus Michael interfecerit illum, per virtutem Do-" mini nostri occidetur, non per virtutem cujuslibet angeli " aut archangeli. Tradunt autem, quod in monte Antichristus " occidetur in Babilone in solio suo, in illo loco contra quem " ascendit Dominus ad cœlos.

" Debetis autem scire, quia postquam Antichristus fuerit " occisus, non statim veniet dies judicii, nec statim veniet " Dominus ad judicandum, sed sicut ex libro Danielis intel-" ligimus, Dominus concedet diem electis, ut agant pœniten-

(Not in Benedict.) "tiam, propterea quia ab Antichristo seducti sunt. Postquam vero hanc pœnitentiam expleverint, quantum temporis spatium fiet, quousque Dominus ad judicandum veniat, nullus est qui sciat; sed in dispositione Dei manet, qua hora Dominus sæculum judicabit, quia ante sæcula judicandum esse præfixit." A.D. 1190. After his death there will be a time of repentance before the last Judgment.

Item alia opinio de adventu Antichristi, quæ dicitur inventa fuisse in codicibus Beati Gregorii papæ.[1]

"Johannes apostolus et evangelista, virgo electus a Domino, et inter cæteros magis dilectus, interrogabat Dominum de fine sæculi, et respondit Dominus; 'Sol convertetur in tenebras, et luna in sanguinem, et de arboribus stillabit sanguis, lapides dabunt voces, populi movebuntur; Antichristus, id est, diabolus, regnabit, et faciet prodigia, et signa magna in populo. Nemo poterit se ab illo. De muliere meretrice nascetur ex tribu Dan in Israel. Omnes qui credunt in eum signabit uno charactere in fronte, et nemo poterit delere illius artificium. Nutrietur in Corozain, post morabitur in Bethsayda civitate; sed paucis diebus, et omnes quos ille occidet, vel qui mortui fuerint sub ejus potestate fame et siti, ipsi electi Dei erunt: suscitabit falsos mortuos, convertet flumina retrorsum, eradicabit arbores, et convertet ramos in terram, et radices earum sursum, et florere faciet per suas diabolicas artes. Sedu- Another account of Antichrist.

[1] Of this curious document I am able to give no other account than Hoveden has done in the rubric. It is not found in any of the apocryphal writings of early date, nor was it known to Malvenda, who in his learned work *De Antichristo* has collected all the legends and traditionary interpretations of scripture touching Antichrist. At first sight it may seem to be a mere abridgement of the principal features of Adso's letter, but the reference to the death of Antichrist looks a little more ancient. Hoveden does not say to which of the Gregories it was attributed, but it was probably to S. Gregory the Great; with whose doctrine on the subject in the Morals on Job, it may be compared; and who is quoted in one version of Adso's letter as authority for the statement that S. Michael will kill Antichrist. On the whole it cannot, without further information, be determined whether it is an apocryphal work of the tenth century, or a still more audacious fabrication of the twelfth, like that of the divine letter on the observance of Sunday, which is given by Hoveden, under the year 1201, on the authority of abbot Eustace of Flay.

A.D. 1190. A second account of Antichrist. (Not in Benedict.)

" 'cet multos. In die quando nascetur, omnes qui habitant in " 'quatuor partibus mundi, cognoscent ipsum esse natum: " 'testante scriptura, quæ ait: 'In quacunque domo cadaver " 'unius domus hominis mortui erit signum.' Tunc in " 'tempore illius occidet pater filium, et filius patrem, et " 'frater fratrem, et fideles deficient in omni re. Mulieres " 'menstruationes suas accipient, et non abscondent se ab " 'hominibus; ecclesiæ destruentur, sacerdotes plorabunt. " 'Nulla memoria habebitur de locis ubi corpora sanctorum " 'quieverunt: adorabunt profana idola, sicut pagani et Judæi " 'et Saraceni. Surget gens contra gentem, et regnum ad- " 'versus alterum, et terræ motus magni erunt per loca, et " 'pestilentiæ et fames, et stellæ cadent in terra; fluvia con- " 'vertentur in sanguinem, et omnes aquæ quæ sub cœlo " 'sunt. Regnante illo, erigent bellum contra illum duo pro- " 'phetæ, scilicet Enoc et Helyas, qui modo tristantur in " 'Paradiso pro respectatione mortis; et interficiet eos Anti- " 'christus, et in platea civitatis jacebunt mortui tribus diebus " 'et tribus noctibus, et in quarta die resurgent in vitam " 'æternam. In ultimo Deus Omnipotens, Qui omnes vult " 'salvos fieri, transmittet Michaelem archangelum rumphæam " 'acutam in manu tenentem (id est, gladium Spiritus Sancti), " 'et interficiet eum, et secabit eum in duas partes a summo " 'usque deorsum, ut non destruatur mundus, sed renovetur " 'in melius: tribus annis et sex mensibus erit ita in con- " 'summatione sæculi.' "

Richard gives to Otho of Saxony first the county of York, then that of Poictou.

Eodem[1] anno Ricardus rex Angliæ dedit Othoni[2] nepoti suo, filio Matildis sororis suæ, quondam ducissæ Saxoniæ, comitatum Eboraci, et quamvis multi recepissent eum, et fecissent ei homagia et fidelitates, multi tamen ei[3] resistebant, dicentes quod a fidelitate regis non recederent, priusquam cum eo ore ad os loquerentur. Unde factum est, quod dominus rex dedit eidem Othoni comitatum Pictavis in commutationem comitatus Eboraci.

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[1] *Eodem*] Here MSS. B. D. I. resume.

[2] *Othoni*] son of Henry the Lion, and afterwards emperor as Otho IV.

[3] *ei*] om. D. I.

Nomina quorundam magnorum virorum qui eodem anno obierunt in obsidione Accon.[1] A.D. 1190.

Benedict, ii. 147. List of the dead at Acre.

Sibilla regina, uxor Gwidonis regis Jerusalem, et duæ filiæ ejus,
Heraclius patriarcha Jerusalem,
Baldewinus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus,
Archiepiscopus de Nazaret,
Archiepiscopus de Bezenzun,
Archiepiscopus de Arleleblanc,
Archiepiscopus de Monte Regali.
Episcopus de Sydoni, id est, de Saeta,
Novus episcopus de Acra,
Episcopus de Baruth,
Episcopus de Sancto Georgio,
Episcopus de Sancto Habraham,
Episcopus de Tabaria,
Abbas de Templo Domini,
Abbas de Monte Syon,
Abbas de Monte Oliveti,
Abbas de Forde,
Prior Sancti Sepulcri,
Radulfus de Alta Ripa, Archidiaconus Colecestriæ,
Rogerus le Abbe.

Benedict, ii. 148.

Fredericus Romanorum imperator obiit in eundo versus terram Jerusalem, submersus in fluvio qui dicitur Salef;

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[1] The following list contains the names of most of the noble personages who died at Acre, or in Palestine during the siege of Acre: the majority belong to the years 1190 and 1191, but a few belong to 1192 and later. Queen Sibylla and her children were dead before Oct. 21, 1190 (*Epp. Cantuar.*, 329); the archbishop of Canterbury died Nov. 19 or 20, 1190; Thierri of Montfaucon, archbishop of Besançon, died Nov. 23, 1191 (*Gall. Chr.* i. 127); Letard, archbishop of Nazareth, in 1190; Peter Aynard, archbishop of Arles, in 1189 or 1190; and the death of the abbot of Ford belongs to the latter year. The archbishop of Montreal, if it was William archbishop of Montreal in Sicily, was alive late in 1191; but probably it was the metropolitan of Petra, who bore the same title. The dates of the deaths of the inferior ecclesiastics would be difficult to determine certainly, nor are they of much importance, except to fix the time at which the list in the text was drawn up. MS. D. omits nearly the whole list.

A.D. 1190. List of the nobles who died on the Crusade.

Et Conradus filius ejus, dux Suaviæ, obiit in obsidione Accon. Benedict, ii. 148.

Et Robertus comes Leicestriæ obiit in Romania in eundo versus terram Jerusalem;

Et Landegravus de Alemannia obiit in Rumania in redeundo versus domum;

Et Johannes constabularius Cestriæ obiit in terra Jerusalem apud Tyrum.

Rotrodus comes de Pertico obiit in obsidione Accon,

Et —[1] comes de Puntif,

Et Theodbaldus comes de Blais,

Et Stephanus comes de Saunais,[2] frater ejus;

Et Willelmus comes de Ferreres,

Et dux Bertoldus de Alemannia,[3]

Et Rogerus comes[4] de Apulia,

Et Jocellinus comes de Apulia,

Et —[5] comes de Brenes,

Et Andreas frater ejus occisus,

Et Ingeram de Fenes occisus,

Et Lodowicus de Arseles occisus,

Et Hugo de Hoyri occisus,

Et Walterus de Moy occisus,

Et Gwido de Danzcy occisus,

Et Ode de Gunesse occisus,

Et Pincerna de Sainzliz,[6] captus a paganis,

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[1] *Et* . . .] blank for the count of Ponthieu's Christian name in A.

[2] *Saunais*] Sancere, G. The emperor Frederick was drowned in the Salef, June 10, 1190; Frederick of Swabia, his son, here called Conrad, died Jan. 20, 1191 (*Chron. Reichersperg.* ed. Ludewig, p. 343); earl Robert of Leicester in 1190; the landgrave Lewis III. of Thuringia, Oct. 16, 1190 (*Wilken*, iv. 287); John de Lacy, constable of Chester, Oct. 11 (*Mon. Angl.* v. 233); count Rotrou III. of Perche, and John I. of Ponthieu, in 1190; Theobald of Blois, died the same day as Frederick of Swabia, Jan. 20, 1191 (*Bohadin*, 157); and count Stephen of Sancerre, and William of Ferrers, were both dead before Oct. 21, 1190 (*Epp. Cant.* 329).

[3] *Bertoldus de Alemannia*] Berhtold V. of Zähringen, and Berhtold V. of Meran, both returned in safety from the crusade.

[4] *comes*] om. G.

[5] Blank for the name of the count of Brienne, A.; Erard II. His brother Andrew d. Oct. 4, 1189. *Itin. R. R.* p. 71. MS. G. omits the count of Brienne, and proceeds, " et Andreas frater comitis de " Brennes occisus." B. reads " et " Jocelinus comes de Brenes."

[6] *Sainzliz*] William of Senlis, the Great Butler, was taken prisoner on the day of the wedding of Conrad and Isabella, Nov. 24, 1190 (*Itin. R* p. 122; *Mon. Florent.*), and with

Benedict, ii. 148.

A.D. 1190. List of those who died on the Crusade.

Et Marescallus comitis Henrici, captus a paganis;
Et Reginaldus de Magni occisus.

Præterea eodem anno obierunt in obsidione Accon

Vicecomes de Turonia,
Et dominus de Wanci,
Et Gilbertus de Tileres,
Et Florentius de Angest,
Et Jocellinus de Munmorenci,
Vicecomes de castello Heraldi,
Et Anselmus de Monte Regali, et tota familia ejus,
Et vicecomes de Castellun, et mater ejus,
Et Johannes comes de Vendome,
Et Castellanus de Ypre,
Et Gaufridus de la Bruiere,[1]
Et Robertus de Boiues,[2]
Et Adam Camberlangus[3] regis Franciæ,
Et Adam de Leume,[4]
Et Boues de Juvenni,
Et Willelmus de Pinkinni,[5]
Et Rogerus de Polebaro,[6]
Et Robertus Constabularius,[7] senescallus comitis Willelmi de Mandevilla.
[8]Ranulfus de Glamvilla, justitiarius Angliæ, obiit in obsidione Accon,
Et Bernardus de Sancto Valerico, junior,
Et Ricardus de Clare,
Et Gwido de Castellun,
Et Walterus de Kime, filius Philippi de Kime,
Et Johannes de Lamburne,
Et Walterus de Ros, frater Petri de Ros.

Benedict, ii. 149.

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him the marshall of count Henry of Champagne, who probably was William of Villehardouin. See Du Cange's *Villehardouin*, p. 236.

[1] *Bruiere*] Bruere, B. I.

[2] *Boiues*] Bonures, B.; Boinires, I.; Boïces, A.; Boires, G.

[3] *Camberlangus*] Chamberlangus, B. I. Adam de Villebeon.

[4] *Leun*] Loum, B. I.; Leun, G.

[5] *Pinkinni*] Pinkeni, B.; Pinkenni, I. The viscount died in July 1192.

[6] *Polebaro*] Polebar, B. I.

[7] Robert Constable, probably one of the Holderness family, and so connected with the count of Aumâle.

[8] *Et*, ins. I. Ranulf Glanvill, Bernard of S. Valery, and Richard of Clare, died before Oct. 21, 1190. Epp. Cantuar. 329. The list given in Benedict's Chronicle is much longer than this, although Hoveden's contains a few names that are wanting in it.

A.D. 1191–1199.

De regibus Hyspaniæ.

Alfonso of Leon separated from his wife by Celestine III. and Alfonso of Castile, (A.D. 1192).

Eodem anno Sanctius rex Portugalensis dedit Taresiam[1] filiam suam Aldefonso regi de Sancto Jacobo, nepoti suo, in uxorem; de qua ipse genuit tres filios: et licet Cœlestinus papa multum laborasset ut separarentur, tamen tenuit eam contra Deum et prohibitionem domini papæ per quinque annos: et dominus papa Cœlestinus præfatum regem de Sancto Jacobo, et totam terram suam, sub interdicto posuit, et ita permansit per quinque annos. Interim surrexit in prædictum regem de Sancto Jacobo, Aldefonsus rex Castellæ, et coegit eum relinquere uxorem suam, filiam regis Portugalensis, et dedit ei propriam filiam suam in uxorem, permissione domini papæ Cœlestini, pro bono pacis.

De filia imperatoris Affricæ.

The daughter of the emperor of the Moors falls in love with Sancho king of Navarre.

Processu vero temporis filia Boyac Almiramimoli, imperatoris Africanorum, audita per communem famam probitate Sanctii regis Navarræ,[2] fratris Berengeræ reginæ Angliæ, dilexit eum in tantum, quod vehementer adoptavit eum sibi in maritum. Et cum ipsa propositum suum diutius celare non posset, indicavit patri suo imperatori quod ipsa seipsum laqueo suspenderet, nisi Sanctius rex Navarræ eam sibi in uxorem duceret. Cui pater respondit, "Quo modo potest hoc fieri, cum "tu sis pagana, et ille Christianus?" Cui filia respon- "dit, Parata siquidem sum fidem Christianorum susci- "pere, et secundum legem illorum vivere, dummodo

[1] *Taresiam*] Tarsiam, D. Afterwards known as S. Tharasia.

[2] Sancho VII., king of Navarre, 1194–1234. The alliance of Sancho with the emperor of Morocco is attributed by the Spanish historians to his jealousy of the kings of Leon and Castile. The story of the loves of Sancho and the Moorish princess receives some little illustration from Roderick of Toledo: ap. Belum vol. i. p. 265.

"prædictum regem Navarræ in maritum habeam; quod "per te, pater mi, de facili potest fieri. Nam omnia "te metuunt, et ad te sua brachia tendunt; blanditiis "tamen opus est, terror furorque absint: preces et "munera mitte viro, ut sic eum mihi compares.

A.D. 1191–1199. Story of Sancho of Navarre and the Moorish princess.

Ovid. *Amores*, i 2. 33.

i. 8. 62. "Crede mihi, res est ingeniosa dare.

"Mitte etiam matri et sorori, et aliis familiaribus suis, "munera larga manu, ut ipsi eum in tuos conatus "alliciant. Fit cito per multas præda petita manus." Cui pater respondit

i. 8. 92.

i. 10. 14. "Donec eras simplex, animum cum corpore amavi,
"Nunc mentis vitio læsa figura tua est.

"Nescio quid faciam, angustiæ enim mihi sunt[1] undi"que, quia nisi rex ille Navarræ in amorem tuum "conversus fuerit, tu te laqueo suspendes; illum "ergo precibus variisque muneribus aggrediar tentans, "si eum modo quolibet tibi in maritum adquirere "possim. Mallem tamen, ut tibi virum de gente nostra "sumeres." Cui puella respondit:

Heroides, iii. 63. "Devorer ante precor subito telluris hiatu,
"Aut rutilo missi fulminis igne cremer,

"quam aliquem habeam virum præter illum regem "Navarræ." Imperator igitur Africanorum misit nuncios suos ad Sanctium regem Navarræ, per quos mandavit illi, ut ipse veniret ad eum filiam suam in uxorem ducturus, et ille daret ei tantam pecuniam quantam vellet, et insuper totam terram quæ dicitur Hispania Saracenica, videlicet, totam terram quæ est a finibus terræ regis Portugalensis usque ad montem de Muneian,[2] qui dividit terras paganorum, qui sunt in Hispania, a terra regis Arragoniæ.

Death of the Moorish emperor.

Dum autem rex Navarræ iret ad eum, mortuus est ille Boiac Almiramumoli,[3] Africanorum imperator. Cum-

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[1] *mihi sunt*] circumstant, Savile.
[2] *Muneian*] Muncian, B. G. I.
[3] *Almiramumoli*] Almirammoli, I. Yacoub died May 19, 1199; and this episode, which it may be observed is added by Hoveden at the

A.D. 1191-1199. Humiliation of Sancho of Navarre at the Moorish court.

que præfatus rex Navarræ venisset in Africam, invenit imperatorem mortuum, et filius imperatoris defuncti adhuc minimus erat, et nondum aptus ad regni gubernationem, et erant ei in imperio multi adversantes. Cum autem rex Navarræ ad eum venisset sperans se accepturum sibi in conjugem præfatam[1] puellam, dixit ei puer qui regnaturus erat, quod si vellet juvare eum, et servire ei ad terram suam obtinendam, ipse daret ei sororem suam cum promissis patris sui, sin autem, poneret eum in captionem, de qua nunquam exiret. Ipse autem videns se in arcto positum, elegit magis servire ei quam poni in captione, juxta illud Augustini, "Qui murorum ambitu, ne fugiat, clauditur, ibi se "præcipitet ubi murus brevior ingeritur." Domino igitur concedente, et Sanctio rege Navarræ laborante, filius Almiramimoli[2] subjugavit sibi infra triennium omnes adversarios suos; et factus est imperator. Interim Aldefonsus rex Castellæ, et rex Aragoniæ, invaserunt terram dicti regis Navarræ, unus illorum[3] una parte, et alter illorum altera parte, ita quod Aldefonsus rex Castellæ cepit super eum viginti-quatuor oppida, et prædictus rex Aragoniæ[4] cepit super eum octodecim oppida.

Secundus annus regni regis Ricardi, filii Henrici regis Secundi.

A.D. 1190. Dec. 25. Richard keeps Christmas at Messina.

Anno gratiæ M°C°XC°I°., qui erat annus secundus regni regis Ricardi, idem rex Ricardus et Philippus rex Francorum fuerunt simul in Sicilia apud Messanam, die Natalis Domini, quæ feria tertia evenit. Benedict, ii. 150.

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end of the year 1190 on a spare leaf, and is not of course found in Benedict, must have been one of the latest additions of the compiler. See the preface to vol. ii. p. x, note 2.

[1] *præfatam*] filiam, ins. Savile.

[2] *Almiramimoli*] Almiramomili, I.

The new emperor's name is Mohammed abou Abdalla, surnamed Alnassir. He reigned from 1199 to 1213.

[3] *illorum*] eorum, I.

[4] *Aragoniæ*] Navarræ, A.; corrected by G.

Benedict, ii. 150.

Eodem die post prandium, Pisani et Januenses[1] seditiose fecerunt impetum in galiotas regis Angliæ, et mutuo se interfecerunt. Venit ergo[2] clamor inde ad aures regis Angliæ, qui adhuc sedebat ad mensam in Mategriffun castello suo: et epulabantur cum illo die illa Reginaldus Carnotensis episcopus, et Hugo dux Burgundiæ, et Willelmus comes de Neverz,[3] et Willelmus comes de Juvenni, et Gaufridus comes de Pertico, et alii multi de familia regis Franciæ. Et velociter remota mensa, surrexerunt omnes viri illi, et processerunt omnes cum rege armati ad pugnam illam dirimendam: nec poterant: sed nocte superveniente, separati sunt ab invicem usque mane. In crastino, cum populus convenisset in ecclesia Sancti Johannis Hospitalis ad audiendum in ea[4] Divinum officium, quidam Pisanus, extracto cultello suo, quendam galiotarum regis interfecit in ecclesia; et sic iterum congressi sunt Pisani et galiotæ, et multi ceciderunt ex utraque parte interfecti. Venerunt ergo rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ cum multa plebe[5] armata, et pacem fecerunt inter illos.

A.D. 1190. Dec. 25. Tumult amongst the sailors.

Dec. 26. The tumult renewed.

Benedict, ii. 151.

De discordia inter Ricardum regem Angliæ et Willelmum des Barres apud Messanam.

Benedict, ii. 155.

Deinde mense Februarii, die Purificationis Beatæ Mariæ semper virginis, Sabbato post prandium, Ricardus rex Angliæ, et multi de familia ejus, et quamplures[6] de familia regis Franciæ, convenerunt more solito extra civitatem Messanam pluribus[7] jocis intenti; et cum domum redissent, transeuntes per medium civitatis, obviaverunt cuidam rustico venienti de villa cum asino onusto arundinibus, quas cannas vocant; de quibus rex Angliæ, et cæteri qui cum illo erant, ceperunt, et unusquisque illorum cum altero congressus est: et contigit quod rex Angliæ et Willelmus de Barres, quidam miles optimus de familia regis Franciæ, congressi sunt alter adversus alterum, et confregerunt arundines suas, et fracta est cappa regis Angliæ ex percussione Willelmi de Barres; unde rex iratus impetum fecit in illum, ita quod illum et equum suum

A.D. 1191. Feb. 2. The nobles tilt with reeds.

Richard engages with William des Barres.

Benedict, ii. 156.

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[1] *Januenses*] Javennes, B. I.

[2] *ergo*] igitur, B. I.

[3] *comes de Neverz*] Peter of Courtenay; *Willelmus* is a mistake.

[4] *in ea*] om. B. D. I.

[5] *plebe*] om. I.; armatura, D.

[6] *quamplures*] quidam populares, Savile.

[7] *pluribus*] popularibus, Savile.

A.D. 1191. Feb. 2. Quarrel between Richard and William des Barres.

titubare fecit. Et dum rex intenderet dejicere eum in terram, subversa est sella regis, et rex celerius descendit, et adductus est ei alius equus fortior priore, et ascendens in eo iterum fecit impetum in Willelmum de Barres, tentans dejicere eum, et non potuit. Ipse enim adhæsit collo equi sui, et comminatus est ei rex. Et cum Robertus de Bretuil, filius Roberti comitis Leicestriæ, quem rex die præcedenti accinxerat gladio comitatus patris sui, injecisset manum in Willelmum de Barres, ut dominum suum regem juvaret, dixit ei rex; "Sustine, et dimitte me et illum solum." Et cum diu rex et Willelmus contendissent, et dictis et factis, dixit illi[1] rex, "Fuge hinc, et cave tibi ne amplius coram me compareas, "quia amodo[2] et usque in sempiternum ego ero tibi et tuis "inimicus." Discessit itaque Willelmus des Barres a facie regis, dolens et confusus propter indignationem regis; et abiit ad regem Franciæ dominum suum, consilium et auxilium ab eo postulans super his quæ acciderant in via. In crastino venit rex Franciæ ad regem Angliæ ex parte Willelmi des Barres, cum humili deprecatione pacem et misericordiam postulans, et noluit rex audire eum. In sequenti die venerunt ad regem Angliæ episcopus Carnotensis,[3] et dux Burgundiæ, et comes de Nevers, et multi de proceribus regni Francorum, cum humillimis supplicationibus ad genua ejus provoluti, pacem et misericordiam postulantes pro Willelmo des Barres; et noluit rex audire eos.

Benedict, ii. 156.

Feb. 3. Intercession of Philip.

Feb. 4. Intercession of the nobles.

Feb. 5. William des Barres leaves Messina.

Tertia autem die sequenti Willelmus des Barres recessit a civitate Messana. Dominus enim suus rex Franciæ noluit retinere illum diutius contra voluntatem et prohibitionem regis Angliæ. Post multum vero temporis, cum tempus transfretandi appropinquasset, venerunt iterum ad regem Angliæ rex Franciæ, et omnes archiepiscopi et episcopi, et comites et barones, et principes totius exercitus, et provoluti ad pedes ejus, pacem et misericordiam postulaverunt pro Willelmo des Barres, ostendentes ei damna et inopportunitates quæ accidere possent de absentia talis tantique[4] militis: et cum magna difficultate obtinuerunt adversus regem Angliæ quod prædictus Willelmus in pace rediret, et quod rex Angliæ

Benedict, ii. 157.

Richard at last forgives him.

[1] *illi*] ei, D. I.

[2] *amodo*] animo, Savile.

[3] *episcopus Carnotensis*] archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, Savile. Benedict has, also by mistake, *comes Carnotensis*.

[4] *tantique*] et tanti, B. D. I.

Benedict, ii. 157. nec illi nec suis malum vel damnum faceret, vel inquireret, quamdiu ipsi fuerint in servitio Dei. A.D. 1191. February.

De donis quæ Ricardus rex Angliæ dedit apud Messanam.

Profuse liberality of Richard.

Deinde rex Angliæ dedit multas naves regi Franciæ et suis. Deinde rex Angliæ ita profuse distribuit thesauros suos universis militibus et servientibus totius exercitus, quod a multis dicebatur, quod nunquam aliquis prædecessorum suorum tantum dedit in uno anno quantum ipse dederat in illo mense. Et pro certo credendum est, quod in distributione illa promeruit ipse favorem Tonantis,[1] cum scriptum sit, "Hilarem datorem diligit Deus." 2 Cor. ix. 7.

Arrival of queen Eleanor and Berengaria of Navarre at Brundusium.

Eodem mense Februarii rex Angliæ misit galeas suas Neapolim, contra reginam Alienor matrem suam, et contra Berengeram filiam Sanctii[2] regis Navarræ, quam ipse in uxorem ducturus erat, et contra Philippum comitem Flandriæ, qui cum illis veniebat. Prædicta autem mater regis, et filia regis Navarræ, perrexerunt Brundusium; ubi Margaritus admiralis, et alii homines regis Tancredi, honorifice susceperunt eas, et omnem exhibuerunt illis honorem et reverentiam. Comes vero Flandriæ venit Neapolim, et inventis ibi galeis regis Angliæ, intravit et venit Messanam, et in multis adhæsit consilio et voluntati regis Angliæ. Unde rex Franciæ iratus adversus comitem, effecit quod ipse, relicto rege Angliæ, ad illum rediit. Philip of Flanders arrives at Messina.

De discordia inter cancellarium et Johannem comitem Moretonii.

Quarrels in England between John and the Chancellor.

Benedict, ii. 158. Interim gravis dissensio orta est in Anglia inter cancellarium regis, et Johannem comitem Moretonii fratrem regis, et alios principes regni; et ita in immensum excrevit, quod illi universaliter scripserunt regi

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[1] *Tonantis*] donantis, Benedict. | [2] *Sanctii*] Sancho V.

A.D. 1191. February. Richard sends the archbishop of Rouen and William Marshall to England.

de statu regni sui, et de gravaminibus quæ idem cancellarius populo regni faciebat. Cum igitur rex audisset excessus et inopportunitates quas cancellarius suus populo faciebat, misit a Messana in Angliam Walterum Rothomagensem archiepiscopum, et Willelmum Marescallum comitem de Striguil,[1] mandans cancellario, ut in omnibus agendis regni haberet ipse prædictum Rotomagensem archiepiscopum, et Willelmum Marescallum, et Gaufridum Benedict, ii. 158.

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[1] Ralph de Diceto, c. 659, gives a letter of Richard dated at Messina, Feb. 23, and brought to England by the archbishop of Rouen; addressed to the chancellor, Geoffrey fitz-Peter, William Marshall, Hugh Bardulf and William Briwer; associating the archbishop with them in the government of the country. He also, in the same column, gives an extract from another letter addressed to the same persons, the chancellor excepted, in which he directs that, if the chancellor shall not have managed the government according to the advice of the recipients, they are to take charge of it, and exercise the supreme power. The letter from which this is taken is given in full by Giraldus Cambrensis, with the date, February 20; (*Ang. Sac.* ii. 396); it contains an order that nothing is to be done without the assent and counsel of the archbishop of Rouen; and instead of lodging the supreme power in the hands of the recipients, *secundum dispositionem vestram*, he says, *secundum prædicti archiepiscopi dispositionem:* so that either Giraldus has interpolated the letter; or Ralph de Diceto, who, however, was an intimate friend of the archbishop, has garbled it; or, as is most probable, Richard furnished the archbishop with a whole pack of letters, to be played as circumstances might make it expedient. The archbishop of Rouen landed at Shoreham on the 27th of April. It is not improbable that he was anxious to be elected to Canterbury. There were at the time no less than five personal factions in the kingdom. 1. That of John, who was anxious to get the government into his hands. 2. That of the chancellor, who wanted to retain the government as the king's representative, against John; but wished probably for the primacy for himself. 3. That of the archbishop of Rouen, who, as against John, was loyal to Richard; but was active against the chancellor, whom he regarded as an unpopular if not a treacherous minister, and as a dangerous rival for the see of Canterbury. 4. The party of the justiciars, who represented the baronage generally, and were faithful to the king, but were only strong enough to play off John, the chancellor, and the archbishop against each other. 5. Geoffrey of York had also a small party, but was doubted, and I think persecuted, more or less by all the four others. Under these circumstances if Richard showed some little duplicity in uttering provisional or contradictory instructions, the statecraft or kingcraft was perhaps excusable.

Benedict, ii. 158. filium Petri, et Willelmum Bruere, et Hugonem Bardolf, socios et testes. Qui cum in Angliam venissent, litteras regis tradere cancellario ausi non fuerant, timentes quod magis incurrerent odium illius, quam honorem inde reciperent. Cancellarius namque omnia mandata regis spernebat, et nullum habere voluit parem sibi aut socium in regno.

A.D. 1191. April. They are afraid to present their commissions to the Chancellor.

De colloquio inter Ricardum regem Angliæ et Tancredum regem Siciliæ.

Prima autem die mensis Martii, Ricardus rex Angliæ recessit a Messana, et perrexit inde usque ad civitatem Cathinensium (ubi requiescit sanctissimum corpus Beatæ Agathæ, virginis et martyris), ad loquendum cum Tancredo rege Siciliæ, qui illuc obviam illi venerat. Cum ergo rex Tancredus audisset adventum regis Angliæ, exivit obviam illi, et cum summa reverentia, et honore regiæ excellentiæ debito, suscepit eum, et introduxit in civitatem. Et simul euntibus illis ad tumbam Beatæ Agathæ martyris, ante ingressum templi occurrerunt eis clerus et populus, laudantes et benedicentes Dominum. Qui eos in tantæ dilectionis fœdera associavit. Facta igitur oratione ad sepulcrum Beatæ Agathæ, rex Angliæ ingressus est palatium regis Tancredi cum illo, et habitaverunt ibi simul tribus diebus, et tribus noctibus. Quarta autem die rex Siciliæ dona multa et magna, in auro et argento, et equis, et pannis sericis, misit regi Angliæ; sed ipse nihil inde recepit præter annulum quendam parvulum, quem in signum mutuæ dilectionis accepit. Hæc contra rex Angliæ dedit regi Tancredo gladium illum optimum quem Brittones Caliburne vocant, qui fuerat gladius Arturi, quondam nobilis regis Angliæ. Præterea rex Tancredus dedit regi Angliæ quatuor magnas naves, quas vocant Ursers,[1] et xv. galeas: et cum rex Angliæ recessisset ab eo, ipse in propria persona sua reduxit eum usque ad Tavermin, per duas dietas magnas a civitate Cathinensium.

March 1. Richard goes to Catania to meet Tancred.

Benedict, ii. 159. March 3-6. He stays with him three days.

They exchange presents.

Tancred accompanies Richard to Taormina.

[1] *Ursers*] Ufsers, Benedict.

A.D. 1191. *Item causa discordiæ inter regem Angliæ et regem Franciæ.*

March 7. Tancred reveals to Richard the treachery of Philip.

Et in crastino cum rex Angliæ recedere vellet, rex Tancredus tradidit ei quoddam breve, quod rex Franciæ miserat illi per ducem Burgundiæ, et mandaverat per breve illud, quod rex Angliæ proditor erat, et pacem, quam cum illo fecerat, non servaret;[1] et si ipse rex Tancredus vellet cum rege Angliæ in bello congredi, vel de nocte invadere, ille et gens sua auxiliarentur ei, ad regem Angliæ et exercitum suum destruendum. Et respondit illi rex Angliæ: "Proditor non sum, nec fui, "nec ero; et pacem, quam vobiscum feci, in nullo "sum transgressus, nec transgrediar quamdiu vixero: "et de facili credere non possum, quod rex Franciæ hæc "de me vobis mandaverit, cum ipse dominus meus sit, et "socius adjuratus in illa peregrinatione." Cui rex Tancredus respondens ait: "Ego trado vobis litteras quas ipse "mihi misit per ducem Burgundiæ, et si dux Burgundiæ "negaverit quod ipse has litteras mihi ex parte domini "sui regis Franciæ attulisset, ego id dirationare[2] ad"versus eum paratus sum per unum de ducibus meis." Et sic cum litteris illis de manu regis Tancredi receptis, rex Angliæ Messanam reversus est.[3]

Benedict, ii. 159.

Benedict, ii. 160.

He gives him Philip's treacherous letters.

De colloquio inter regem Franciæ et regem Tancredum.

March 7-8. Philip visits Tancred at Taormina.

Coolness between Richard and Philip.

Et eodem die rex Franciæ venit Tavermin, et locutus est cum rege Tancredo, et cum illo moram fecit ibi per unam noctem, et in crastino rediit Messanam. Rex vero Angliæ in iram commotus adversus regem Franciæ, nec faciem hilarem nec pacem spondentem ei prætendebat, sed opportunitatem quærebat, ut ab eo cum suis recederet. Inquirente igitur rege Franciæ cur hoc esset, mandavit illi rex Angliæ, per Philippum comitem Flandriæ, omnia verba quæ rex Siciliæ dixerat ei de illo, et in testimonium facti

[1] *servaret*] servarat, Savile.

[2] *dirationare*] disrationare, B. D. I.

[3] *reversus est*] This conversation is given in different language by Benedict.

Benedict, ii. 160. ostendit ei prædictas litteras. Quod cum regi Franciæ constaret, male sibi conscius obmutuit, ignorans quid contra hæc diceret. Tandem tamen ad se reversus ait: "Nunc "scio vere quod rex Angliæ quærit causas malignandi "adversus me, quia hæc verba ficta sunt et mendacia: "sed credo quod ipse cogitavit hæc mala adversum "me, ut Alesiam sororem meam dimittat, quam ipse sibi "desponsandam juravit: sed pro certo sciat, quod si ille "dimiserit eam, et aliam duxerit in uxorem, ero illi "et suis inimicus quamdiu vixero." His auditis rex Angliæ respondit, quod [1] sororem illius sibi in uxorem ducere nulla ratione posset, quia rex Angliæ pater suus eam cognoverat, et filium ex ea genuerat, et ad hoc probandum multos produxit testes, qui parati erant modis omnibus hoc probare.

A.D. 1191. March.

Philip disowns the letters.

Richard refuses to marry Alais

De concordia facta inter regem Franciæ et regem Angliæ apud Messanam.

Quod cum regi Franciæ per multorum assertiones innotuit, consilio comitis Flandriæ et aliorum fidelium suorum adquievit; et ut omnia mala, tam de his quam de aliis, inter ipsum et regem Angliæ remitterentur, ipse quietum clamavit regem a fide et sacramentis, et omni conventione quam cum illo fecerat super matrimonio contrahendo inter illum et Alesiam sororem suam; et pro hac conventione rex Angliæ spopondit se daturum regi Franciæ per quinquennium, singulis annis, duo millia marcarum sterlingorum, de quibus ipse in principio hujus conventionis tradidit regi Franciæ duo millia marcarum. Et cum ipsi in terras suas redirent, rex Angliæ traderet regi Franciæ Alesiam sororem suam liberam, et Gysortium, et cætera omnia quæ rex Franciæ cum sorore sua ei in matrimonio concesserat. Et sub hac conventione rex Franciæ dedit regi Angliæ licentiam ducendi in [2] uxorem quamcunque vellet: et insuper concessit ei, et carta sua confirmavit, quod ducatus Britanniæ in

The count of Flanders mediates.

Benedict, ii. 161.

Richard pays a large sum to Philip to break off the marriage and obtain the homage of Brittany.

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[1] *quod*] quidem, I.; om. D | [2] *in*] om. D. I.

A.D. 1191. March. Agreement between Richard and Philip. perpetuum pertineat ad dominium ducis Normanniæ, et ut dux Britanniæ semper sit homo ducis Normanniæ, et ei respondeat sicut ligio domino suo; et dux Normanniæ respondeat regi Franciæ tam de ducatu Britanniæ, quam de ducatu Normanniæ. Et sic in illa die facti sunt amici rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ, et omnes conventiones illas fide et sacramentis, sub sigillorum suorum testimonio, confirmaverunt. Benedict, ii. 161.

De recessu regis Franciæ a Messana versus Accaron.

March 30. Philip sails to Acre, where he arrives April 20. Et eodem mense Martii, tertio kalendas Aprilis, Sabbato, Philippus rex Franciæ recessit a portu Messanæ cum toto navigio suo, et vicesimo secundo die sequenti, scilicet, die Sabbati in hebdomada Paschæ, venit ipse cum exercitu suo ad obsidionem Accon.

Rex vero Angliæ, et exercitus ejus, remanserunt apud Messanam post recessum regis Franciæ.

De adventu Alienor reginæ ad Messanam.

March 30. Arrival of Eleanor and Berengaria. Et eodem die quo rex Franciæ recessit a Messana, venit illuc regina Alienor, mater Ricardi regis Angliæ, et adduxit secum Berengeram filiam Sanctii regis Navarræ,[1] quam idem rex Angliæ in uxorem erat ducturus. Et quarta die sequenti[2] prædicta regina Alienor inde recessit versus Angliam, per Romam transitura propter negotium Gaufridi Eboracensis electi: per illam enim mandavit rex Angliæ summo pontifici, et humiliter postulavit, ut ipse electionem prædicti Gaufridi confirmaret, et eum in archiepiscopum Eboracensem consecraret, vel ab alio consecrari permitteret. Abeunte itaque regina Alienor, filia regis Navarræ remansit in custodia regis Angliæ, cum sorore ejusdem regis, Johanna regina Siciliæ.

April 2. Eleanor goes home by way of Rome.

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[1] Sancho VI., 1150–1194.

[2] *quarta die sequenti*] April 2. The queen had come from England through France, by the Great S. Bernard, and through the plains of Lombardy. R. de Dic. 662. That she should return by Rome is very probable. If she did she must have been there about the time of pope Clement's death, and her business must have been transacted with Celestine III. The author of the *Itinerarium* merely says that she went from Messina to Salerno by barge, and thence to Normandy.

Clemens papa obiit: Cœlestinus papa efficitur.

A.D. 1191.

Benedict, ii. 161.

Mense Aprilis, quarto idus ejusdem mensis, feria quarta, obiit Clemens papa tertius, cui successit Jacinctus,[1] diaconus cardinalis Sanctæ Mariæ in Cosmedin, et in ipsa vigilia Paschæ ordinatus est in sacerdotem; et in die Paschæ, qui in xviii°. kalendas Maii evenit, in Romanum pontificem consecratus est, ab Octoviano Hostiensi episcopo, et vocatus est Cœlestinus papa tertius.

April 10. Clement III. dies.

April 14. Celestine III. consecrated.

Benedict, ii. 162.

Cœlestinus papa coronavit Henricum Romanorum imperatorem, et Constanciam uxorem suam in imperatricem.[2]

In crastino autem consecrationis suæ dominus papa transtulit se a Laterano usque ad ecclesiam Beati Petri, et venit ibi obviam ei Henricus Alemannorum rex, cum Constantia uxore sua, et cum copiosa plebe armata. Romani vero clauserunt portas urbis, et custodierunt eas in manu forti et armata, non permittentes eos intrare. Dominus vero papa ante ostium ecclesiæ Beati Petri, supra gradus, recepit sacramentum a prædicto Alemannorum rege, quod ipse ecclesiam Dei et jura ecclesiastica fideliter servaret illibata, et quod

April 15. Celestine III. receives Henry VI. at St. Peter's.

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[1] *Jacinctus*] cardinal deacon of S. Mary in Cosmedin, 1144–1191.

[2] Hoveden is the only authority for the story, that Celestine kicked the crown from the emperor's head; which is commonly regarded as apocryphal. There is, however, nothing improbable in such an event; and if Eleanor were at Rome at the time, Hoveden's authority is good. The whole thing may have been accidental, for Celestine was an infirm old man; and it may have been interpreted as illustrating the well known imperious character of the pontiff. But it is quite as likely to have been intentional on the part of the pope, who was an uncompromising maintainer of his own supremacy, and whose temper at this advanced age was uncontrollable. On the whole I am inclined to think that Hoveden's credibility would not have been doubted, notwithstanding his being the sole authority, if it had not been for the controversial questions affected by the story. But as some doubt hangs over Eleanor's visit to Rome, I cannot venture to assert the truth of it.

A.D. 1191. April 15. Coronation of Henry VI. and Constantia.

rectam justitiam teneret, et quod patrimonium Beati Petri, si quid inde ablatum esset, in integrum restitueret, et quod Tusculanum ei redderet. Deinde introduxit eos dominus papa in ecclesiam, et unxit eum in imperatorem, et uxorem suam in imperatricem. Sedebat autem dominus papa in cathedra pontificali, tenens coronam auream imperialem inter pedes suos, et imperator inclinato capite recepit coronam, et imperatrix similiter, de pedibus domini papæ. Dominus autem papa statim percussit cum pede suo[1] coronam imperatoris, et dejecit eam in terra, significans quod ipse potestatem ejiciendi eum ab imperio habet, si ille demeruerit: sed cardinales statim arripientes coronam imposuerunt eam capiti imperatoris.

Benedict, ii. 162.

The pope kicks the crown from the emperor's head.

Causa quare Cœlestinus papa tradiderit Romanis civitatem suam Tusculanum.

The history of the dispute between the Romans and the pope about Tusculum.

Ut autem sciatur causa, quare dominus papa Cœlestinus reddiderit Romanis Tusculanum civitatem suam, pauca repetamus, quæ prius gesta sunt. Electo et consecrato in summum pontificem Clemente (videlicet, ut moris est, Pisis,[2] ubi bonæ memoriæ Gregorius VIII. migrarat ad Dominum ex hac luce), domino Prænestino episcopo, misit idem dominus Clemens absque ulla mora legatos suos ad cives Romanos, ut inter se et illos pax deberet firmissima reformari. Discordia siquidem concepta est occasione Tusculani, civitatis scilicet propriæ domini papæ, per x. milliaria distantis ab urbe, quam Romani gwerra insatiabili, ut eam sibi subjicerent, impugnabant: et etiam occasione conflictus qui fuerat inter Romam et Tusculanum, per quem plusquam quinque millia Romanorum eadem die gladio

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[1] *suo*] sua, B. I.

[2] Clement III., Paul Scolaro, previously bishop of Palestrina, was elected pope at Pisa, Dec. 19, 1187.

perierunt, a tempore Alexandri papæ usque ad tempora praedicti Clementis, inter ecclesiam duraverat et Romanos. Legati autem cum venissent ad urbem, induxerunt Romanos ut tanquam filii benigni ad patrem suum spiritualem corda sua converterent, ipsumque ut pium patrem redeuntem ad eos devotissime curarent recipere, ac fierent unum de cætero sicut condecebat. Quibus responderunt in hæc verba Romani: "Hoc, " quia sanctum et dignum est, ardenti desiderio, etiam " plus quam dominus et pater noster, sicut veri et " humiles filii, omni mora sublata, fieri peroptamus; " ita tamen si damna nobis emendare, et injuriam " simul, et verecundiam, quam occasione guerræ Tus- " culani sustinuimus olim cum patribus nostris, et " adhuc sustinemus, nobiscum pariter voluerit vindi- " care; et ad impugnandum Tusculanum, si necesse " fuerit, milites suos in expensis propriis mittere, si " pax ad honorem urbis, per subjectionem, et tributum " annuum in scriptis redactum a Tusculano solven- " dum urbi, non poterit inter nos reformari. Si etiam " Tusculanum ad voluntatem nostram faciendam tra- " dere nobis promiserit, si post refutationem ineundæ " pacis secundum antedictum tenorem inter nos et " Tusculanum, aliquo dierum poterit Tusculanum " habere." His itaque et quibusdam aliis libertatibus tandem a supradicto Clemente papa Romanis concessis, idem Clemens accessit ad urbem, de qua extiterat oriundus, unde secundum conventionem dictam, Tusculanum et cives ipsius,[1] cum juxta petitionem suprascriptam a Romanis factam, non posset idem dominus Clemens Tusculanum Romanis subjicere, ex tunc eos Romanis exponens, durius impugnabat. Et licet per quatuor fere annos vixerit in papatu, guerram tamen ipsam cum Romanis nullatenus ad finem perduxit; quamvis majorem fere partem Tusculanensium, quos

A.D. 1191.
Clement III. fails to settle the quarrel.

[1] *secundum . . . . ipsius*] om. Savile.

A.D. 1191. Cruelty of the Romans to the men of Tusculum.

extra munitionem suam capiebant Romani positi in insidiis, diversis pœnis et cruciatibus interfecissent. Quosdam enim ex illis, quos capiebant, morti tradebant omnino, quosdam mutilatos pedibus, quosdam orbatos oculis, quosdam truncatis manibus collo suspensis, ad propria remittebant. Quæ omnia se malle pati constantissime affirmabant, quam severitati subjici Romanorum. Mortuo vero Clemente, et domino Jacincto, tunc[1] diacono cardinali Sanctæ Mariæ in Cosmedin, in summum pontificem Cœlestino postmodum substituto, et Henrico tunc rege ad coronam imperii recipiendam, qui ad hoc a domino Clemente vocatus fuerat, festinante; Romani, antequam idem rex accessisset ad urbem, supplicarunt domino Cœlestino, ut antequam prædictum regem in imperatorem ungeret, obtineret ab ipso,[2] ut civitatem Tusculanensem sibi redderet, quæ in ipsius posita erat potestate. Ad ipsum enim se converterant, et ipsius patrocinium invocarant, ex quo supra nominatus Clemens exposuit, ut dictum est, illos Romanis; eidem domino Cœlestino instantissime proponentes, quod hæc erat via qua Tusculanum ad eorum manus rediret, et quod ad faciendum hoc tenebatur ex conventione prædicta.

Their proposals to Celestine III.

Quod ita concessum est illis. Euntes autem nuncii domini papæ ad regem, firmiter proposuerunt eidem, quod de Tusculano antedicta facta erat conventio inter summum pontificem et Romanos, et ut ideo domino papæ Tusculanum redderetur, necessitas exigebat. Quod cum intellexisset rex, et advertisset quod aliter coronationi suæ de facili posset impedimentum præstari, petitioni domini papæ, super Tusculanum[3] reddendo, liberaliter[4] adquievit; factumque est ita, quod coronato rege in imperatorem, altera die traditum est Tusculanum ab eodem imperatore domino papæ; et a domino

Celestine demands Tusculum of the emperor, who gives it up to him.

[1] *tunc*] om. D. I.

[2] *ipso*] isto, B. I.

[3] *Tusculanum*] eum, ins. B. I.; ei, ins. D.

[4] *liberaliter*] om. D. I.

papa sequente tertia[1] die Romanis, atque a Romanis destructum ita, quod lapis super lapidem non remansit. A.D. 1191. April. It is destroyed by the Romans.

De recessu Ricardi regis Angliæ a Messana.

Benedict, ii. 162. Interim Ricardus rex Angliæ, mense Aprilis, fregit et comminuit castellum suum, quod dicebatur Mategriffun, ante regressum suum a Messana, sicut promiserat regi Tancredo. Richard demolishes Mategriffon. Et feria quarta ante Cœnam Domini, ipse cum toto exercitu suo et navigio suo recessit a portu Messanæ, cum centum quinquaginta magnis navibus, et cum quinquaginta tribus galeis bene armatis; April 10. He sails from Messina. et in die Parasceuæ Domini, circa horam diei nonam, venit ventus horribilis ab austro, et navigium ejus dissipavit. April 12. Great storm at sea. Rex vero, cum parte navigii sui, applicuit in insula de Crete,[2] deinde in insula de Rodes. Buscia autem magna, in qua erant regina Siciliæ et filia regis Navarræ, cum multis de familiaribus regis, et duæ aliæ busciæ cum illa, tempestate adhuc sæviente, pervenerunt ad insulam de Cypre; rege nesciente quo busciæ illæ devenissent.

Causa quare rex Angliæ invasit Cyprum.

Post tempestatem misit rex galeas quærere busciam illam, in qua regina soror ejus, et filia regis Navarræ erant, et invenerunt eas extra portum de Limeszun.[3] The ship of Berengaria driven to Cyprus. Aliæ duæ busciæ, quæ cum illis venerunt ante portum de Limeszun, perierunt, in quibus multi milites et servientes de familia regis submersi sunt: inter quos, proh dolor, magister Rogerus Malus Catulus, vicecancellarius regis, submersus est, et sigillum regis, quod gestabat in collo The vice-chancellor drowned.

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[1] *tertia*] om. D. I.

[2] *in insula de Crete*] April 17. On the following day he re-embarked; and on the 22nd landed in Rhodes. There he stayed ten days, and re-embarked on the 1st of May. Itiner. 177, *et seqq.*

[3] *Limeszun*] Limesun, D. I.; Lineszun, G.

A.D. 1191. May.

The emperor of Cyprus imprisons the ship-wrecked people.

ejus suspensum, inveniebatur.[1] Catalla autem submersorum thesaurizavit sibi Ysakius imperator de Cypre; et omnes qui naufragium illud evaserunt, cepit et incarceravit, et pecunias eorum eis abstulit. Qui etiam plusquam furiali crudelitate debacchatus, busciam illam in qua regina Siciliæ et filia regis Navarræ erant, non permisit portum intrare.

Benedict, ii. 162, 163.

Richard demands redress.

Quod cum regi Angliæ nunciatum esset, festinanter ad earum præsidium venit, cum galeis multis, et cum magno storio navium; et invenit eas extra portum de Limeszun, ventis et mari expositas. Et iratus[2] inde valde, misit nuncios suos ad imperatorem de Cypre, semel, secundo, tertio,[3] petens et cum humili deprecatione postulans, quatenus intuitu Divini amoris, et propter reverentiam vivificæ crucis, peregrinos suos, quos in vinculis tenebat captivos, permitteret abire illæsos, et ut catalla eorum eis restitueret, et ut redderet illi catalla hominum suorum submersorum, ad faciendum inde servitium Dei pro animabus illorum.

The emperor refuses.

Quibus imperator ille superbe locutus est, dicens quod ipse neque peregrinos redderet, neque catalla submersorum.

Richard prepares to attack.

His speech.

Audiens itaque rex quod nefandus ille imperator nihil pro illo faceret, nisi per vim, præcepit universo exercitui suo ut arma sua caperent, et armati sequerentur eum. Et ait illis; "Sequimini me, et[4] vindicemus "injurias quas perfidus ille imperator Deo et nobis fecit, "qui peregrinos nostros contra Dei justitiam et æqui- "tatem in vinculis tenet. Et nolite timere eos, quia "inermes sunt, fugæ potius quam bello parati; nos "vero bene sumus armati, et

"Arma tenenti
"Omnia dat, qui justa negat.

Lucan, Phars. i. 349.

"Et oportet ut viriliter pugnemus ad liberandum "populum Dei a perditione; scientes quod aut oportet "nos vincere aut mori. Sed certam habeo in Domino

[1] *inveniebatur*] inventum est, B. D. I.; inveniebatur is corrected to inventum est in A. in a later hand; G. has inventum est. Roger had been vice-chancellor in attendance on the king since he left Normandy, John of Alençon being left behind in the same capacity in France. Roger was drowned April 24.

[2] *iratus*] juratus, Savile.

[3] *tertio*] om. D. I.; et tertio, B.

[4] *et*] ut, Savile.

Benedict, ii. 163.

"fiduciam, quod Ipse dabit nobis hodie victoriam de isto "perfido imperatore, et de gente sua." Interim imperator ille occupaverat littora maris undique, cum gente sua; et pauci illorum erant armati, et fere omnes indocti ad prælium; tamen stabant in littore, cum gladiis et lanceis et fustibus, habentes asseres et ligna, et sedilia, et arcas, ante illos pro muro. Cum autem rex Angliæ et sui essent armati, exierunt de magnis navibus in naviculas et galeas, et remigando venerunt ad terram cum magno impetu; et sagittarii præibant, facientes cæteris viam perviam.[1] Et cum applicuissent, rege prævio, impetum fecerunt unanimiter in imperatorem et Griffones suos; et quasi imber super gramina, ita cecidere sagittæ super pugnantes.

A.D. 1191. May 6. Defence of the shore.

Benedict ii. 164.

Ysakius imperator Cypri versus est in fugam.

Et cum diu pugnassent, imperator cum suis versus est in fugam: quos rex Angliæ secutus est in ore gladii, et stragem magnam ex obstantibus faciens, vivos cepit multos, et nisi nox celerius superveniret, forsitan rex illo die[2] cepisset imperatorem. Sed quia rex et gens sua pedites erant, et vias montium, per quos imperator et sui fugiebant, ignorabant, cum præda magna redierunt ad villam de Limeszun, quam Griffones reliquerant: et invenerunt in ea abundantiam frumenti, et vini, et olei, et carnium.

Flight of the emperor.

Desertion and capture of Limasol.

Eodem die,[3] post victoriam regis Angliæ, soror ejus regina Siciliæ, et filia regis Navarræ, intraverunt portum de Limeszun cum cætero navigio regis. Imperator vero, religatis hominibus suis sibi, qui dispersi erant per dumos in convallibus, eadem nocte castra sua metatus est quasi per quinque milliaria ab exercitu regis Angliæ, sub juramento affirmans quod in crastino dimicaret cum rege Angliæ. Quod cum rex audisset per exploratores suos, longe ante lucem se et exercitum suum armari fecit, et sine tumultu procedens, venit ad exercitum imperatoris, et invenit eos dormientes. Et cum magna et horribili exclamatione intravit tentoria eorum, et excitati a somno facti sunt velut mortui, nescientes quid face-

May 7. Richard attacks Isaac's camp.

[1] *perviam*] om. Savile.
[2] *illo die*] May 6, Itiner. 191.
[3] *Eodem die*] die crastino, Itiner. 192: May 7.

A.D. 1191. May. rent aut quo fugerent, quia invadebat eos exercitus regis Angliæ velut lupi rapaces, et fecerunt ex illis stragem magnam. Benedict, ii. 164.

Ysakius imperator iterum fugit victus.

Narrow escape of the emperor. Imperator vero cum paucis suorum nudus evasit, relinquens post se thesauros et equos et arma, et tentoria sua pulcherrima, et vexillum suum imperiale per totum auro desuper contextum, quod rex Angliæ statim destinavit[1] Beato Edmundo, regi et martyri glorioso. Et sic rex Angliæ summa potitus victoria rediit ad Limeszun, hostium suorum magnificus triumphator.

May 11. Arrival of Guy of Lusignan. Tertia die sequenti[2] venerunt ad regem Angliæ in insula de Cypre Gwido rex Jerusalem, et Gaufridus de Lezinan frater ejus, et Amfridus Del Turun, et Raimundus princeps Antiochiæ, et Boimundus filius ejus, comes Tripolis, et Leo frater Rupini de la Muntaine,[3] et obtulerunt regi servitia sua, et homines sui devenerunt, et fidelitates ei juraverunt contra omnes homines. Benedict, ii. 165.

Ysakius imperator fecit pacem cum Ricardo rege.

Isaac offers peace. Eodem die imperator de Cypre, videns se omnino destitui virtute et auxilio suorum, supplices legationes[4] misit ad regem Angliæ, et obtulit ei pacem in hac forma, scilicet, quod ipse

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[1] *destinavit*] om. I.; contulit, D.; destinaverat, Savile.

[2] *Tertia*] vero, ins. D. Sabbato sequenti, Itiner. 197: May 11.

[3] These are Guy and Geoffrey of Lusignan; Henfrid III. of Toron, the divorced husband of queen Isabella of Jerusalem; Bohemond III. (not Raymond), prince of Antioch; Raymond III. (not Bohemond), count of Tripoli, his son; and Leo or Livo, a kinsman of Rupin of the Mountain, who succeeded him and became king of Armenia in 1197. These nobles were the party in opposition to Conrad of Montferrat. Guy had lost his kingdom through him, as Henfrid had lost both kingdom and wife. Rupin had married Henfrid's sister, and Raymond of Tripoli was his son-in-law. Bohemond was closely connected with Richard: his father was Raymond of Poictiers, queen Eleanor's uncle. His mother, Constance of Antioch, was grand-daughter of king Baldwin II. Bohemond stood next in succession to the crown of Palestine in case of the extinction of queen Mellicent's descendants.

[4] *supplices legationes*] supplicationes, B. D. I.

Benedict. ii. 165. daret ei viginti millia marcarum auri in recompensationem pecuniarum submersorum; et illos qui capti fuerant post naufragium, cum catallis suis liberos[1] redderet; et ipse in propria persona sua cum illo in terram Jerosolimitanam iret, et moram cum illo faceret in servitio Dei et suo, cum centum militibus, et quadringentis Turcoplis equitibus, et cum quingentis peditibus bene armatis; et insuper daret ei filiam suam in obsidem,[2] quam unicam habebat sibi hæredem; et traderet ei castella sua in pignore; et fidelitatem sibi et suis in perpetuum servandam juraret, et imperium suum de illo teneret. His igitur ex utraque parte concessis, venit imperator ad regem Angliæ; et coram rege Jerosolimitano, et principe Antiochiæ, et cæteris baronibus suis, homo regis Angliæ devenit, et fidelitatem ei juravit. Benedict, ii. 166. Juravit etiam quod ab eo non recederet, donec omnia implerentur quæ conventionaverat. Rex vero tradidit imperatori tentoria sibi et suis, et assignavit ei milites et servientes, qui custodirent eos.

A.D. 1191. May 11. Submission of Isaac.

Iterum Ysakius imperator fugit.

Eodem autem[3] die post prandium pœnituit imperatorem fecisse talem finem cum rege Angliæ; et dum milites, qui eum custodire deberent, somnum meridianum caperent, furtive ab eis recessit, et mandavit regi quod nullam de cætero cum illo pacem vel concordiam custodiret. Quod, ut videbatur, satis placuit regi. Ipse enim, sicut vir prudens et circumspectus, statim tradidit magnam exercitus sui partem Gwidoni regi, et principi Antiochiæ, et cæteris qui ad eum venerant, et præcepit eis ut sequerentur imperatorem, et caperent, si possent; et ipse rex divisis galeis suis in duas partes, medietatem illarum tradidit Roberto de Turneham,[4] et præcepit ut ille circumdasset insulam ex una parte, et si quas invenisset naves vel galeas, cepisset eas; et factum est ita. Rex vero cum reliqua parte galearum suarum circuivit alteram partem insulæ, et

The same day the emperor flies, and defies Richard.

Richard orders Guy to pursue the emperor.

He and Robert Turnham sail round Cyprus.

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[1] *liberos*] liberis, B. D. I.

[2] *obsidem*] obsidione, B. D. I.

[3] *autem*] ins. as a correction in A.

[4] *Turneham*] Turnham, B. I.; Turnam, D.

A.D. 1191. May. The castles are surrendered to Richard.

ipse et Robertus ceperunt naves et galeas quotquot invenerunt in circuitu insulæ. Custodes autem civitatum, et castellorum, et portuum, reliquerunt ea vacua in omni loco ubi rex et prædictus Robertus venerunt; et fugientes abierunt in montana. Quibus expletis, rex et Robertus redierunt ad Limeszun. Gwido autem rex, et qui cum eo missi fuerant, nihil proficientes, ad regem redierunt. Benedict, ii. 166.

The Cypriots accept Richard as lord.

Interim homines imperatoris confluebant ad regem Angliæ, et homines sui devenerunt, et terras suas de illo tenuerunt. Quadam vero die, cum supradictus imperator ad prandium suum sedisset, et comites sui cum eo, quidam illorum ait illi; "Domine, consulimus vobis "ut pacem faciatis cum rege Angliæ, ne tota gens "vestra pereat." Iratus vero imperator propter hunc sermonem, percussit eum cum cultello quem tenebat, et amputavit nasum ejus qui consilium illud dederat: post prandium ille, qui percussus fuerat, abiit ad regem Angliæ, et adhæsit ei.

Isaac alienates his followers.

Berengera, filia Sanctii regis Navarræ, desponsata est regi Angliæ Ricardo.

May 12. Marriage of Richard and Berengaria.

Mense vero Maii, iv^to^. idus ejusdem mensis, die Dominica, festo Sanctorum Nerei et Achillei atque Pancratii martyrum; Berengera, filia regis Navarræ, desponsata est Ricardo regi Angliæ in insula de Cipre apud Limeszun, Nicholao regis capellano[1] officium sacramenti illius perficiente: et eodem die fecit illam rex coronari et consecrari in reginam Angliæ, a Johanne Ebroicense episcopo, administrantibus illi in officio illo archiepiscopis de Appamia et de Auxia, et episcopo de Baonia. Benedict, ii. 167.

Richard takes Nicosia and other strongholds.

Deinde post celebrationem nuptiarum suarum rex Angliæ promovit exercitum suum, et reddita est ei nobilis civitas quæ vocatur Nichosie; et cum venisset rex cum exercitu suo ad fortissimum castellum quod dicitur Cherin, in quo erat filia imperatoris, exivit illa obviam regi, et cecidit prona in terram ante pedes regis, et

[1] Nicolas, dean of S. Julian's, and afterwards bishop of Le Mans.

Benedict, ii. 167. tradidit ei castellum illud, misericordiam postulans. Et rex misertus illius misit illam ad reginam; et cum processisset rex, reddita sunt ei castellum quod dicitur Baffes, et castellum quod dicitur Buffevent, et castellum quod dicitur Deudeamur, et castellum quod dicitur Candare.[1] Deinde redditæ sunt ei omnes civitates et munitiones imperii. A.D. 1191. May. Surrender of castles to Richard.

Infelix autem imperator ille latitabat in quadam abbatia fortissima, quæ dicitur Caput Sancti Andreæ. Quo cum rex venisset, ut illum comprehenderet, imperator exivit obviam ei, et ad pedes ejus provolutus, posuit se in misericordia illius de vita et membris, nulla mentione facta de regno. Sciebat enim quod omnia jam erant in manu et potestate regis, sed solum hoc petiit, ne ipse mitteretur in compedibus et manicis ferreis. Et audivit rex petitionem illius, et tradidit illum Radulfo filio Godefridi, camerario suo, in custodia,[2] et præcepit sibi fieri compedes et manicas de argento et auro, et ut ipse in illis mitteretur. Perfecta autem sunt omnia hæc in insula de Cypre mense Junii,[3] prima die ejusdem mensis, Sabbato in vigilia Pentecosten. Perfectis igitur omnibus, misit rex Angliæ imperatorem cum custodibus suis usque ad civitatem Tripolis, et tradidit insulam de Cypre Ricardo de Camvilla et Roberto de Turneham in custodia. The emperor himself surrenders. He is bound in chains of gold and silver. June 1. Benedict, ii. 167, 168. Isaac sent to Tripoli.

Benedict, ii. 168. Eodem die, scilicet in vigilia Pentecosten, obiit Philippus comes Flandriæ in obsidione Accon; et rex Franciæ dominus suus saisivit omnes thesauros et possessiones illius in manu sua: et ab illa hora quærebat opportunitatem recedendi ab obsidione Accon, et revertendi in regionem suam, ut comitatum Flandriæ sibi subjugasset. Philip of Flanders dies at Acre.

Benedict, ii. 168. Et[4] eodem die, scilicet in vigilia Pentecosten, regina Angliæ, et regina Siciliæ, soror regis Angliæ, et filia imperatoris de Cypre, applicuerunt apud Accon cum majori parte storii regis Angliæ. Arrival of the queens at Acre.

Interim rex Angliæ accepit ab universis hominibus insulæ medietatem omnium mobilium suorum, et confirma- Richard taxes Cyprus.

[1] *Candare*] Candaira seems to be the same place as Caput Sancti Andreæ; so that Hoveden has erred here in going beyond his authority.

[2] *custodia*] custodiam, D. I.

[3] *Junii*] Julii, corrected to Junii, in I.; Julii, A. B. G. The Itinerarium places the surrender a day earlier, Friday, May 31 (p. 203).

[4] *Et*] om. B. D. G. I.

A.D. 1191. June 6. vit illis leges, et institutiones, quas habebant tempore Manuelis[1] imperatoris Constantinopolitani. Benedict, ii. 168.

Richard leaves Cyprus, and is refused admission into Tyre.

Deinde feria quarta in hebdomada Pentecosten, recessit rex Angliæ ab insula de Cypre cum galeis suis, et in crastino applicuit in terra Suliæ apud Tyrum. Sed custodes Tyri non permiserunt eum intrare Tyrum, dicentes quod rex Franciæ, et Conradus Marchio, prohibuerunt ne ipse Tyrum intraret. Et ideo oportebat eum nocte illa jacere in tentoriis extra murum Tyri.

June 7. He encounters a great ship of the Saracens, under French colours;

Et crastino, scilicet feria sexta in hebdomada Pentecosten, cum ipse iter ageret versus Accon, vidit in mari ante se busciam quandam magnam, onustam viris bellicosis, et ornatam vexillis regis Franciæ et sociorum suorum. Et mittens ad eos duas galeas, interrogavit cujus esset navis, et unde venisset: et responderunt se esse homines regis Franciæ, et venisse de Antiochia, volentes ad obsidionem Accon ire. Et qui missi fuerant, cum tali responso redierunt ad regem Angliæ. Quibus ipse dixit, "Si homines regis "Franciæ sunt, ite, et dicite illis ut exspectent, et loquantur "mecum." Et dum irent, homines busciæ male sibi conscii, quia omnes pagani erant, armaverunt se, et pessime receperunt nuncios regis, mittentes in eos sagittas et ignem Græcum. Quod cum rex vidisset,[2] accessit propius, et dixit universis qui cum eo venerant, "Persequimini eos, "et comprehendite: si enim abierint, amorem meum perdetis "in perpetuum; et si eos comprehenderitis, omnia catalla "eorum vestra sint." Tunc omnes unanimiter impetum fecerunt in busciam illam, et cum rostris galearum perforaverunt eam undique, et aqua intrans per foramina traxit illam in profundum. Et cum pagani cœpissent mergi, projecerunt arma sua in mare, et fractis vasis suis fuderunt ignem Græcum, et relicta nave, nudi prosilierunt in mare. Sed galiotæ regis interfecerunt eos, et vivos retinuerunt multos. Erant autem in buscia illa pagani numero mille et quingenti, quos Saladinus collegerat[3] ex omnibus paganis, ut mitteret eos in civitatem Accon. Quibus devictis et interfectis, rex distribuit omnia catalla illorum[4] galiotis suis.

Benedict, ii. 169.

and takes it.

June 8. He arrives at Acre.

In crastino, scilicet die Sabbati in hebdomada Pentecosten, venit ad obsidionem Accon; et de paganis, quos in navi cepit, distribuit regi Franciæ et comitibus exercitus.

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[1] *Manuelis*] Manuellis, D. I.
[2] *vidisset*] audisset, D. I.
[3] *collegerat*] legaverat, Savile.
[4] *illorum*] eorum, B. D. G. I.

Benedict, ii. 169. Cum autem pagani qui in civitate Accon erant, audissent quod pagani qui in buscia erant, in quibus habebant fiduciam, submersi essent, et quod rex Angliæ magnificus triumphator ad obsidionem venisset, timuerunt eum valde, et de die in diem quærebant opportunitatem, ut civitatem ei traderent pro licentia abeundi cum vita et membris. Rex vero Franciæ, qui Sabbato in hebdomada Paschæ ad obsidionem venerat, jam ante adventum regis Angliæ domum lapideam turritam fecit sibi, et perrarias suas, et hurdicios suos, et alias machinas suas bellicas paraverat, et in locis congruis locaverat. Sed nihil in eis operatus est; expectabat enim adventum regis Benedict, ii. 170. Angliæ. Qui cum venisset, statim erexit machinas suas bellicas. Pisani vero et Januenses venerunt ad eum, et obtulerunt ei servitia sua; et ipse Pisanos recepit, et Januenses refutavit, quia ipsi fidelitatem juraverant regi Franciæ, et Conrado Marchioni. Pisani vero fecerunt regi Angliæ homagium et fidelitates: et rex Angliæ confirmavit illis carta sua libertates et consuetudines quas habere solebant in terra Jerosolimitana.

A.D. 1191. June 8. The Saracens deliberate on surrender.

Richard sets up his engines. He accepts the fealty of the Pisans, not of the Genoese.

Tertia autem die post adventum regis Angliæ, rex Franciæ dimisit omnes servientes quos prius habebat ad machinas suas bellicas custodiendas; et rex Angliæ retinuit ad servitium suum, quos rex Franciæ dimiserat. Unde factum est, quod pagani qui erant in civitate, invenientes machinas regis Franciæ sine custode, combusserunt eas.

June 10. He hires Philip's engineers.

Deinde uterque rex incidit in ægritudinem, quam Arnaldiam vocant; in qua ipsi fere usque ad mortem laborantes capillos suos deposuerunt. Sed hoc Dei fit misericordia, quod ambo convaluerunt de infirmitate illa, et facti sunt robustiores, et animosiores in servitio Dei.

Sickness of both the kings.

Et quia Gwido rex conquestus fuerat illis, quod Conradus Marchio vi et injuste ei abstulerat redditus et jura regni, tradiderunt redditus fori rerum venalium et redditus portus Accon in manu Templariorum et Hospitalorum colligendos, et custodiendos, donec provisum esset quis illorum de jure illos habere deberet.

Quarrel of Guy and Conrad.

Et Gaufridus de Lezinant, frater Gwidonis regis, appellavit Conradum Marchionem de fide læsa, et de perjurio, et de proditione facta adversus regem fratrem suum, et adversus exercitum Christianorum; et de prosequenda appellatione sua pignus Benedict, ii. 171. dedit. Conradus vero male sibi conscius juri stare noluit, sed declinavit a turba, et exivit foras, omnibus post illum clamantibus, et dicentibus, "Proditor est, qui juri[1] stare recu-

Geoffrey of Lusignan challenges Conrad, who flies.

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[1] *juri*] jure, I.

A.D. 1191. June.

"sat." Nemo tamen misit in eum manum, ne forte tumultus fieret in populo. S. Mark, xiv. 2.

Mischievous influence of Conrad on Philip.

Ipse autem Tyrum abiit: et statim orta est dissensio inter reges propter illos, quia rex Franciæ, in quantum potuit, fovebat partem Conradi, et rex Angliæ partem Gwidonis regis. Unde inter reges sæpius oriebantur rixæ et contentiones. Post multum vero temporis misit rex Franciæ pro Conrado, et constituit eum principem domus suæ, et suum familiarem consiliarium, per cujus consilium et admonitionem rex Franciæ multa operatus est contra Deum et salutem animæ suæ. Ipse enim munera Saladini accepit, et factus est ei amicus. Benedict, ii. 171.

Philip demands half Cyprus; Richard in reply demands half Flanders.

Deinde petiit rex Franciæ medietatem insulæ de Cypre, et omnium quæ rex Angliæ per viam adquisierat. Hæc contra, rex Angliæ petiit a rege Franciæ medietatem Flandriæ, et medietatem omnium mobilium comitis Flandriæ et aliorum hominum suorum qui obierant in obsidione Accon, et medietatem Tyri, quam Conradus illi donaverat. Sed utriusque petitio vana fuit et invidiosa; quia conventio facta fuit inter illos tantummodo quod dimidiarent inter se omnes quæstus quos facerent in terra Jerosolimitana.

Renewal of agreement between the kings.

Et iterum hoc idem renovaverunt coram ducibus et principibus exercitus, et[1] cartis et sacramentis confirmaverunt. Et statuerunt Templarios et Hospitalares,[2] et alios viros sapientes in quibus confidebant, ad recipiendum et dimidiandum inter eos acquisitiones suas; et sic facti sunt amici.

Saladin's presents and proposals for peace.

Interim Saladinus, princeps exercitus paganorum, misit frequenter regi Franciæ et regi Angliæ pyra Damascena, et aliorum fructuum suorum copiam, et alia munuscula, ut sic saltem converteret animos eorum ad pacem cum illo faciendam. Ipse enim sæpius obtulit eis pacem et concordiam, tum propter metum filiorum Noradini,[3] qui calumniati sunt super eum totam terram patris eorum, quam Saladinus occupatam tenebat; illi etiam jam cum magno exercitu, per auxilium domini Musse,[4] avun-

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[1] *et*] om. B. D. I.

[2] *Hospitalares*] Hospitalarios, B. D. I.

[3] *filiorum Noradini*] Noureddin Zenghi.

[4] *domini Musse*] The lord of Mosul at this time was Ezzeddin Masoud, the fourth atabek of Irak, 1181–1193, son of Kothbeddin Modoud, the brother of the Great Noureddin

culi eorum, intraverunt terram Saladini, et occupaverunt eam totam usque ad magnum fluvium Eufraten; tum ut gentem suam, quæ in civitate fuerat obsessa, liberaret. Sed ad plenum noluit componere cum regibus. Voluit namque retinere in manu sua civitatem Jerusalem, et Craggum de Monte Regali; et noluerunt reges cum illo sub hac componere forma. Unde factum est, quod perrariæ [1] regum et aliorum virorum non cessabant jactare lapides in murum civitatis et ejus munitiones; neque fossores regum cessabant die ac nocte suffodere murum civitatis.

A.D. 1191. June. The kings decline Saladin's offers, and continue the siege.

Benedict, ii. 172.

Mense Junii,[2] die Dominica in vigilia Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, nono kalendas Julii, luna xxvii., hora diei nona, sol passus est eclipsim, et duravit per tres horas; ita quod obscuratus est sol, et tenebræ factæ sunt super terram, et apparuerunt stellæ in cœlo; et cum eclipsis recessisset, sol redit in pristinum decorem suum.

June 23. Eclipse of the Sun.

In civitate autem Accon erat quidam homo Deo devotus, occultus tamen propter metum paganorum, qui frequenter litteras suas foras misit usque in [3] exercitum Christianorum, Hebraice, Græce, et Latine scriptas, et per illas totum statum et propositum paganorum significavit Christianis. Unde Christiani sæpius præmuniti insidias paganorum vitabant. Sed valde erat molestum Christianis, quod non noverant virum illum, neque nomen ejus: ipse enim nunquam voluit nominare nomen suum, sed in omnibus litteris, quas foras misit, confessus est se esse [4] Christianum; et in scriptis suis semper præponebat, "In nomine Patris, et "Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen." Sed hoc mirandum est,

The unknown Christian in Acre.

Zenghi. Ezzeddin was not now at war with Saladin, his son Aladdin being present with the Mosul contingent in Saladin's army; as were his brother Amadoddin Zenghi, lord of Sinsjar, and Moezzoddin, lord of Mesopotamia. *Bohadin*, 148, 170. Wilken (iv. 358) identifies the "do-"minus Musce" with Kothbeddin Sokman, son of Noureddin, son of Kara Arslan, lord of Diarbekr, who was at this time at war with Saladin's nephew Takieddin Omar, lord of Hamah. Probably the author of the statement in the text confounded the two Noureddins. See note 3 on Ben. Pet. ii. 175.

[1] *perrariæ*] perariæ, B. D. I.

[2] *Junii*] Julii, B. D.; corrected in the margin, I.

[3] *in*] om. B. I.; ad, D.

[4] *esse*] om. B. G. I.; fore, D.

A.D. 1191. June.

quod ipse neque ante captionem civitatis, neque post illius captionem, voluit se manifestare Christianis. Benedict, ii. 172.

The besiegers prepare for an escalade. The Saracens offer to surrender, but the kings refuse.

Eodem vero[1] mense Junii, Christiani impleverunt magnam partem fossati, ut scalas suas muro apponerent. Quod[2] cum vidissent pagani qui fuerant obsessi, obtulerunt regibus civitatem, cum armis et victualibus eorum, pro vita et membris et licentia abeundi. Sed noluerunt reges hoc modo recipere eam, sed petierunt ab eis crucem sanctam, et totam terram Jerosolimitanam, et omnes captivos qui in captione Saladini[3] et suorum erant; et ut Saladinus restaurasset terram Jerosolimitanam in eum statum quo fuit ante captionem Guidonis regis. At Saladinus hoc nullo modo concedere voluit.

Robert Turneham puts down a revolution in Cyprus, after the death of Richard Camvill.

Eodem mense Junii, Ricardus de Camvilla, quem rex Angliæ constituerat unum de justitiariis suis in insula de Cypre, infirmabatur, et sine licentia regis venit ad obsidionem Accon, et ibi mortuus est. Quo defuncto, Griffones et Erminii, qui ad pacem regis nondum venerant, constituerunt sibi novum imperatorem, scilicet quendam monachum de progenie Ysakii imperatoris. Sed Robertus de Turneham, qui solus remansit, post mortem Ricardi de Camvilla, justitiarius regis in insula de Cypre, magnum congregavit exercitum, et commisit prælium cum illo novo imperatore, et illum et gentem suam vicit, et cepit, et suspendit in patibulo.

Death of Ralph Fitz-Godfrey. Isaac imprisoned at Merkeb.

Eodem mense Junii obiit Radulfus filius Godefridi, quem rex statuerat custodem imperatoris de Cypre, et sepultus est apud Tripolim. Quo defuncto rex tradidit imperatorem in custodia Hospitalorum, qui duxerunt eum usque ad Margant castellum, et ibi posuerunt eum in custodia. Benedict, ii. 173.

Attack on the Cursed Tower by the French.

Eodem mense Junii fossores regis Angliæ foderunt fundamentum murorum civitatis Accon, nescientibus paganis qui intus erant; et subpositis lignis apposuerunt ignem, et cecidit magna pars murorum. Interim perrariæ regis Franciæ, et Templariorum et Pisanorum, fecerant foramen magnum in muro, juxta turrim quæ dicitur Maledicta, et[4] ad foramen illud cucurrerunt homines regis Franciæ, sperantes perinde intrare in civitatem. Sed occurrerunt illis pagani

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[1] *vero*] om. G.
[2] *Quod*] Qui, D. I.
[3] *Saladini*] om. G.; Accon, D.
[4] *et*] om. B. D. I.

Benedict, ii. 173. in manu forti, et restiterunt illis; et quia via illa ardua fuit A.D. 1191. June. et stricta, multi de hominibus regis Franciæ ibidem interfecti Richard keeps the trenches whilst the French assault. sunt. Rex vero Angliæ et homines sui interim custodiebant fossata exteriora, quæ erant inter exercitum Christianorum et exercitum Saladini. Conventio enim facta fuit inter reges, quod quandocunque unus illorum insultum faceret in civitatem, alter illorum custodiret interim fossata exteriora, ne exercitus Saladini posset insultantibus a tergo nocere. Hæc autem conventio inter reges ideo facta fuit, quia in omni negotio, in quo prædicti reges et gentes eorum convenerunt, minus profecerunt quam fecissent si essent divisi. Rex enim Franciæ et gens sua parvipendebant regem Angliæ et gentem suam: et e converso.

Mense Julii, tertia die ejusdem mensis, feria quarta, cecidit July 3. Breach near the Cursed Tower. magna pars murorum civitatis Accon juxta supradictam turrim. Cucurrit ergo Albericus Clement,[1] marescallus regis Franciæ, cum copiosa armatorum multitudine, ad murum cum vexillo regis Franciæ; et Conradus Marchio cucurrit cum cæteris ad prædictum murum, et apposuerunt scalas ut ascenderent. Et cum prædictus Aubericus ascendisset Death of Alberic Clement. scalam, pagani, injecto in illum unco ferreo, traxerunt infra muros, et occiderunt, et alios quadraginta obruerunt lapidibus. Conradus vero retraxit se cum gente sua. Cowardice of Conrad. Ipse enim et sui noluerunt neque lapides neque sagittas in paganos mittere; neque pagani in eum vel in suos. Præterea pagani, qui ad defensionem murorum venerant, Benedict, ii. 174. vexillum ipsius Conradi, quod ipse eis in signum pacis dederat, in sublime, cunctis videntibus et admirantibus, tenebant immobile.

In crastino principes paganorum qui in civitate erant, videlicet July 4. New proposals. Mestoke et Karakoys,[2] venerunt ad regem Franciæ et ad regem Angliæ, et obtulerunt eis civitatem, et arma, et

[1] Alberic Clement, of Metz; son of Robert Clement, the person appointed by Lewis VII. to be Philip's adviser during his minority. Alberic is one of the first persons called Marshall of France.

[2] *Mestoke et Karakoys*] Mestoch Karkois, B. I. Seifeddin-al-Meschtoub and Bohaeddin-Karakoush, Boh. 174. "Caracos quem Corbo-"ram fecit militem ad obsidionem "Antiochiæ; ille nutrivit Sala-"dinum." R. de Dic. 654. The siege of Antioch was 93 years before this.

A.D. 1191. July 4. Proposals of surrender. Terms offered by the kings;

aurum et argentum eorum, et cæterorum omnium qui intus erant, pro licentia abeundi cum vita et membris. Sed noluerunt reges hoc recipere. At exigebant, pro redemptione eorum, totam terram quam Saladinus et cæteri pagani occupaverant super Christianos ab illo tempore quo Lodowicus rex Francorum fuit Jerosolimis; et insuper Crucem sanctam, et omnes Christianos quos captivos tenebant. Quibus Mestokc et Karakoys[1] responderunt; "Nos petitiones "vestras[2] facere non possumus, nisi de consensu et "voluntate domini nostri Saladini, et aliorum principum "nostrorum. Sed date nobis inducias triduanas, et "permittite nos ire ad principes nostros, ut cum illis "loquamur super his quæ petitis." Qui, datis obsidibus de redeundo, perrexerunt ad Saladinum, et ostensis illi petitionibus Christianorum, non potuerunt efficere versus illum, quod ille aliquam daret pro eis redemptionem; et ita confusi redierunt, et civitatem ingressi sunt. Benedict, ii. 174.

proposed to Saladin and refused.

Attack by Saladin's army repulsed.

Nocte sequenti circa horam noctis mediam, exercitus Saladini insultum fecerunt in custodes fossatorum exteriorum, ea scilicet intentione, ut dum Christiani intenderent defensioni fossatorum, pagani qui in civitate erant, facilius possent per fugam evadere. Sed reges inde præmuniti per mandatum prædicti viri Dei qui in civitate erat, custodes per circuitum murorum posuerunt, ita quod nulli paganorum securus patebat egressus.[3] Factus est ergo clamor magnus per exercitum Christianorum, qui a somno excitati, et arma sua velociter sumentes, accesserunt ad fossata, et impetum fecerunt in paganos, et multos ex illis interfecerunt, cæteros autem fugaverunt.

July 5. Another great breach.

Quinta die mensis Julii, feria sexta, iterum appositus est ignis incisioni murorum quam homines regis Angliæ fecerant; et nocte sequenti ceciderunt turres, et magna pars murorum, et fecerunt introitum magnum.

July 6. Attack by the English.

Et in crastino rex Angliæ et exercitus ejus accesserunt armati, ut insultum facerent in civitatem; et pagani statim dederunt signum quod pacem cum illis facerent; et sic depositis armis Christiani redierunt in castris, et Mestokoc, et Karrakoys, et Hessedin Jordich[4] exierunt loqui cum regi- Benedict, ii. 175.

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[1] *Mestokc et Karakoys*] Mestoch et Karkois, B. I.; Mestok et Karkoes, D.

[2] *vestras*] nimias, Savile.

[3] *egressus*] ingressus, D. I.

[4] *Hessedin Jordich*] Hessedin et Ordich, Savile.

Benedict, ii. 175. bus, et obtulerunt eis civitatem cum omnibus supradictis. A.D. 1191. July 6. The besieged again offer to surrender. Et cum reges et ipsi diu inde tractassent, data est eis licentia eundi ad Saladinum, et redeundi. Et abierunt, et effecerunt quod Saladinus obtulit regibus civitatem Jerosolimam, et Crucem sanctam, et omnes civitates et castella quæ ipse post captionem Gwidonis regis ceperat, et reædificare ea in eum statum in quo tunc fuerunt; tali conditione, ut prædicti reges venirent cum illo, vel mitterent cum illo Saladin offers impossible terms. decem[1] millia militum et viginti millia peditum, ad terram suam defendendam contra dominum Musse et filios Noradini, qui Thekedinum avunculum suum vicerant in prælio, et totam terram illius occupaverant, et si ipsi permisissent illos abire illæsos.[2] Sed reges id facere noluerunt. Et prædicti Mestokoc, et Karrakoys et Hessedin Jordich,[3] tristes et confusi[4] civitatem intraverunt; amici vero illorum, relicto Saladino, infestaverunt eum.

Benedict, ii. 176. Septima die mensis Julii, die Dominica, rex Franciæ et July 7. Attack by the French. exercitus ejus fecerunt insultum in civitatem juxta turrim Maledictam, in eo loco quo prius fecerant: sed nihil proficientes, quadraginta homines perdiderunt.

Benedict, ii. 177. July 8. Saladin dismantles Haifa. Octava die mensis Julii Saladinus combussit Chayphas; et vineas in circuitu ejus destruxit.

Vision of the Blessed Virgin. In nocte sequenti, dum milites et servientes multi de exercitu Christianorum vigilassent ante turrim Maledictam, circumfulsit eos lux de cœlo, in qua apparuit eis Beata S. Matt. xxviii. 4. Virgo Maria, mater Christi. "Præ timore autem exterriti "sunt custodes, et facti sunt velut mortui." At Beata Virgo blande consolabatur eos dicens: "Nolite terreri; propter "salutem enim vestram misit me huc Dominus. Et cum "crastina illuxerit dies, ite, et dicite regibus vestris "ex parte Jesu Christi, Filii et Domini mei, et ex "parte mea, ut cessent a prosternatione murorum civitatis "hujus, quia quarto die post istum dabit eam Dominus in "manu illorum." Eadem vero hora, qua mater Christi Earthquake. loquebatur cum custodibus, terræ motus magnus factus

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[1] *decem*] sex, Savile.

[2] *illæsos*] This speech is given at greater length and in direct narration in Benedict.

[3] *Mestokoc et Karrakoys et Hessedin Jordich*] pagani, Savile, after MS. D.

[4] *confusi*] in, ins. B. D. I.

A.D. 1191. July 8. est in civitate, et paganos ita terruit, quod maluerunt mori quam vivere. Sic Dominus cum ad judicandum[1] venerit, blandus justis, et terribilis apparebit injustis. Beata vero Virgo Maria postquam sic locuta est, avulsa est ab oculis eorum, et simul cum illa recessit lumen quod circumfulserat illos. Benedict, ii. 177.

July 9. The army is cheered by the vision. Mane autem facto, prædicti custodes narraverunt regibus et principibus exercitus visionem quam viderant, et verba quæ dixerat illis mater Domini; et statim divulgata sunt omnia verba hæc per exercitum, et facta est lætitia magna in populo Dei.

July 9, 10. Saladin destroys the vineyards. Nono vero et decimo die mensis Julii, Saladinus fecit exstirpare omnes vineas et arbores fructiferas quæ erant in circuitu Accon; et civitates et castella, in quibus resistendi Christianis fiduciam non habebat, subvertit.

July 11. The English and Pisans make the attack. Undecima die mensis Julii, Pisani et exercitus regis Angliæ insultum fecerunt in civitatem Accon; et cum ascendissent murum, unus Pisanus, nomine Leonardus, interfectus est; et statim pagani dederunt signum quod civitatem redderent, et pacem cum regibus ad voluntatem eorum facerent. Et sic supradicti paganorum principes venerunt loqui cum regibus de pace facienda, et statim post colloquium redierunt in civitatem. Benedict, ii. 178.

Civitas Accon reddita est regi Franciæ et regi Angliæ.

July 12. Surrender of Acre. Duodecima die mensis Julii, feria sexta, Philippus rex Franciæ, et Ricardus rex Angliæ, et omnes principes Christianorum, mane convenerunt ad tentorium Templariorum; et principes paganorum qui in civitate erant obsessi convenerunt illuc: et per consilium exercitus Christianorum prædicti reges pacem fecerunt cum paganis in hac forma.

Terms of surrender. "Pagani tradiderunt supradictis regibus civitatem Accon " cum omnibus quæ in ea erant; et quingentos[2] Christianos " captivos, qui in ea erant, reddiderunt quietos: et con-

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[1] *judicandum*] judicium, Savile.

[2] *quingentos*] trecentos, Benedict. The authorities as to the terms of the capitulation differ considerably in other respects. Benedict fixes the number of captives to be released at 1,500, besides 200 knights; and the ransom at 200,000 bizants:

Benedict, ii. 178. "ventionaverunt regibus, quod traderent eis crucem sanctam, "et mille[1] Christianos captivos, et ducentos milites Christianos captivos, quoscunque prædicti reges elegerint "de omnibus captivis qui fuerint inventi in potestate "Saladini; et ad opus regum darent ducenta millia "bizantiorum, et quod ipsi remanerent obsides in custodia "regum, ita quod si ipsi infra quadraginta dies proximo "subsequentes supradicta non perfecissent, essent in "misericordia regum de vita et membris." A.D. 1191. July 12. Terms of the surrender of Acre. Benedict, ii. 179.

His itaque[2] conventionibus hinc et inde concessis, et sacramento confirmatis, reges miserunt milites et servientes suos in civitatem, et elegerunt centum de ditioribus et nobilioribus paganis, et posuerunt eos in turribus[3] sub bona custodia; cæteros autem fecerunt custodiri per domos et plateas civitatis, et administraverunt eis necessaria, statuentes quod omnes qui baptismum et legem Christianam recipere vellent, essent liberi. Unde factum est quod multi paganorum propter metum mortis receperunt baptismum; sed quam citius potuerunt, abierunt ad Saladinum, relicta lege Christiana. Et ex tunc præceperunt reges, ne aliquis paganorum amplius reciperetur ad baptismum. Cumque Saladinus audisset pacem quam sui cum Christianis fecerant, dissimulavit hoc factum fuisse per illum. The Christians occupy the city.

Civitas Accon partita est inter regem Franciæ et regem Angliæ.

Tertiadecima die mensis Julii, rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ partiti sunt inter eos civitatem Accon, et omnia quæ in ea erant, tam paganos, quam aurum et argentum, et cætera omnia. Drogo vero de Merlou, et centum milites cum illo, July 13. The kings divide Acre between them.

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the term of performance to be in 40 days. Hoveden agrees in all these points. The *Itinerarium* gives 500 inferior captives and 200 knights; the ransom 200,000 Saracenic talents: the term to be the end of the month. Bohadin says 1,500 inferior captives and 100 knights; the ransom 200,000 aurei to be paid in three monthly instalments. The forty days of Benedict and the text are perhaps accounted for as having elapsed actually before the hostages were sacrificed, ten days after the first instalment fell due and was not paid.

[1] *mille*] MM. the first M is erased, A.

[2] *itaque*] convenientibus et, ins. D. Savile.

[3] *turribus*] turrim, D. Savile.

A.D. 1191. July 13. Division of the spoil.

constituti sunt ex parte regis Franciæ ad partem illius recipiendam. Et Hugo de Gurnay, et centum milites cum eo, constituti sunt ex parte regis Angliæ ad partem suam recipiendam.

Benedict, ii. 180.

July 14. Saladin decamps, and makes new proposals of alliance, which are declined.

Quartadecima die mensis Julii, Saladinus retraxit se et exercitum suum, et fixit tentoria sua in loco qui dicitur Saphoria; et nuncii ejus ibant et revertebantur ad reges cum fructibus et aliis muneribus: et Saladinus obtulit regibus totam terram Suliæ, excepto Cragch de Monte Regali,[1] quod est ultra fluvium Jordanis; tali conditione, quod illi commodassent ei duo millia militum, et quinque millia servientium, in servitio suo per unum annum, ad defensionem terræ suæ contra dominum Musse et filios Noradini. Sed reges noluerunt audire illum in sermone illo.[2]

July 15. The engines dismantled.

Quintadecima die mensis Julii, fecerunt reges perrarias et alias machinas suas bellicas deponere.

July 16. The proposals from Mesopotamia.

Sextadecima die mensis Julii, venerunt ad reges nuncii ex parte domini Musse et filiorum Noradini, qui multa et magna obtulerunt illis pro auxilio hominum contra Saladinum.

De dedicatione ecclesiarum Accaron.

Re-dedication of the churches of Acre.

Eodem die Alardus Veronensis[3] episcopus, cardinalis, et apostolicæ sedis legatus; et Tyronensis,[4] et Pisanus, et Auxiensis[5] archiepiscopi; et Hubertus Saresbiriensis, et Johannes Ebroicensis, et Bernardus Baoniensis, et Tripolitanus, et Reginaldus[6] Carnotensis, et[7] Belvacensis episcopi; et cæteri ecclesiarum principes, ecclesias civitatis Accon dedicaverunt,

Benedict, ii. 181.

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[1] *Monte Regali*] et, ins. B. D. I.

[2] Hoveden here omits two particulars given in Benedict, which are not without interest as affecting his plan of abridgment. "Eodem die "rex Angliæ misit Saladino lepo-"rarios et braschetos, id est odori-"sequos, et accipitres. Sextode-"cimo die mensis Julii Saladinus "misit regi Angliæ munera magna "et valde pretiosa per Atta nun-"cium suum."

[3] *Veronensis*] Vernonensis, A. B. G. I. Adelard, bishop of Verona, 1188–1211; cardinal priest of Marcellus, 1185.

[4] *Tyronensis*] Perhaps we should read *Tyrensis*.

[5] *Auxiensis*] Ariensis, A. Savile; Anxiensis, B. D.

[6] *Reginaldus*] altered to Filippus in A.; Philippus et, B. I.; Philippus, G. The bishop of Chartres was Reginald; the bishop of Beauvais was Philip.

[7] *et*] Robertus, A., crossed out.

Benedict, ii. 181. quas pagani polluerant; et ædificaverunt altaria Domino, et in eis celebraverunt missas. Interim reges et populus intendebant reparationi murorum. A.D. 1191. July 16.

De foro rerum venalium.

Septimadecima et octavadecima die mensis Julii, Pisani et nummularii et cæteri mercatores receperunt infra civitatem mansiones, per distributionem servientium regum, in foro rerum venalium, reddituri inde singulis annis solitos et debitos redditus. July 17 & 18. Restoration of trade.

Nonodecimo die mensis Julii, cum comites et barones, qui jam fere per biennium moram fecerant in obsidione Accon, vidissent quod reges omnia, quæ ceperant in captione civitatis, propriis inclusissent marsupiis, et quod nullam partem illis facere voluissent, convenerunt extra fossata exteriora, et habito ibi colloquio, mandaverunt regibus quod ipsi cum illis diutius moram non facerent, nisi fuerint participes lucri, sicut extiterunt laboris; quibus reges responderunt se satisfacturos voluntati eorum: sed quia reges id facere distulerunt, multi paupertate coacti ab eis recesserunt. July 19. The nobles demand their share of the spoil. The kings delay in granting this.

Vicesima die mensis Julii, festo Sanctæ Margaretæ virginis, Ricardus rex Angliæ petiit a rege Franciæ, ut ipsi duo jurassent[1] se moram facturos cum exercitibus suis in terra Jerosolimitana per tres annos, ad subventionem[2] terræ illius: cui rex Franciæ respondit, quod ipse nullum faceret sacramentum inde. July 20. Richard proposes to Philip to stay in Palestine. He refuses to swear. Benedict, ii. 182.

Vicesima prima die mensis Julii, rex Angliæ primo intravit in civitatem Accon; et in palatio regis ipse et uxor ejus et soror ejus[3] hospitati sunt; et rex Franciæ hospitatus est in domibus Templariorum. July 21. Richard enters Acre.

Vicesima secunda die mensis Julii, festo Sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, rex Franciæ misit ad regem Angliæ[4] Belvacensem episcopum, et Hugonem ducem Burgundiæ, et Drogonem de Amiens, et Willelmum de Merlou; et per illos petiit ab eo licentiam redeundi in regionem suam. Quibus rex Angliæ respondit: "Dedecus erit et opprobrium domino meo, si July 22. Philip asks leave to go home.

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[1] *jurassent*] jurarent, Savile.

[2] *subventionem*] subjectionem, D.

[3] *ejus*] regis, B. D. I.

[4] *Angliæ*] Robertum, om. B. D. I.; crossed out in A. It should be *Philippum*; but Benedict had Robertum, and from him Hoveden was now clearly abridging.

A.D. 1191. July 22. Richard's remonstrance. "ipse, imperfecto negotio propter quod huc venit, recesserit. "Attamen si ipse senserit se infirmum aut debilem, et "timuerit hic mori, fiat voluntas sua." Benedict, ii. 182.

July 23. Philip's departure announced. Vicesima tertia die mensis Julii, cum divulgatum esset per exercitum quod rex Franciæ recederet, venerunt ad eum principes exercitus sui, et cum lacrymis petierunt, ne ipse a servitio Dei ita impudenter recessisset. Benedict, ii. 183.

Pax facta est inter regem Gwidonem et Conradum Marchionem.

July 26. Richard pardons Conrad. Vicesima sexta die mensis Julii, per consilium regis Franciæ venit Conradus ad regem Angliæ, et procidens ad pedes ejus veniam postulavit: et rex Angliæ perdonavit illi iram suam et malivolentiam.

July 27. The princes sit to hear the claims of Guy and Conrad. Et in crastino convenerunt rex Franciæ et omnes principes exercitus, ad audiendas controversias quæ vertebantur inter Gwidonem regem et Conradum Marchionem. Quibus considentibus, Conradus Marchio surrexit, et stans in medio illorum, petiit sibi regnum Jerosolimitanum de jure uxoris suæ: et Gwido de Lizinant, qui rex inde exstiterat ante captionem, et, postquam a captione illa evasit, obsidionem Accon inceperat, petiit sibi fieri restitutionem inde, ostendens quod ipse in nullo deliquit, quare debuisset amittere regnum suum. Et post multas tergiversationes verborum hinc et inde diductas, uterque illorum posuit se in judicio curiæ regum.

July 28. Determination of the quarrel. Quorum consilio et judicio, pax et finalis concordia facta est inter illos in hunc modum. Imprimis juraverunt illi duo, scilicet Gwido rex et Conradus Marchio, quod ipsi judicium regum susciperent, et fideliter servarent. Deinde prædicti reges et totus exercitus adjudicaverunt Gwidoni regi prædicto regnum Jerosolimitanum in vita sua; ita quod si ipse uxorem duxerit, et filios vel filias genuerit, nihil tamen poterunt hæreditarium petere in regno illo per successionem; sed si Conradus Marchio, et uxor ejus, soror Sibillæ reginæ, supervixerit eum, succedent ei in regnum, et hæredes eorum sequentur sceptrum, et jure hæreditario possidebunt illud. Et interim omnes redditus regni dimidiabuntur inter illos, excepta regia dignitate, quæ pertinebit ad solum Gwi- Benedict, ii. 184.

Benedict, ii. 184. donem quamdiu ipse vixerit. Et Conradus habebit Tyrum et Sidonem et Barruth,[1] et jure hæreditario possidebit ea; et ipse et hæredes sui facient semper inde servitium semper regi Jerosolimitano solitum et debitum. Et Gaufridus de Lezinnan, frater regis, habebit comitatum de Jopen, et Cæsariam, et possidebit ea jure hæreditario: et ipse et hæredes sui facient inde servitium semper regi Jerosolimitano solitum et debitum. A.D. 1191. July 28. Settlement of the kingdom on Guy for life.

Vicesima nona die mensis Julii, Philippus rex Franciæ dedit Conrado Marchioni medietatem civitatis Accon, quæ illum [2] contingebat. Eodem die rex Franciæ petiit iterum a rege Angliæ licentiam repatriandi; sed ipse nullo modo licentiam habere potuit recedendi, nisi prius jurasset super sacrosancta evangelia, quod ipse fideliter et bene custodiret terras et homines regis Angliæ usque ad reditum illius, et quod nullum damnum vel gravamen eis faceret, nec ab aliis fieri permitteret. Deinde rex Franciæ constituit ducem Burgundiæ principem exercitus sui, tradita illi magna parte thesauri sui. July 29. Philip gives his share of Acre to Conrad, and asks leave to go home. His oath to Richard.

De auxilio quod prædicti reges fecerunt principi Antiochiæ ad defensionem terræ suæ contra paganos.

Benedict, ii. 185. Et ante recessum suum tradidit ipse Raimundo[3] principi Antiochiæ centum milites et quingentos servientes, ad defensionem terræ suæ contra paganos. Similiter rex Angliæ tradidit eidem principi centum milites et quingentos servientes, ad defensionem terræ suæ contra paganos;[4] et dedit unicuique militi quadraginta marcas argenti de præmio a festo Sancti Michaelis usque ad Pascha; et constituit Robertum de Quinci custodem illorum et ducem. Præterea rex Angliæ dedit eodem die principi Antiochiæ quinque naves magnas, onustas equis et armis et victualibus. The kings send aid to the prince of Antioch.

Tricesima die mensis Julii, rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ partiti sunt inter eos omnes paganos qui capti erant in Accon. July 30. Division of the prisoners.

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[1] *Barruth*] Baruth, B. D. G. I.

[2] *illum*] illi, B. D. I.

[3] *Raimundo*] Properly *Boimundo*, but the mistake is common to Benedict and Hoveden.

[4] *Similiter . . . . . paganos*] om. Savile.

A.D. 1191.

De recessu regis Franciæ ab Accon.

July 31. Philip leaves Acre and goes to Tyre.

Tricesima prima die mensis Julii, scilicet ultima die ejusdem mensis, festo Sancti Germani, rex Franciæ recessit ab Accon, et assumpsit secum Reginaldum Carnotensem episcopum, et Petrum comitem de Neverz, et abiit Tyrum, et duxit secum Karrachoys,[1] et omnes alios paganos qui eum contingebant, et ibidem moram fecit per duos dies. Benedict, ii. 185.

August 3. He leaves Tyre.

Tertia vero die mensis Augusti, rex Franciæ a Tyro recessit, tradens Conrado Marchioni omnes paganos suos in custodia. Eodem die rex Angliæ onerari fecit naves suas, dicens quod ipse iret ad Scalonam ad obsidendum eam, et præcepit ut omnes sequerentur eum.

August 5. Richard sends to Tyre for the prisoners.

Quinta die mensis Augusti, rex Angliæ misit Tyrum Hubertum Walteri, episcopum Saresbiriensem, propter paganos quos rex Franciæ adduxerat, ut ipse eos reduceret; sed Conradus noluit dimittere eos. Qui cum rediisset, et regi narrasset responsum Conradi, iratus est rex, et juravit quod ipse Tyrum iret in propria persona ad eos per vim reducendos, nisi Conradus dimiserit illos celerius. Ad hoc respondit regi dux Burgundiæ dicens: "Domine "dimitte me illuc ire, et ego reducam illos." Et abiit et reduxit illos.[2] Dies namque peremptorius[3] instabat, in quo pagani illi conventionem suam perficerent, et liberi abirent. Sed ad diem illum pagani neque protulerunt crucem Benedict, ii. 186.

After some delay they are given up.

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[1] *Karrachoys*] Karrakois, D. I.; Karachois, B.; Karakoys, G.

[2] The details of the negotiation for the surrender of Philip's half of the hostages are given much more fully in Benedict, and with still more detail by the author of the *Itinerarium*. The mission of the bishop of Salisbury, who was accompanied by count Robert of Dreux and Peter des Préaux, took place on the 5th of August. He returned to Acre on the 7th. On the 8th the duke, with the bishop of Beauvais, Guy Dampierre, William de Merlou and Robert de Quincy, or, according to the *Itinerarium*, Drogo de Amiens and Robert de Quincy, went to Tyre. The 9th of August was the first day for the performance of the capitulation, but it was delayed until the eleventh day after, to give time for the hostages to be brought from Tyre. The 10th and 11th were spent by the duke at Tyre; and on the 12th he returned to Acre. Ben. Pet. ii. 186, 187. *Itiner. R. R.* 242.

[3] *Dies peremptorius*] According to Benedict, Aug. 9, *i.e.* four weeks from July 12. See the last note, and above, p. 120, note 2.

Benedict, ii. 188. sanctam, neque Christianos captivos, neque pecuniam quam promiserant pro vita et membris suis. Et pro hujusmodi defectu adjudicati sunt omnes pagani illi capitalem subire sententiam. Quod cum Saladino nunciatum esset, mandavit regi Angliæ, et universo exercitui Christianorum, quod si ipsi amputassent capita paganorum suorum, ipse amputaret capita Christianorum omnium quos in captione sua habebat.[1] A.D. 1191. August 9. The Saracens fail to fulfil their obligations.

Quartadecima die mensis Augusti, feria quarta, in vigilia Assumptionis Beatæ Dei genitricis semperque Virginis Mariæ, rex Angliæ exivit fossata exteriora, et fixit tentoria sua prope exercitum paganorum, et ibi mansit per aliquot dies, præcipiens ut omnis exercitus sequeretur eum. Sed pauci secuti sunt, propter defectum equorum et armorum. August 14. Richard encamps outside Acre.

Benedict, ii. 189. Eodem die Saladinus misit regi Angliæ munera pretiosa, et petiit ut ipse prolongasset diem quem statuerat amputare capita paganorum; et noluit rex diem illum diutius differre, nec munera Saladini recipere. Quod cum Saladinus vidisset et audisset, fecit amputari capita omnium Christianorum quos in captione sua habuit, scilicet xviii[a]. die mensis Augusti, die Dominica. He refuses to prolong the term granted to the Saracens; and Saladin beheads his prisoners.

Eodem die rex Angliæ movit exercitum suum, et appropiavit exercitui Saladini, et congressum fecit cum exercitu illius, et multi ceciderunt ex utraque parte vulnerati et mortui. Inter quos Petrus Mignot, quidam familiaris regis Angliæ, interfectus est; et rex Angliæ, quamvis audisset necem Christianorum interfectorum, tamen noluit anticipare terminum quem statuerat amputare capita paganorum. August 18. Skirmish with Saladin's troops.

De interfectione paganorum qui fuerunt in Accon.

Vicesima igitur die mensis Augusti, feria tertia, decimo tertio kalendas Septembris, rex Angliæ fecit ducere omnes paganos, qui eum contingebant in captione Accon, ante exercitum Saladini, et in conspectu omnium fecit amputare capita illorum. Dux vero Burgundiæ fecit amputare capita paganorum qui regem Franciæ contingebant, infra civitatem et extra, prope August 20. Massacre of the Saracen prisoners.

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[1] This negotiation took place on the 13th of August: Ben. Pet. ii. 188.

A.D. 1191. August 20. The more valuable prisoners spared.

muros civitatis. Sed rex Angliæ et dux Burgundiæ servaverunt quosdam de paganis ad redemptionem, quorum nomina hæc sunt: Mestoke,[1] Karrakoys, et Hessedin, filius Caulini, et Hessedin Jordic, et Passelari, et Kamardoli, et Kaedin. Numerus[2] autem interfectorum erat quinque millia paganorum: quos omnes Christiani evisceraverunt; et aurum et argentum multum invenerunt in visceribus eorum; et fel eorum ceperunt, et usui medicinali servaverunt. Benedict, ii. 189, 190.

August 21. Bertram de Verdun put in charge of Acre.

Vicesima prima die mensis Augusti, post interfectionem paganorum, rex Angliæ tradidit Bertramno de Verdun[3] civitatem Accon, et reginam Angliæ, et reginam Siciliæ, et filiam imperatoris de Cypre in custodia. Benedict, ii. 190.

De itinere regis Angliæ versus Jopen.

August 22. Richard encamps between Acre and Haifa; and, August 25, proceeds towards Joppa.

Vicesima secunda die mensis Augusti, feria quinta, rex Angliæ transivit fluvium Accon cum exercitu suo; et inter fluvium illum et mare fixit tentoria sua, super littus maris inter Accon[4] et Cayphas: et ibi moram fecit per quatuor[5] dies. Deinde perrexit secus littus maris versus Jopen: et naves suæ juxta eum in mari velificabant, cum victualibus et machinis suis bellicis; ita quod, si necesse esset illi, posset ad naves suas recuperare. Saladinus vero et exercitus ejus ibant per montana non longe ab exercitu regis, ut vias ejus impediret.

Tertia autem die[6] post Exaltationem Sanctæ Crucis, infra men- Benedict, ii. 191.

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[1] Mestoch is described by Benedict as "admiralis de Roais," emir of Edessa; and constable of Jerusalem and Ascalon; Karrakois as Saladin's chief counsellor; Hessedin Jordich, emir of Aleppo; Passelar, constable of Concon (?); Camardoli, treasurer of arms at Acre; and Kahedin, a writer in Acre.

[2] *Numerus*] Benedict does not fix this. Richard himself names 2,600. The *Itinerarium* gives 2,700. Bohadin, 3,000.

[3] *Bertramno de Verdun*] Benedict adds "et Stephano de Nunchams, fratri Eliensis episcopi."

[4] *Accon*] et mare, ins. D. I.

[5] *quatuor*] tres, Bened. According to the *Itinerarium* the army crossed the Belus on Aug. 22, and started on their march towards the coast on the 25th.

[6] *Tertia autem die*] The battle of Arsouf was fought, not on the 17th, but on the 7th of September, a week before the festival. See the *Itinerarium*, Bohadin, and the two letters of Richard below. A confusion

Benedict, ii. 191.

sem Septembris, cum rex Angliæ et exercitus ejus transissent districtas del Merle, et dux Burgundiæ cum Templariis et Francis custodiret extremam cohortem, et rex Angliæ fixisset signum suum in medio, et tradidisset draconem suum Petro de Pratellis[1] ad portandum, contra calumniam Roberti Trussebut, qui illum portare calumniatus fuit de jure prædecessorum suorum: Saladinus fecit impetum magnum in ducem Burgundiæ, et in illos qui cum eo erant.

A.D. 1191. September. Attack by Saladin on the Crusaders on their march.

De interfectione Jakes de Avennis.

Sed nullus Christianorum ibi interfectus fuit præter solum Jakes de Avennis,[2] qui cum paucis resistebat Saladino et exercitui suo;[3] dux enim Burgundiæ fugit. Sed rex Angliæ, cum audisset a tergo clamorem illum, regressus est, et congressus viriliter cum exercitu Saladini; et victoriam obtinuit; et interfecit ex paganis tria millia: et ibi mansit rex per tres dies. Deinde idem rex in hac forma scripsit baillivis et amicis suis;

Sept. 7. Battle of Arsouf. Death of James Avesnes.

Benedict, ii. 192.

Great victory of Richard.

Epistola Ricardi regis Angliæ de recessu regis Franciæ de Accon.[4]

(Not in Benedict.)

" Ricardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, et dux Normanniæ et " Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, N., dilecto et fideli suo, " salutem. Scias quod post captionem Accon, et post recessum domini regis Franciæ a nobis apud Accon, qui ita " turpiter peregrinationis suæ propositum et votum, contra " voluntatem Dei dereliquit, in opprobrium æternum sui et

Oct. 1. Richard's announcement of his victory.

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between 7 and 17 is perhaps the origin of the mistake; which is shared by Benedict, although his account of the battle is different from Hoveden's. In both chronicles we here lose the guidance of the original diarist whose memoranda have been so valuable on Richard's movements up to this time. The march can be traced with exactness both in the Itinerarium and in Bohadin.

[1] *Petro de Pratellis*] Willelmo de Pratellis, B. D. I.

[2] *Avennis*] Avennes, B. D. I.

[3] *suo*] ejus, B. D. G. I.

[4] This letter is not in Benedict.

A.D. 1191. Oct. 1. Richard's account of the battle of Arsouf, which was fought Sept. 7.

(Not in Benedict.)

" regni ipsius, iter arripuimus versus[1] Jopen. Et dum prope " Arsurum accederemus, Saladinus cum vehementi Sarraceno- " rum incursu obviam nobis occurrens, insultum fecit contra " nos. Sed Deo miserante, nullum amisimus die illo, nisi " virum optimum, et suis meritis universo exercitui carissimum, " Jacobum de Avennis, qui in exercitu Christiano per plures " annos ad serviendum Deo, quasi columna exercitus in omni " sanctitate et sinceritate fidei promptus exstitit et devotus. " Deinde Jopen Deo volente pervenimus; eandemque villam " fossatis et muro firmavimus, in proposito habentes ubique " Christianitatis negotium pro posse nostro promovere. Ipso " autem die, scilicet vigilia Nativitatis Beatæ Mariæ, ipse Sa- " ladinus infinitos de magnatibus viris suis amisit; et in fugam " conversus, quasi consilii et auxilii beneficio destitutus, to- " tam terram Suliæ destruxit. Tertia autem die ante ipsius " Saladini confusionem, in sinistro latere cum quodam pilo vul- " nerati fuimus; sed gratia Dei jam ad sanitatem pervenimus. " Scias etiam, quod per Dei gratiam infra viginti dies post " Natale Domini speramus recuperare sanctam civitatem Jeru- " salem, et sepulcrum Domini, et deinde ad partes nostras " revertemus. Teste nobismetipsis, apud Jopen, prima die " Octobris."

Epistola regis Angliæ ad abbatem de Claravalle de eodem.[2]

Oct. 1. Richard writes to the abbot of Clairvaux in a spirit of thankfulness.

(Not in Benedict.)

"Ricardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitan- " niæ, et comes Andegaviæ, viro venerabili, et amico in Christo " carissimo, abbati de Claravalle[3] salutem, et continuæ felici- " tatis successum. Post lacrymabilem, et in commune ploran- " dam, civitatis sanctæ Jerusalem destructionem, civitatem Dei " viventis, super quam invocatum est nomen Ejus, commota " est et contremuit terra, quia Rex cœli perdidit terram Suam, " ubi steterunt pedes Ejus. Sed a sede apostolica diffusa Dei " benedictione per universam terram, amici crucis Christi ad " suscipiendum signum salutis in frontibus et in humeris eorum, " et ad ulciscendas Sanctæ Crucis injurias, sicut vestram non " latet sanctitatem, certatim evolabant. Inter quos et nos ad " serviendum Deo viventi, signo crucis accepto, ad defendenda

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[1] *versus*] usque, Savile.

[2] This letter is not in Benedict. The abbot of Clairvaux was Garnier de Rochefort, ninth abbot, afterwards bishop of Langres.

[3] *Claravalle*] Clarevalle, I.

(Not in Benedict.) "loca mortis Ejus, pretioso Suo Sanguine dedicata, quæ inimici "crucis Christi hactenus ignominiose profanabant, tanti et "tam sancti laboris in nos onus suscepimus, et intra breve "temporis spatium post adventum domini regis Francorum "ad Accon, ibidem Domino duce prospere applicuimus. Ubi "non multo temporis tractu elapso,[1] reddita est domino regi "Francorum et nobis civitas Accon, salva vita Sarracenorum "qui ad eam custodiendam et defendendam intus missi fuerant; "pactione etiam ex parte Saladini plenius firmata, quod nobis "Crucem Sanctam et mille et quingentos captivos vivos re-"signaret, diemque ad hæc omnia persolvenda nobis constituit. "Sed eodem termino exspirato, et pactione quam pepigerat "penitus infirmata, de Sarracenis, quos in custodia habuimus, "circa duo millia et sexcentos, sicut decuit, fecimus exspirare; "paucis tamen de nobilioribus retentis, pro quibus Sanctam "Crucem et quosdam captivos Christianos sperabamus re-"cuperaturos. Domino autem rege Francorum ad propria "remeato, et ruinis et scissuris murorum civitatis Accon "reparatis, ipsaque civitate fossatis et muro plenius firmata, "ad promovendum Christianitatis negotium, et prosequendum "nostri voti propositum, apud Joppen proposuimus, et nobis-"cum dux Burgundiæ cum Francigenis sibi subditis, comes "Henricus[2] cum suis, et multi alii comites et barones, et "populus innumerabilis, ire. Cumque inter Accon et Joppen "plurimum esset spatium, et tractus viarum prolixior, apud "Cæsaream tandem, cum multo sudore gravique jactura nos-"trorum, descendimus: et ipse Saladinus in eodem[3] itinere "de suis quamplurimos amisit. Cumque populus Dei ibidem "aliquantulum respiraret, ad Joppen propositum iter sumus "prosecuti. Et nostra anteriore custodia procedente, et castra "apud Assur jam metante, Saladinus cum vehementi Sarrace-"norum incursu super ultimam custodiam nostram impetum "faciens, Divinæ miserationis favente gratia, a quatuor solum-"modo turmis, quæ ei[4] in fronte oppositæ fuerant, compulsus "est in fugam: ipsumque fugientem per unam leucam turmæ "Christianorum plene sunt prosecutæ; tantamque stragem de "nobilioribus Sarracenis quos Saladinus habebat, die illa, "Sabbato videlicet, vigilia Nativitatis Sanctæ Mariæ virginis, "prope Assur fecerunt, quantam Saladinus quadraginta annis "transactis antea, una die non sustinuit. Nos vero de nostris,

A.D. 1191. Oct. 1. The surrender of Acre.

The massacre of the Saracens.

The march to Joppa.

The victory at Arsouf,

on the 7th of September.

[1] *elapso*] tracto, I.; spatio, D.

[2] *comes Henricus*] of Champagne.

[3] *eodem*] eo, D. I.

[4] *ei*] eum, B. I.; cum, D.

A.D. 1191. Oct. 1. The arrival at Joppa.

(Not in Benedict.)

"gratia Dei, nullum amisimus die illa, nisi virum optimum, "et suis meritis universo exercitui carum, Jacobum de Avennis, "qui in exercitu Christiano per plures annos ad serviendum "Deo viventi, quasi columna exercitus in omni sanctitate et "sinceritate fidei, promptus exstitit et devotus. Deinde Joppen, "Domino ducente, pervenimus, villamque illam[1] fossatis et "muro firmavimus, in proposito habentes ubique Christiani-"tatis negotium pro posse nostro efficaciter promovere.

Saladin has dismantled Ascalon.

"Post diem prædictum confusionis Saladini, non est ausus "Saladinus cum Christianis congredi, sed ad trucidandos "amicos crucis, sicut oves occisionis, insidiatur eminus in "abscondito, quasi leo in spelunca sua. Audito itaque quod "nos apud Ascalon maturo gressu tenderemus, Ascalon ever-"tit, et ad terram prostravit, totamque terram Suriæ, quasi "totius consilii et auxilii beneficio destitutus, jam dese-"rit et contemnit. Unde bonæ spei sumimus argumen-"tum, quod in brevi, Domino dante, plenius recuperabitur "hæreditas Domini. Et quoniam hæreditas Domini jam in "parte recuperata est, et ad eam recuperandam omne diei "pondus sustinuimus et æstus, totamque pecuniam nostram, "et non solum pecuniam, sed et vires et corpus, jam exhau-"simus, fraternitati vestræ notificamus quod ultra solemni-"tatem Paschalem in partibus Syriæ nequaquam poterimus "commorari. Dux Burgundiæ, cum Francigenis sibi subditis, "et comes Henricus cum suis, et cæteri comites et barones "et milites, qui in servitio Dei sua jam expenderunt pro "Deo, ad propria remeabunt, nisi per vestræ prædicationis "sollertiam eis, in populo, unde terra possit populari et "muniri, et in pecunia quam in servitio Dei uberius ex-"pendant, circumspecte provideatur. Unde vestræ sanctitatis "genibus provoluti, et profusis lacrymis, preces affectuosas "porrigimus, rogantes attentius quatenus, sicut officio vestro "congruit et honori, principes et viros nobiles per universum "Christianismum constitutos, aliumque populum Dei, ad ser-"viendum Deo viventi inducere, et ad hoc provocare sata-"gatis, ut post prædictam Paschalem solemnitatem hæredi-"tatem Domini, quam nos, Deo propitio, ad idem Pascha "plenius obtinebimus, tueantur et defendant. Tantumque "faciat in hac parte vestræ sedulitatis vigilantia,[2] ne ex vestro "neglectu depereat, quod utilitas totius Christianitatis ex-"pectat. Ideo sanctitati vestræ super negotio Christianitatis "litteras nostras tam mature dirigimus, ne forte torporis "arguamur et negligentiæ, si tantum et tam sanctum virum

Richard hopes to be out of Syria by Easter.

He asks the abbot to urge the princes and people to the defence of Palestine after his own departure.

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[1] *illam*] om. B. D. I. | [2] *vigilantia*] diligentia, Savile.

A.D. 1191. Oct. 1.

"super instantibus Christianitatis negotiis aliquo modo prætermiserimus præmunire. Vos igitur, sicut nos et alium populum Dei ad serviendum Deo, ad restituendam hæreditatem Suam Sibi, ante itineris arreptionem animastis;[1] ita et nunc plurimus instat articulus, ut populum Dei ad hoc idem faciendum fortius excitetis. Teste nobismetipsis, apud Joppen, prima die Octobris."

Richard found both Ascalon and Joppa deserted.

Benedict, ii. 192.

Et est notandum, quod statim post confusionem Saladini, pagani qui erant in Scalona et in Jopen reliquerunt eas, non audentes expectare adventum regis Angliæ; et ita rex Angliæ invenit utramque vacuam, et utramque firmavit muris et fossatis.

Richard has a narrow escape at Joppa. (Sept. 29.)

Deinde quadam die, dum rex Angliæ quasi per unum milliare perrexisset[2] longe a Jopen per hortos ad spatiandum, et ibi dormisset, supervenit multitudo paganorum et excitaverunt regem a somno; qui statim ascendit equum suum, et viriliter restitit Saracenis. Sed Willelmus de Pratellis, quidam familiaris suus, ibidem captus fuit, et Reginaldus socius ejus interfectus est, et unus destrariorum regis ibidem captus fuit, et ductor illius interfectus, et rex per vim evasit: et cum rex ascenderet in equum suum, cecidit ab eo zona ejus pretiosa auro et gemmis, quam Willelmus de Corneburc invenit, et illa postmodum reddita fuit regi. Et Saffadin, frater Saladini, remisit regi equum suum: et rex Angliæ rediit inde[3] Jopen.

He fortifies the Castle of the Plains and the village of Maen.

Deinde firmavit rex castellum des Plains, et casellum Maen: et moram fecit apud Jopen fere usque ad Natale Domini.

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[1] *animastis*] amastis, B. D. I.

[2] *perrexisset*] perrexit, B. D. I. This event is described at length in the *Itinerarium*, pp. 286, 287; and the date is given by Bohadin in his life of Saladin, p. 203, as Sept. 29.

[3] *inde*] om. D. I.

A.D. 1191.

De discordia inter cancellarium regis et Johannem fratrem regis.

The chancellor expels Gerard Camvill from the sheriffdom of Lincolnshire, and besieges the castle of Lincoln.

Benedict, ii. 207.

Interim orta est gravis discordia in Anglia inter cancellarium regis et Johannem comitem Moretonii, fratrem regis propter castellum Lincolniæ, quod cancellarius obsederat, expulso Girardo de Camvilla a baillia vicecomitatus Lincolniæ, quam cancellarius tradidit Willelmo de Stutevilla, et constituit eum inde vicecomitem. Dum autem prædictus cancellarius obsideret castellum Lincolniæ, castellum de Nothinham et castellum de Tikehil[1] regis, reddita sunt comiti Johanni, qui statim mandavit cancellario, quod nisi celerius recessisset ab obsidione castelli Lincolniæ, visitaret eum in virga ferrea. Exterritus itaque cancellarius mandatis Johannis comitis Moretonii, recessit ab obsidione illa; et mediantibus episcopis multis et aliis fidelibus domini regis, diem colloquii statuerunt, in quo inter illos convenit in hunc modum;[2]

John takes the castles of Nottingham and Tickhill.

A peace is made.

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[1] *Tikehil*] Tikeilla, I.; Tykehille, B.; Tikeill, D.; Tikehill, G.

[2] The very scanty accounts of these proceedings given by Hoveden, Benedict, William of Newburgh, and Richard of Devizes, are unintelligible without some attempt to harmonize them. (1) Benedict's account is very short, and gives only one date and no documents. (2) Hoveden is very brief and undated, but does give a copy of the final agreement between John and the justiciars. (3) Richard of Devizes is fuller, but his dates are, as they stand, inconsistent; the document which he gives as the final agreement made on the 28th of July being actually dated April 25: and making no mention of the archbishop of Rouen, who was one of the principal parties to the final concord. (4) William of Newburgh gives a consecutive account of the affair, but places the events in the spring, instead of the summer or autumn, as they are placed in Richard of Devizes. It would appear that this divergency arises from the fact of the struggle falling into two campaigns, in which certain details are repeated. There were three conferences at Winchester, two attempts on the chancellor's part to seize the castle of Lincoln, and two settlements, one given by R. of Devizes, and containing no mention of the archbishop of Rouen; and the other given by Hoveden. At the risk of a long note, I will give the harmonized dates, on this hypothesis.

(1.) First conference at Winchester, in which John and the chancellor quarrel about the custody of the castles. March 4, 1191. R. Deviz. 26.

Cyrographum inter comitem Moretonii et regis cancellarium.

A.D. 1191. July 28.

(Not in Benedict.)

"Notum sit omnibus ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit, "controversiam illam inter comitem Moretonii et dominum "cancellarium exortam, sic, domino Rothomagensi archiepi-"scopo, et Dunelmensi, Lundoniensi, Winthoniensi, Batho-"niensi, Rofensi, Coventrensi, episcopis, et aliis fidelibus "domini regis mediantibus, esse sopitam: scilicet, quod comes "Moretonii castella de Tikehil[1] et de Notingham, quæ ceperat,

Peace is made between John of Mortain and the chancellor.

(2.) The chancellor's first attempt on Lincoln, early in the spring, before the arrival of the news of pope Clement's death, or the return of the archbishop of Rouen. W. Newb., lib. iv. c. 16.

(3.) Pope Clement dies, April 10: the news would reach England in a fortnight, or perhaps less. The chancellor trembling for his legation makes a hasty peace with John, the form of which is given by R. of Devizes, p. 33; at Winchester, April 25.

(4.) The archbishop of Rouen arrives, April 27. The chancellor takes courage and renews hostilities. After Midsummer (Ben. Pet. ii. 207) the chancellor besieges Lincoln. The struggle closes with a second agreement, given in the text, in which the archbishop of Rouen is clearly recognized. This may be safely dated on the 28th of July, according to Richard of Devizes, although he gives, instead of the final agreement, that of the 25th of April.

The following are the points which prove the agreement given in the text to be a different act, and drawn up on a different occasion, from that given by R. Devizes, as against Sir Francis Palgrave; (*Introd. to Rot. Cur. Reg.*, vol. I. p. lv.).

(1.) In the April agreement each party chooses eleven commissioners; in the text each chooses seven: of the chancellor's eleven, one, the earl of Warren, does not appear among the seven. Of John's eleven, Reginald Wasseville does not appear among the seven: only three of the eleven are named by R. Devizes: Hoveden gives all the names of the seven. (2.) In R. Devizes there is no mention of the archbishop of Rouen; in Hoveden he is one of the chief negotiators: this can only be accounted for on the supposition that he was absent at the time of the transaction of the former act. (3.) In R. Devizes, the castle of Nottingham is entrusted to William de Wendeval, and that of Tickhill to Reginald de Wasseville: in Hoveden, Nottingham is given to William Marshall, and Tickhill to William de Wendeval. (4.) The Act of April 25 does not extend to the guardianship of the other castles; that given in the text does. (5.) The Act of April 25 engages the chancellor to support John's claim to the crown in case of Richard's death; but there is nothing about this in Hoveden. (6.) The treaty given in R. Devizes is provisional, that in Hoveden is final. There are some other points of interest in these chronological details for which I must refer to the preface to the present volume.

[1] *Tikehil*] Tikeil, I.; Tikel, D.

A.D. 1191. July 28. John gives up the castles of Nottingham and Tickhill to be held for the king: and the other castles of his honours: Wallingford, Bristol; the Peak, Bolsover; Eye, Hereford, Exeter, and Launceston. Also the royal castles are provided for. The king's servants are no more to disseize men without process of law; nor is John.

(Not in Benedict.)

" reddidit domino regi per manum domini Rothomagensis, " tradenda custodiæ Willelmi Marescalli, et Willelmi de " Wenneval: scilicet, Willelmo Marescallo castellum de Not- " ingeham, et Willelmo de Wenneval[1] castellum de Tikehil. " Qui prædicta castella ad honorem et fidelitatem domini " regis, usque ad reditum ejus, præstito juramento, custo- " dient: et cum redierit, ad suam inde voluntatem opera- " buntur. Et si forte dominus rex, quod absit, in hac pere- " grinatione sua decesserit, prædicta castella prædicto comiti " sine ulla detentione et dilatione reddent. Et si forte " dominus cancellarius interim erga prædictum comitem ex- " cesserit, et excessum ad consilium et considerationem præ- " dicti domini Rothomagensis, et aliorum familiarium domini " regis et curiæ suæ, requisitus emendare sine dilatione " noluerit, prædicta castella prædicto comiti reddent et resti- " tuent. Sed et alia castra de honoribus a domino rege sibi " datis, quæ fidelibus domini regis tradita sunt custodienda, " scilicet domino Rothomagensi castrum de Wallingford; " domino Lundoniensi castrum de Bristou; domino Coven- " trensi castrum del Pec; Ricardo del Pec castrum de Bolles- " hovers;[2] et si Ricardus recipere noluerit, dominus Coven- " trensis recipiet; Waltero filio Roberti castellum de Eya; " comiti Rogero Bigot castellum de Hereford; Ricardo " Reuel castellum de Exonia, et de Lanstaventun; qui simi- " liter fidelitatem domini regis de ipsis ad opus ipsius fide- " liter custodiendis, et si forte decesserit (quod Deus avertat) " domino Johanni reddendis, juraverunt. Sed et tria castella " ad coronam domini regis pertinentia, scilicet castellum de " Windeshovers[3] comiti de Arundel; castellum de Wintonia " Gilleberto de Lasci;[4] castellum de Northamtun Simoni de " Pateshille[5] tradita sunt custodienda; qui fidelitatem domini " regis de ipsis ad opus ipsius fideliter custodiendis jura- " verunt. Sed et concessum est quod episcopi et abbates, " comites et barones, vavassores et libere tenentes, non ad " voluntatem justitiarum vel ministrorum domini regis de " terris vel catallis suis dissaisientur, sed judicio curiæ " domini regis secundum legitimas consuetudines et assisas " regni tractabuntur, vel per mandatum domini regis. Et " similiter dominus Johannes in sua terra faciet observari. " Et si quis aliter facere præsumpserit, ad petitionem prædicti

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[1] *Wenneval*] Wendewal, B. I.; Wendiwall, D.

[2] *Bolleshovers*] Bollesofres, B. G.; Bollisovers, D.; Bollesoures, I.

[3] *Windeshovers*] Windesoures, B.; Windeshoures, I.

[4] *Lasci*] Laci, D. I.

[5] *Pateshille*] Pateshull, D. I.

(Not in Benedict.)

A.D. 1191. July 28.

"comitis, per dominum Rothomagensem, si in Anglia fuerit, "et per justitias domini regis, et per eos qui pacem jura-"verunt, emendabitur: et similiter dominus Johannes ad "petitionem eorundem emendabit. Nova castella, post trans-"fretationem domini regis ad peregrinationem suam facienda, "vel inchoata vel perfecta, delebuntur, nec alia usque ad "reditum domini regis nova firmabuntur, nisi in dominicis "maneriis domini regis, si opus fuerit; vel ad opus alicujus "nominatæ personæ per præceptum domini regis factum per "litteras, vel per certum nuncium. Resaisina vicecomitatus "Lincolniæ fiet Girardo[1] de Camvilla: et eadem die dies ei "conveniens præfigetur standi in curia domini regis ad judi-"cium. Quod si contra eum monstrari poterit quod judicio "curiæ domini regis vicecomitatum vel castellum Lincolniæ "perdere debuerit, perdat; sin minus, retineat: nisi interim "alio modo pax inde fieri poterit. Nec dominus Johannes "ipsum contra judicium curiæ domini regis manutenebit: "nec uthlagos, vel inimicos domini regis, qui ei[2] fuerint "nominati, receptabit, nec in terris suis receptari permittet. "Sed si quis retatus fuerit de aliquo forisfacto domino regi "facto, bene licebit comiti ipsum in terris suis receptare, "quamdiu ipse obtulerit se staturum ad rectum in curia do-"mini regis. Hanc ergo pacem bona fide, sine malo ingenio, "tenendam et servandam, propriis manibus affidaverunt, in "manu domini Rothomagensis prædicti, comes et cancellarius, "et quatuordecim barones ex utraque parte juraverunt: "scilicet, ex parte cancellarii comes de Arundel, comes de "Salesbiri, comes Rogerus Bigot, comes de Clare, Walterus "filius Roberti, Willelmus de Braosa, Rogerus filius Rainfrai,[3] "et ex parte comitis Stephanus Ridel cancellarius, Willelmus "de Wenneval,[4] Robertus de Mara, Philippus de Virecestre,[5] "Willelmus de Kahannes,[6] Gillebertus Basset, Willelmus de "Monte Acuto. Et si quid infra treugas captum fuerit aut "interceptum ab utraque parte, legitime reddetur et emen-"dabitur. Et hæc facta sunt salva in omnibus auctoritate et "mandato domini regis; ita tamen, quod si dominus rex ante "reditum suum hanc concordiam teneri noluerit, prædicta cas-"tella de Nothinham et de Tikehil domino Johanni reddentur, "quicquid dominus rex inde præceperit."

The archbishop of Rouen or the king's justices will remedy complaints, and so will John

New castles are to be dismantled.

Gerard Camvill is to be replaced in his sheriffdom, and his case be tried regularly.

John is not to oppose the judgment of the court.

Sureties on each side.

John is to have his two castles at all events.

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[1] *Girardo*] correction for Ricardo in A.

[2] *ei*] om. B. D. I.

[3] *Rainfrai*] Rainfrei, B. I.

[4] *Wenneval*] Wendewal, B.; Wendewalle, I.

[5] *Virecestre*] Wirecestre, B.; Wrescestre, I.; Tulescestre, G.

[6] *Kahannes*] Cannes, B.; Kannes, I. The names are abridged in D.

A.D. 1191. *De consecratione et de adventu Gaufridi Eboracensis archiepiscopi in Angliam.*

Geoffrey of York, after his consecration, returns to England.

Eodem anno, paulo post supradictam pacem inter cancellarium et comitem factam, Gaufridus,[1] Eboracensis electus, consecratus est a Willelmo[2] Turonensi archiepiscopo per mandatum Cœlestini summi pontificis: qui statim post consecrationem suam, immemor sacramenti, quod fecerat domino regi fratri suo, scilicet quod non rediret in Angliam antequam tres anni fuissent elapsi postquam rex ab Anglia recesserat, in Angliam venire festinavit. Benedict, ii. 209.

He is forbidden by the chancellor to land; but persists.

Cumque ipse venisset ad Wissand in Flandria ad transfretandum in Angliam, prohibitum est ei ex parte cancellarii, ne in Angliam, contra sacramentum quod ipse regi fecerat, venire præsumeret; sed Eboracensis archiepiscopus a proposito suo propter mandatum illius desistere noluit. Unde idem cancellarius præcepit illum comprehendi, si in Angliam venisset. Benedict, ii. 210.

He lands at Dover in September, and flies to the monastery of St. Martin.

Archiepiscopus itaque Eboracensis venit in Angliam, et applicuit apud Doroberniam mense Septembris,[3] et servientes cancellarii stabant in littore, ut eum comprehenderent. Sed ille inde præmunitus antequam de navi exiret, mutavit vestes suas, et equo ascenso in cujus velocitate confidebat, ad monachorum cœnobium ejusdem villæ confugit. Et erat quasi hora diei sexta, et monachi missam inchoaverant; et cum legeretur epistola, et perventum esset ad locum ubi per Beatum Apostolum dicitur, "Qui conturbat vos, portabit judi- Gal. v. 10, 12.
"cium, quicunque est ille;" et alibi in eadem epistola, "Uti-
"nam abscidantur qui vos conturbant," intravit archiepiscopus Eboracensis ecclesiam, confidens in Domino, et pro munere gratum habuit prænosticum,[4] referens illud ad perpetuam beatitudinis suæ quietem, et ad cancellarii venturam confusionem. Ministri autem cancellarii, quos ipse misit comprehendere eum, obsederunt ecclesiam per circuitum, ita quod ille exire non potuit, nisi per manus illorum.

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[1] *Gaufridus*] om. B. D. I.

[2] *Willelmo*] The usual mistake for *Bartholomew*. Geoffrey was consecrated at S. Martin's, Tours, Aug. 18, 1191, by the archbishop, Henry bishop of Bayeux, and six or seven others. R. de Diceto, 663.

[3] *Septembris*] Sept. 14. R. de Diceto, 633; Gerv. 1576.

[4] *prænosticum*] pronosticum, B. D. I.

Benedict, ii. 211.

A.D. 1191. September. He is arrested by the officers of the chancellor.

Quadam vero die,[1] post celebrationem missæ, dum adhuc idem archiepiscopus indutus vestimentis sacerdotalibus staret ad altare, funesti satellites illi intraverunt ecclesiam, et manus violentas injecerunt in illum, et traxerunt extra ecclesiam; et sic extractum, immo distractum, viliter et ignominiose duxerunt per lutum platearum et per vicos; populus autem stabat clamans post illos, "O ignavi, quare ita ducitis illum? quid "mali fecit? Archiepiscopus est, et regis filius, regisque "frater." Sed illi non exaudientes vocem populi, duxerunt eum in castellum Doroberniæ, et tradiderunt eum Mathæo de Clere constabulario custodiendum.

John insists on his release.

Quod cum comiti Johanni fratri ejusdem archiepiscopi nunciatum esset, quæsivit a cancellario si per eum hæc facta fuissent; et confessus est, et non negavit: et præcepit comes ut archiepiscopus liberaretur, et liberatus est.[2]

De dejectione cancellarii de regimine regni.

He complains to the barons against the chancellor.

Qui[3] cum Londonias venisset, conquestus est comiti Johanni, et episcopis, et aliis magnatibus regni, de injuria sibi[4] a cancellario et suis illata. Et præcepit comes ut cancellarius juri staret in curia regis super injuria illa quam archiepiscopo Eboracensi fratri suo fecerat, et Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo. Quod cum ipse cancellarius facere de die in diem distulit, comes Johannes, et archiepiscopus Rotomagensis, et episcopi, et principes regni, statuerunt illi diem peremptorium[5] apud Redinges. Ad diem autem illum venerunt illuc comes Moretonii, et fere omnes episcopi et comites et barones regni. Et post diem peremptorium moram fecerunt ibi expectantes adventum cancellarii; sed ipse venire noluit, nec nuncium mittere.

Benedict, ii. 212.

They summon the chancellor to Reading, but he does not come.

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[1] *Quadam vero die*] Sept. 18. R. de Diceto, 663; Gerv. 1576.

[2] *liberatus est*] Geoffrey was led back to S. Martin's, Dover, where he had been arrested, on the eighth day after his capture, that is, Sept. 26 (R. de Dic., 663), and on the third day after, Sept. 28, set out for London (Gerv. 1577); on the 2nd of October he was received at London, in S. Paul's, by the bishop. R. de Diceto, 663; Ric. Deviz., p. 37.

[3] *Qui*] om. B. D. I.

[4] *sibi*] om. B. D. I.

[5] *diem peremptorium*] The day fixed was Oct. 5; and the place the bridge of Lodene near Reading. R. de Dic. 663.

A.D. 1191. October. Both parties hasten to London.

Deinde comes Johannes, et episcopi qui cum eo erant, paraverunt se Londonias ire, ut ibi in majori audientia Lundoniensium fruerentur consilio, quid eis faciendum esset de cancellario illo, qui sic conturbaverat regnum, et juri stare noluit. Benedict, ii. 212.

Skirmish between the retinues on the way.

Quod cum cancellarius audisset, recessit a Vindeshoveres, et Londonias ire properavit; et dum iter faceret, contigit quod familia et milites illius, et milites comitis Johannis, obviaverunt sibi et acriter congressi sunt.[1] Et in illo congressu unus de militibus Johannis comitis, nomine Rogerus de Planis,[2] interfectus est: tamen comes prævaluit, et cancellarius cum suis in fugam conversus Londonias ingressus est, et recepit se et suos infra turrim Lundoniarum.

Oct. 7. John reaches London.

Oct. 8. Meeting at St. Paul's.

Et comes Johannes, et fere omnes episcopi et comites Angliæ, eadem die, scilicet tertia die post octavas Sancti Michaelis, intraverunt Lundonias, et in crastino[3] prædictus Johannes, frater regis, et archiepiscopus Rothomagensis, et omnes episcopi et comites et barones, et cives Lundonienses cum illis, convenerunt in atrio ecclesiæ Sancti Pauli. Et accusabant prædictum cancellarium in multis, et præcipue in injuriis quas fecit domino Eboracensi archiepiscopo, et domino Dunelmensi episcopo. Socii autem prædicti cancellarii, quos rex associaverat illi in regimine regni, accusabant eum in multis; dicentes quod ipse, spretis illorum consiliis, omnia negotia regni cum impetu et voluntaria dispositione faciebat. Benedict, ii. 213.

The archbishop of Rouen and William Marshall produce their commission, and the barons determine to depose the chancellor from the justiciarship.

Archiepiscopus vero Rothomagensis, et Willelmus Marescallus, comes de Striguil, tunc primo ostenderunt coram populo litteras domini regis sigillatas: per quas dominus rex mandavit a Messana, quod ipsi associarentur cancellario in regimine regni, et ut cancellarius sine illorum consilio, et aliorum assignatorum, nihil de negotio regis et regni tractasset, et ut prædictus cancellarius, si ipse quicquam in detrimentum regni, vel sine consilio prædictorum fecisset, deponeretur, et loco illius institueretur Rothomagensis archiepiscopus.

Placuit ergo Johanni fratri regis, et omnibus episcopis, et comitibus et baronibus regni, et civibus Lundoniarum, quod

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[1] John went on Monday, Oct. 7, to Staines, to meet the chancellor, who fled then to London. Gir. Camb. V. Galfr., *Ang. Sac.* ii. 394, 395.

[2] *Planis*] Planes, B. D. I.

[3] *crastino*] Tuesday, Oct. 8. R. de Diceto, 664; Gir. Camb., *Ang. Sac.* ii. 398.

Benedict, ii. 213.

A.D. 1191. Oct. 8.

cancellarius ille deponeretur; et deposuerunt eum: et in loco illius instituerunt Rothomagensem archiepiscopum, qui nihil operari voluit in regimine regni, nisi per voluntatem et consensum sociorum suorum assignatorum, et per consilium baronum scaccarii.

Their decision.

Benedict, ii. 214.

Et eodem die[1] comes Moretonii, et archiepiscopus Rothomagensis, et alii regis justitiarii, concesserunt civibus Londoniarum habere communam suam. Et[2] comes Moretonii et archiepiscopus Rothomagensis, et fere omnes episcopi et comites et barones regni, juraverunt communam illam firmiter et inconcusse se servaturos, quamdiu domino regi placuerit: et cives Lundoniarum juraverunt fidele servitium domino regi Ricardo, et hæredi suo; et si ipse sine prole decessisset, reciperent comitem Johannem, fratrem Ricardi regis, in regem et dominum; et juraverunt ei fidelitatem contra omnes homines, salva fidelitate regis Ricardi fratris sui.

The council confirms the privileges of the city of London.

The Londoners take oaths to Richard and John.

Cancellarius itaque depositus juravit quod redderet castella Angliæ; et statim[3] reddidit illi turrim Lundoniarum; et ipse tradidit archiepiscopo Rothomagensi eam, et Vindeshoveres, et alia quædam, sed non omnia. Unde Hugo de Nunant, Coventrensis episcopus, in hac forma scripsit;

The chancellor surrenders the Tower and Windsor.

Epistola Hugonis Coventrensis episcopi, de dejectione Willelmi Eliensis episcopi, regis cancellarii.

Benedict, ii. 215.

" Quæ litterarum apicibus adnotantur, posteritati[4] profecto " signantur, ut pagina paucorum testatione roborata, multo- " rum consulat saluti, vel proficiat indemnitati. Quod hic " proponitur, fit quasi in exemplum. Multa enim scribuntur " ad cautelam, ut fiant; et multa ne fieri debeant, ut ecclesia

Letter of Hugh of Nunant against the chancellor,

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[1] *eodem die*] If Richard of Devizes is right, the institution of the Communa of the Londoners should be dated somewhat earlier. He places it on the same day that Philip of France left Acre on his return, viz. July 31. If this be so, the act of the justices and barons on this occasion was simply to confirm and signify their adherence to the new institution. R. Dev. 53; R. Dic. 664.

[2] *Et*] eodem anno, ins. Savile.

[3] *statim*] The chancellor had to swear on the Wednesday to surrender the castles. On the Thursday, the 10th, he was deposed from the justiciarship. Gir. Camb., *A.S.* ii. 398; R. Devizes, p. 42.

[4] *posteritati*] prosperitati, A. B. D. G. I.

A.D. 1191. October. The fall of the bishop of Ely.

" Christi in utroque proficiat, et cum appetenda inquirit, et " cum fugienda declinat. Casum itaque Elyensis episcopi ad " notitiam omnium litteris extantibus volumus in perpetuum[1] " consignari, ut in hoc exemplari semper inveniat et humili- " tas quod prosperet, et superbia quod formidet. Erat enim " ille vir magnus inter omnes occidentales, utpote qui regni " potestatem, et sedis apostolicæ auctoritatem, quasi ambi- " dexter habebat, et regis sigillum super omnem terram ges- " tabat, ut pro sua voluntate posset imperare, et de potestate " valeret omnia effectui mancipare, ut pariter rex et sacerdos " haberetur et esset: nec inveniri posset qui suæ auderet " resistere voluntati. Quoniam ipse dixit, et facta sunt; man- " davit, et inventa sunt universa. Hujus erant regiæ gazæ, " thesaurus totus et fiscus generaliter omnis, ut jam non regis " sed sua diceretur res quælibet quæ sub climate nostro na- " taret. Quia nec venatio in terris, nec piscatio in aquis, nec " volatus erat in aere, qui suæ non cogeretur mensæ servire: " ut partitus videretur fuisse elementa[2] cum Deo, cœlum " tantum cœli Domino relinquens; cætera tria suis usibus, " immo abusibus, et lusibus profutura reservans. Huic omnes " filii nobilium serviebant vultu demisso,[3] nec in cœlum aspi- " cere audebant, nisi forte vocati ab eo; et si aliter atten- " tassent, aculeo pungebantur, quem dominus præ manibus " habebat, memor piæ recordationis avi sui, qui, servilis con- " ditionis in paga Belvacensi, et aratrum ducere et boves " castigare consueverat; qui tandem ad remedium libertatis " ad fines Normannorum transvolavit. Hujus nepotes et con- " sanguineas, sive quascunque propinquas, de paupere tugurio " procreatas, comites et barones regnique magnates sibi summa " aviditate in matrimonium copulare ardebant; gloriosum repu- " tantes quocunque titulo familiaritatis ejus gratiam adquisis- " sent; nec erat rusticus qui agrum, nec civis qui fundum, " nec miles qui prædium, nec clericus qui ecclesiam, nec " monachus qui abbatiam affectaret, quem in jus et potesta- " tem ejus transire non oporteret.

Benedict, ii. 215.

His arrogance and luxury.

Benedict, ii. 216.

His grandfather was a serf.

He aggrandizes his family by marriages.

His contempt for the English.

" Licet igitur[4] flexo genu tota Anglia ei deserviret, ad Fran- " corum tamen libertatem semper aspirans, apud Oximum[5] mili- " tes deservientes omnemque suam familiam abstrahebat; et " spreta in omnibus gente Anglorum, stipatus agmine Franco- " rum et Flandrensium pompatice incedebat, subsannationem " in naribus, cachinnum in ore, derisum in oculis, supercilium

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[1] *in perpetuum*] impetratum, A.
[2] *fuisse elementa*] esse, D. I.
[3] *demisso*] dimisso, A.
[4] *igitur*] ergo, B. D. G. I.
[5] *Oximum*] Oxonium, B. D. G., corrected in A.

Benedict, ii. 216. "in fronte gestans pro lamina sacerdotis. Hic ad augmentum A.D. 1191. October. His flatterers.
"et famam sui nominis, emendicata carmina et rhythmos "adulatorios comparabat, et de regno Francorum cantores et "joculatores muneribus allexerat, ut de illo canerent in pla- "teis: et jam dicebatur ubique, quod non erat talis in orbe. "Et revera si tempus Cæsaris fuisset, se Deum vivum cum "Tiberio[1] appellari fecisset. Cum autem rex ei comites ad- He despised his colleagues and the king's commands.
"didisset, ut communi consilio saltem majora ordinaret regni, "consortem nequaquam habere sustinuit, quod gloriæ suæ "plurimum crederet dedecorari, si cujusquam[2] mortalis in- "digeret consilio. Solus ergo regnabat, et solus imperabat, "et a mari usque ad mare timebatur ut Deus, et si plus "dicerem, non mentirer; quia Deus longanimis est et mise- "ricors, ipse autem in impetu male cuncta ministrans, nec in "faciendo justitiam habere, nec in sustinendo moram potuit "exspectare. Hinc etiam domini sui litteras omnes et man- "data spernebat, ne dominum habere videretur, nec cuiquam "subesse crederetur, qui omnes quasi servos suæ effecerat "voluntatis.

"Cum igitur Anglia sub tam gravi onere et jugo im- His pride provoked the vengeance of God.
"portabili diutius laborasset, ingemiscens tandem propter "opera clamavit in fortitudine, et ascendit clamor ejus ad
S. Luke, i. 78. "Dominum, et respexit eam Oriens ex alto, Qui superborum "et sublimium colla propria virtute calcat, et humiles exaltat "in magnitudine brachii Sui. Sol nempe justitiæ, licet bonis "et malis luceat, tamen alta sapientium oculos excæcat, et "mentes humilium sui luminis illustratione fœcundat. Licet
Lucan, Phars. i. 70. "igitur cancellarius ille fortiter legisset 'Summis stare diu "'negatum,' et 'Qui stat videat ne cadat,' et 'Qui se exal-
1 Cor. x. 12. S. Luke, xiv. 11. "'tat humiliabitur,' et 'Quia ante ruinam cor exaltatur;' "tamen humanæ conditionis, quæ nunquam in eodem statu
Prov. xvi. 18. "permanet, et oblitus volubilitatis rotæ, quæ infimum erigit, "et elevatum deprimere consuevit, nunquam tamen voluit "intelligere, ut bene ageret; sed iniquitatem meditans in
Ps. xxxvi. 5. "cubili suo, ubi cum ministris nequitiæ et pueris suis dor- "miebat in conclavi, apposuit iniquitatem super iniquitatem, "ut propter superbiam et abusiones suas digno Dei judicio "seipsum præcipitaret in potentias Domini, ut jam non esset "locus misericordiæ, sed soli potestati; nec esset tempus "miserendi ejus vel parcendi. Ipse enim dictavit sententiam "adversum se, exasperavit vindictam, qui tantum facinus "affectavit, in quo non hominis tantum, sed Dei magis ira- "cundiam provocavit. Licet enim Dominus omnia possit,

[1] *Tiberio*] Liberio, A. B. D. G. I. | [2] *cujusquam*] cujuslibet, D. I.

A.D. 1191. October. God gave the country deliverance from him.

" innocentem tamen condemnare[1] non potest, nec nocentem " salvare, nisi parcat, si forte nocens fuerit obstinatus. Menti " enim obstinatæ et fronti meretricis durities opponitur veri " adamantis, ut conterat.[2] Quia nihil tam forte est, quod " fortiori non cedat. Cum igitur homo tantus superari ab " homine non posset, Pater misericordiarum, et Deus totius " consolationis, venit in adjutorium populo Dei supplicanti, et " in affectum Ejus manum misericordiæ supponens, dejecit " illum a potestate; et accusatorem, immo destructorem, in " eum spiritum vertiginis induxit, a quo reverti non posset " vel resurgere; sed ita induravit cor, excæcavit mentem, infa- " tuavit consilium illius, quod archiepiscopum Eboracensem in " ecclesia prius obsedit, postmodum cepit, captum violenter " extraxit, extractum fortiter vinxit, vinctum turpiter traxit, " tractum incarceravit. Et licet concursus fieret populorum " dicentium, 'Justus homo et amicus Dei quid fecit, ut ducatur " 'ad carcerem? Innocens sanguis ejus sine causa damnatur;' " tamen non potuit audiri pietas, ubi superbia regnabat; nec " auditus est Deus, ubi imperabat tyrannus.

Benedict, ii. 217.

2 Cor. i. 3.

Benedict, ii. 218.

He arrested the archbishop of York in church.

" Veniebat enim a partibus Normanniæ archiepiscopus ille " præfatus, cum baculo pastorali, cum mitra et annulo, et " superhumerali, quod novis temporibus pallium nuncupatur. " Et cum esset filius regis Henrici bonæ recordationis, et " frater Ricardi regis modo regnantis, frater quoque comitis " Johannis Moretonii, nihil tamen potuit ei prodesse regius " sanguis; cumque esset noviter consecratus, nihil eum potuit " juvare novitas sacramenti. Ergo per totam insulam a laicis " publice proclamatur: 'Pereat, qui perdere cuncta festinat; " 'opprimatur ne omnes opprimat: Quia si in viridi hoc " 'fecit,[3] in arido quid faceret?' Et ecce Spiritu Sancto du- " cente, ab aquilone et mari, et ex omni parte totius insulæ, " concurrunt et confluunt universi, ut archiepiscopus ille " posset liberari.

The chancellor fled to London. (Oct. 7.)

" Verum funiculis peccatorum suorum ipsum constringenti- " bus cancellarium, et conscientia sua eum vehementius accu- " sante, fugit loricatus a facie hominum, et se abscondit et " inclusit cum suis hominibus in turre Lundoniarum. Nobis " autem introeuntibus civitatem in sero, plures de familia ejus " armati cum gladiis exsertis nos invaserunt, et nobilem virum " de nostris militem interfecerunt, et plures vulneraverunt.

Oct. 8. Council against him.

" Mane ergo habito consilio cum omnibus fere magnatibus " regni, præsente domino Johanne fratre regis, et Rothoma-

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[1] *condemnare*] damnare, D. I.
[2] *conterat*] convertat, D. I.
[3] *fecit*] facit, B. D. I.

Benedict, ii. 218.

A.D. 1191 October. Charges of extortion made against him.

" gensi et Eboracensi archiepiscopis, episcopis etiam præsentibus Dunelmensi, Lundoniensi, Vintoniensi, Batoniensi, Rofensi, Norwicensi, Lincolniensi, Herefordensi, Menevensi, Coventrensi; factoque concilio coram omni populo totius civitatis, præsentibusque justitiariis domini regis, et approbantibus, de consilio universorum statuimus, ne talis de cætero in regno Angliæ dominetur, per quem ecclesia Dei ad ignominiam, et populus ad inopiam erat redactus: ut enim cætera omittam, ipse et garciones[1] sui totum regnum exhauserant, nec viro balteus, nec fœminæ monile remansit, nec annulus nobili, nec quodlibet pretiosum etiam alicui Judæo. Thesaurum quoque regis exinaniverat prorsus, ut in omnibus scriniis vel sacellis nihil, præter claves, de toto isto biennio posset inveniri.

On the third day, Oct. 10, he promised to surrender the castles; and went to Canterbury.

" Tertia autem die[2] promisit firmiter, et per quendam de suis fidem dedit corporaliter, cunctis videntibus, quod insulam non exiret, donec castella quædam, quæ in manu sua habebat, et advenis, et ignotis personis, et obscuris tradiderat, quæ ibi nominata fuerunt, libera penitus resignasset, et personis nominatis tradi fecisset. Super quo et fratres suos et camerarium suum obsides dedit: et Cantuariam properavit,[3] ut ibi, sicut decebat, crucem acciperet peregrinationis, et deponeret crucem legationis, quam per annum et dimidium anni,[4] post mortem papæ Clementis, in præjudicium Romanæ ecclesiæ et detrimentum Anglicanæ portaverat. Omnes enim ecclesias Angliæ crux illa redemit, id est ad redemptionem coegit, nec fuit aliquis immunis, qui crucis illius stigmata[5] non sentiret. Et si forte alicujus episcopi domum intravit, ab eo scire poteritis, quod centum vel ducentarum marcarum pretio sua constitit procuratio.

Benedict, ii. 219.

After spending some days at Dover he determined to fly.

" Cum autem in castello Doroberniæ aliquot diebus[6] commoratus fuisset, immemor suæ professionis, et fidei obligationis quam fecerat: oblitus etiam fratrum suorum, quos obsides datos morti turpiter exponebat, navigare proposuit:

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[1] *garciones*] ganeones, Savile.

[2] *Tertia autem die*] Thursday, Oct. 10.

[3] He left the Tower on Friday, Oct. 11, R. de Dic. 665; and went to Bermondsey; thence on the Saturday he proceeded to Dover (*Ibid.*).

[4] *per annum et dimidium anni*] This is an extraordinary misstatement; for pope Clement III. died only the preceding April.

[5] *stigmata*] signata, ins. B. D. I.; signata is corrected to stigmata in A., and does not appear in G.

[6] *aliquot diebus*] He attempted to escape on the Thursday, Oct. 17: R. de Dic. 665. Giraldus places his capture on the Saturday, Oct. 12, p. 398.

A.D. 1191. October.

He disguised himself as a woman.

"et cum hoc aperte non auderet, novum genus fraudis invenit, "et sese fœminam simulavit, cujus sexum semper odivit;[1] "vestem quoque sacerdotis in habitum convertit meretricis. "Proh dolor! vir factus est fœmina; cancellarius cancellaria; "sacerdos meretrix; episcopus scurra. Ergo de castello su-"periori, licet claudus esset, pedibus præelegit properare ad "littus, tunica fœminea viridi et enormiter longa, pro tunica "sacerdotis jacinctina indutus, capam habens ejusdem coloris "deformiter manicatam pro planeta; peplum in capite pro "mitra; pannum lineum in manu sinistra, quasi ad vendendum, "pro manipulo; virgam venditoris in dextra, pro baculo "pastorali. Talibus ornatus antistes descendit ad mare, et "qui loricam militis sæpius gestare solebat, mira res, quod tam "effœminati animi factus, fœmineum animum præelegit. Cum "enim sederet in littore supra petram, piscator quidam[2] depu-"tans scortum, propius accessit, et qui quasi nudus de mari "descenderat, calefieri forte cupiens, cucurrit ad monstrum, "et manu sinistra collum complectens, dextera partes inferi-"ores rimatur. Cumque tunicam subito sublevasset, et nimis "inverecunde ad partes verecundas manum[3] extendisset au-"dacter, femoralia sensit, et virum in fœmina certis indiciis "agnovit, et vehementer admirans et retro prosiliens, totus "attonitus, voce magna proclamat; 'Venite et videte omnes "'mirabilia, quod virum in fœmina inveni.' Protinus servi-"entes ejus, et noti, qui stabant a longe, accesserunt, et "modesta quadam violentia eum[4] repulerunt, et increpaverunt "ut taceret. Tacuit ergo piscator, et clamor ille quievit, et "sedebat Hermaphroditus[5] expectans. Interim mulier quædam "exiens de villa, videns pannum lineum, quem ille vel illa "gestabat, expositum venditioni, et procedens cœpit inqui-"rere quanti esset pretii, et pro quanto ulnam daret. Ille "vero non respondebat, quia linguam Anglicanam prorsus "ignorabat, et illa magis instabat; et continuo supervenit "alia mulier, illud idem instanter inquirens, et plurimum "instans ut pretium venditionis ei aperiret. Cumque ille[6] "nihil responderet, sed magis subrideret, cœperunt inter se "fabulari, et quærere quidnam esset. Et dolum arbitrantes, "projecerunt manus ad peplum, quo facies tegebatur, et sub-"mittentes a naso usque deorsum, viderunt faciem hominis

Benedict, ii. 219.

He was detected by a sailor;

and by a woman.

Benedict, ii. 220.

[1] *odivit*] So all the MSS.

[2] *quidam*] qui statim, ins. Savile; om. B. D. I. It is so written in A., and marked for erasure. Benedict has *qui statim*.

[3] *manum*] manus, D. I.

[4] *eum*] om. D. I.

[5] *Hermaphroditus*] Ermofroditus, A. B. D. I.

[6] *ille*] om. D. I.

Benedict, ii. 220. " nigram, et noviter rasam, et stupescere ultra modum cœpe- A.D. 1191. October.
" runt. Et corruentes ad[1] terram, voces ad sidera tollunt, His discovery and discomfiture.
" dicentes; 'Venite, lapidemus hoc monstrum, quod deforma-
" 'vit utrumque sexum.' Et facta est statim multitudo viro-
" rum ac mulierum, extrahentium de capite peplum, et tra-
" hentium eum prostratum in terram per manicas, et per
" caputium, per arenam ignominiose, et per saxa non sine
" læsione. Servientes autem bis aut ter impetum fecerunt in
" turbam, ut eum liberarent, sed non potuerunt, quia populus
" totus eum insatiabili corde persequens, et verbis et alapis
" et sputis, pluribusque modis turpiter tractavit per totam
" villam, et sic tractatum, immo distractum, in quodam cellario
" tenebroso eum quasi sub carcerali custodia inclusit.

" Tractus igitur est qui traxerat, captus qui ceperat, liga- He was imprisoned by the mob.
" tus qui ligaverat, incarceratus qui incarceraverat, ut se-
" cundum quantitatem culpæ, commensurabilis videretur quan-
Ps. xxxi. 13. " titas pœnæ. Factus est[2] enim opprobrium vicinis suis valde,
" et timor notis suis, et datus est in derisum omni populo.
" Utinam se solum sacerdotem, et non ipsum sacerdotium
" inquinasset. Provideat ergo Romana ecclesia, ut tantus
" excessus taliter puniatur, ne[3] delictum unius contaminet A warning to the pope and king.
" omnes, et sacerdotalis auctoritas non vilescat. Et rex Angliæ
" nihilominus prospiciat, ut talem regno suo personam præ-
" ficiat, per quem regalis dignitas honoris servetur, et juris
" sui detrimenta non sentiat, sed de ejus regimine clerus et
" populus merito debeant[4] gloriari."

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[1] *ad*] in, B. I.; interim, ins. D.
[2] *est*] om. D. I.
[3] *ne*] neque, B. I.; et ne, D.
[4] *debeant*] debeat, B. D. I.

A.D. 1191.

Epistola magistri Petri Blesensis pro Willelmo Elyensi episcopo.[1]

Peter of Blois remonstrates with the bishop of Coventry about the treatment of the chancellor.

(Not in Benedict.)

" Quondam domino et amico Hugoni, Coventrensi et Ces-" trensi dicto episcopo, Petrus Blesensis, Bathoniensis archi-" diaconus, Dei memoriam cum timore. Livor quo tendat, " invidia quo feratur, proditoriæ factionis hodie patefecit im-" manitas. Dilectus Deo et hominibus episcopus Eliensis, " vir sapiens, amabilis, generosus, benignus, et mitis, et in " omnes liberalitates effusus, juxta Divinæ gratiæ dispo-" sitionem, et suorum exigentiam[2] meritorum, reipublicæ " administrationem et summam rerum fuerat assecutus. Vi-" disti et invidisti; ex tunc ira tua. Ibi invidia concepit " dolorem, et peperit iniquitatem; ipse autem ambulans sim-" pliciter te in suæ familiaritatis sacrarium, atque in[3] unani-" mitatem amicitiæ, et vinculum[4] fœderis accersivit. Totus " requiescebat super te spiritus ejus, et erant adversus eum " omnes cogitationes tuæ in malum. 'Væ,' dicit Ecclesiasticus, " 'duplici cordi, atque labiis scelestis, et peccatori ingredienti " 'terram[5] duabus viis.'[6] Interioris conscientiæ malum quo-" dam prætextu amicitiæ facies hypocrita palliabat, et tu exer-" cebas occulte in hominem innocentem linguæ seditionariæ et " procacis injurias. 'Maledictus,' inquit Salomon, 'susurro, " 'et bilinguis in populis, turbat enim pacificos.' Omnem " conscientiam suam effundebat in sinu tuo. Te enim quasi " se alterum reputabat; tu vero eum, in occasionem præcipitii, " proditoriis[7] adulationibus impingebas. O detestanda prodi-" tio! Judas osculo tradidit, et tu[8] verbo; exhibebas exterius " diligentis officium, et lingua tua concinnabat dolos. 'Sedens " 'adversus fratrem tuum loquebaris, et adversus filium matris " 'tuæ ponebas scandalum.' 'Væ homini illi per quem scan-" 'dalum venit.' Hoc equidem facinus interminabilem tibi " maculam sinistræ opinionis inussit, et si quid commenda-" bile de beneficio naturæ perceperas, culpa hæc perenniter " abolevit. Nimirum Joab multa fortiter fecerat, sed proditio

Ecclus. ii. 14.

Ecclus. xxviii. 15.

He accuses him of treachery and ingratitude.

Ps. l. 20.

S. Matt. xviii. 7.

The baseness of this treachery.

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[1] This letter is not in MSS. A. C. or G. It appears first in MS. B. on an interleaf, and has been received into the text of MSS. D. and I. by the transcribers. It is given here as placed by Savile, but it was never a part of the original MS. In fact, Peter of Blois probably published his letters first after the close of Hoveden's work.

[2] *exigentiam*] morum et, ins. D.

[3] *in*] om. D.

[4] *et vinculum*] vinculum et, D.

[5] *terram*] om. D.

[6] *duabus viis*] duas vias, D.

[7] *proditoriis*] proditoris, D.

[8] *tu*] in, ins. D. I.

(Not in Benedict.) "in Amasam et Abner omnes in eo virtutum titulos deni- A.D. 1191.
"gravit. O labia detractoria! O lingua maledica et dolosa!
Ps. cxx. 3. "Quid apponetur, Domine, ad hanc linguam dolosam? Utinam
"apponantur sagittæ, quæ eam transfodiant, et carbones de-
"solatorii hanc incendant; utinam tu, Seraphin, qui cœlesti
"carbone prophetæ labia emundasti, gehennali flamma totum
"os et linguam ejus emundando destrueres, ut possemus
Ps. lxxxix. 43. "cantare et dicere: 'Destruxisti eum ab emundatione.' Labia
"evangelio consecrata nunquam desinunt effutire ventum in
"verba mendacii. Totum vanitati datur, quod erat debitum
Ps. cxl. 11. "veritati; porro 'vir linguosus non dirigetur in terra;' ergo
1 Cor. x. 12. Prov. xvi. 18. "'qui stat, videat ne cadat;' 'ante ruinam exaltatur cor.' Words of warning:
"Exultas infelix, et jactitas, quod supplantaveris innocentem?
S. Luke, ii. 34. "sed certe positus est 'in ruinam resurrectionemque mul-
"'torum;' in suam scilicet et suorum restitutionem; in tuam
"vero tuorumque ruinam complicium. Faba[1] hæc recudetur
"in caput tuum. 'Omnis enim fraus in se reversa colliditur;'
"de dolo non colliges, nisi fructum doloris; et orditus es
Isa. xxx. 1. "telam, ut diploide vestiaris. Verbum Ysaiæ est, 'Qui or-
"'dimini telam, et in umbra Egypti confiditis, diem amari-
"'tudinis exspectate.' Publice gloriaris et jactitas, quod
"hanc turbam moveris, quod incautum deceperis, et indux-
"eris plebem, ut armis inermem, et insidiis appeterent in-
"nocentem. Quid gloriaris in malitia, qui potens es in ini- and reproach.
"quitate? Quid prædicas malitiam tuam, quæ in pluribus
"provinciis, tua discurrente infamia, jam plebescit? Sed de
Prov. ii. 14. "te, consimilibusque tuis dici potest; 'Lætantur cum male-
"'fecerint, et exultant in rebus pessimis.' Porro verbum
Prov. xvii. 5. "Sapientis est, 'Qui lætatur in ruina alterius, punietur.' Salo-
Prov. xxiv. 17. "mon, 'Cum ceciderit inimicus tuus, ne gaudeas, ne videat
"'Deus, et in te iracundiam Suam vertat.' Sane semper
"familiare et proprium tuæ prosapiæ[2] fuit dissensionum mate-
"riam seminare; ramusque pestilens malitiam suam de malæ
"arboris radice contraxit. O generatio prava! O domus exas- He comes of a contentious family.
"perans! O genimen viperarum! Quis te docuit fugere a
"ventura ira? putas quod non videat et requirat hæc Do-
Ps. x. 12. "minus? Præter hoc irritavit impius Dominum. 'Dixit enim
"'in corde suo, non requiret.' Sed certe requiret Dominus,
"requiret etiam ille de cujus nunc angustia gloriaris; quan-
Wisd. iii. 6. "doque dante Domino respirabit. Sapientia enim justum
"venditum non derelinquet, et in tempore erit respectus
"illius. Decebat tui ordinis gravitatem pacem conciliare in

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[1] *Faba*] See Terence, *Eunuchus*, line 381.

[2] A reference probably to Arnulf of Lisieux, the uncle of Hugh.

A.D. 1191. His duty is to appease the people, not to provoke them.

"populis, sedare seditiones maxime in Anglia, quæ te satis "pauperem suscipiens magnificis honoribus ampliavit. Jeremias[1] loquens ad eos qui in transmigratione Babilonica "erant, 'Quærite,' inquit, 'pacem civitatis ad quam migrare "'fecit vos Dominus, quia in pace illius erit pax vestra.' "Vice alia tibi scripsi, et ut cessares a talibus monitis salutaribus supplicavi. Veruntamen cithara David nunquam "Saulis vesaniam sedavit ad plenum; et ad hæc manus tua "extenta est. Memento igitur, homo, si tamen homo,[2] memento, inquam, tuæ conditionis; memento hujus vitæ brevis; memor esto districti et horrendi Judicis; memor esto "pœnæ terribilis, horribilis, interminabilis, et intolerabilis, "quæ tibi in æternum parata est, si a tali maleficio non desistis." (Not in Benedict.) Jerem. xxix. 7.

De liberatione cancellarii.

Oct. 24. After eight days of imprisonment the chancellor is released, and goes to Flanders. Thence to Paris and so to Normandy, where he is treated as excommunicated.

Deinde post octo dies Johannes frater regis, comes Moretonii, præcepit ut cancellarius liberaretur a carcere, et abiret. Et abiens transfretavit, et applicuit in Flandria apud Wissand.[3] Et cum iter ageret, quidam viri nobiles de terra illa, quibus ipse forisfecerat in Anglia, injecerunt manum in eum, et tenuerunt eum, donec ipse satisfecit illis. Et procedens inde venit Parisius, et dedit Mauricio[4] episcopo lx. marcas argenti tali conditione, ut ipse receptus esset ibi cum processione, et factum est ita. Deinde rediit in Normanniam; sed per mandatum Rothomagensis archiepiscopi habebatur ibi pro excommunicato, et omnis locus in quo ipse venit,[5] in toto archiepiscopatu Rothomagensi, cessabat a Divino officio, quamdiu ipse ibi moram fecit. At ille nuncios suos misit ad Cœlestinum papam, et ad dominum suum regem Angliæ, significans eis qualiter Johannes comes Moretonii, et complices illius, ejecerant eum a regno: et conquerens sibi de vindicta, restitutionem ablatorum petebat, offerens se juri pariturum: et quod si domino regi factum ejus et expensæ non placuissent, ipse in omnibus satisfaceret (Benedict, ii. 220.) (Benedict, ii. 221.)

He complains to the king,

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[1] *Jeremias*] Item, Savile.

[2] *si tamen homo*] homo tantum si, Savile.

[3] *Wissand*] Witsand, I. The chancellor sailed from Dover on the 29th of October, having been liberated on the 24th. R. de Dic. 665.

[4] *Mauricio*] Maurice de Sully, bishop of Paris, 1160–1196.

[5] *venit*] om. D. I.; perendinavit, B.

Benedict, ii. 221. ejus voluntati. Unde summus pontifex ad iracundiam provocatus, universis archiepiscopis, episcopis Angliæ in hac forma scripsit; A.D. 1191. and to the pope.

Epistola Cœlestini papæ ad prælatos Angliæ pro Willelmo Eliensi episcopo.

Dec. 2. The pope writes to the bishops about the chancellor.

"Cœlestinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus "fratribus, archiepiscopis, episcopis, in regno Angliæ constitutis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum dilectus "in Christo filius noster Ricardus, illustris rex Anglorum, "quando se, suscepto signo crucis, ad ulciscendam injuriam "Redemptoris accinxit, tutelæ regni sui, quod, sicut vir intelligens et requirens Deum, curas duxit obsequio postponendum, sub apostolica protectione dimiserit: statum "regni sui ac jura et honorem ipsius, tanto majori studio "conservare volumus et debemus, quanto, de nostra protectione confisus, majoribus periculis personam suam et res "pro exaltatione sanctæ religionis exposuit; et in obsequio "Creatoris laudabilius, faciente[1] Domino cum eo signum in "bonum, atque ferventius, sicut ex suis operibus elucescit, "cognoscitur se habere. Quoniam igitur quædam tam contra "regnum ipsum[2] quam contra venerabilem patrem vestrum[3] "Willelmum Eliensem episcopum, apostolicæ sedis legatum, "cui regnum tradidit gubernandum, per Johannem comitem "Moretonii, et per quosdam alios accepimus attentata, quæ "nonnulla in se suspicionis continent argumenta, et, si vera "sunt, non in modicam noscuntur sedis apostolicæ contumeliam redundare, eidem præsumptioni tanto maturius duximus occurrendum, quanto ex mora ipsa, jam dicto regi, "et terræ Jerosolimitanæ gravius detrimentum, ac nobis et "ecclesiæ Romanæ major inde posset ignominia provenire. "Proinde universitati vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, "et in virtute obedientiæ præcipimus, quatenus si, prout "nobis insonuit, memoratus comes, vel alius, in jam dictum "episcopum manus violentas injicere, vel eum capere, vel juramentum quodlibet ab eo per violentiam extorquere, seu eum "in captione tenere, seu statum regni a severitate[4] regia in "recessu suo dispositum aliquatenus immutare vel præsump-

Ps. lxxxvi. 17.

He condemns the measures of John against him.

Benedict, ii. 222.

He commands them to excommunicate John if he lays violent hands on the chancellor.

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[1] *faciente*] favente, D. I.

[2] *ipsum*] suum, B. D. I.

[3] *patrem vestrum*] fratrem nostrum, D. I.; fratrem vestrum, B.

[4] *severitate*] serenitate is the word required, but the MSS. read *severitate*.

A.D. 1191. Dec. 2. His advisers are to be declared excommunicate.

"serit, vel præsumpsit, omni occasione vel simultate post- Benedict, ii. 222.
"posita, convenientes in unum, prædictum comitem, et omnes "antedictæ[1] præsumptionis consiliarios, auctores, complices, "et fautores, accensis candelis et pulsatis campanis, omni "appellatione et excusatione, necnon et personarum accep-"tione postpositis, publice nuncietis vinculo excommuni-"cationis astrictos, et tam diu faciatis sicut excommunicatos "ab omnibus arctius evitari, nec non et in terris illorum, et "in aliis quas invaserint, præter pœnitentias et parvulorum "baptismata, Divina penitus, sine appellationis obstaculo, pro-"hibeatis celebrari officia; donec jam dicto legato tam a "captione quam a juramento primitus absoluto, et regno ipso "in statum a prænominato rege in recessu suo dispositum "reformato, cum testimonio litterarum ipsius legati et ves-"trarum pariter, ad sedem veniant apostolicam absolvendi; "scituri pro certo, quod si hujus nostri executione præcepti "negligentes fueritis, aut remissi, non minorem in vos præ-"stante Domino duximus ultionem, quam si prædicta injuria "personæ nostræ vel uni de fratribus nostris esset irrogata. "Datum Laterani quarto nonas Decembris, pontificatus nostri "anno primo."

Auctoritate igitur litterarum istarum summi pontificis, prædictus Eliensis episcopus in hac forma scripsit Hugoni Lincolniensi episcopo;

Epistola Willelmi Eliensis episcopi ad Hugonem Lincolniensem episcopum.

The chancellor, in the strength of the papal letters, writes to the bishop of Lincoln, to order the execution of the mandate.

"Willelmus, Dei gratia Eliensis episcopus, et apostolicæ "sedis legatus, et domini regis cancellarius, venerabili fratri "et amico carissimo, H., eadem gratia Lincolniensi episcopo, "salutem, et sinceræ dilectionis affectum. Quanto de dilec-"tione vestra pleniorem fiduciam obtinemus, majorem con-"stantiam in vobis invenimus, tanto confidentius discretioni "vestræ et ecclesiæ Dei negotia, domini regis, et nostra com-"mittimus exsequenda, confidentes in Domino de vobis, quod Benedict, ii. 223.
"præceptis apostolicis et nostris vestra caritas pontificaliter "respondebit. Mandamus igitur vobis in virtute obedientiæ, "et ea qua fungimur auctoritate præcipimus, quatenus ad "exsequendum mandatum apostolicum, universis archiepiscopis "et episcopis Angliæ destinatum, cum cæteris fratribus ves-"tris omnibus vel quibusdam, cito conveniatis, ne diutius in

[1] *antedictæ*] jam dictæ, B. D. I.

Benedict, ii. 223.

A.D. 1191.

He defers the sentence against John until Quinquagesima, Feb. 1192;

"ecclesiam Dei, et sacerdotes ejus, laicalis iniquitas malig-"netur; ne tergiversatione vel dissimulatione aliqua illorum "malitia vobis debeat imputari. Ea vero quæ dominus papa "mandavit de persona Johannis comitis Moretonii tempera-"vimus, differentes usque ad Dominicam qua cantatur, 'Esto "'mihi,' ut si forte resipiscere vellet interim, nos inde Deo "gratias redderemus, et pro eo in conspectu domini papæ, et "domini nostri regis Angliæ, athletæ Crucifixi, preces funde-"remus affectuosas, ut delicti sui veniam mereretur, et modis "omnibus honori et commodo ejus, salva fidelitate domini "regis, et honestate sacerdotii nostri, operam adhiberemus et "diligentiam efficacem. In terris autem excommunicatorum "nulla Divina celebrari permittatis, præter baptismata parvu-"lorum et pœnitentias. Nomina autem eorum qui a domin "papa excommunicati sunt, et a nobis denunciata, quorum "factum ita evidentia facti notorium sit, quod nulla possunt "tergiversatione inficiari, hæc sunt:

and sends a list of the other excommunicated persons.

"Gwarterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus,
"Godefridus Wintoniensis episcopus,
"Hugo Coventrensis episcopus,
"Willelmus Marescallus,
"Gaufridus filius Petri,
"Willelmus Bruwere,
"Hugo Bardolf,[1]
"Ricardus Malebisse,
"Et Hugo frater ejus,
"Jacobus et Simon, filii Simonis,
"Simon de Averenchis,
"Rogerus filius Rainfrai,[2]
"Et Gilbertus et Rainfrai, filii ejus,
"Gyrardus de Camvilla,
"Comes Saresbiriæ,
"Johannes Marescallus,
"Comes de Mellent,
"Gilbertus Basset,
"Thomas Basset,
"Henricus de Ver,
"Gocelinus filius Rainfrai,
"Stephanus Ridel, cancellarius comitis Moretonii, quem "ut episcopus, et ejus legatus, vobis denunciamus "excommunicatum;

Benedict, ii. 224.

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[1] *Bardolf*] Bardulf, I.

[2] *Rainfrai*] Raimfrei, I.; Reinfrei B. The names are summed up in D., "et multi alii episcopi et "comites et barones et milites quam-"plurimi."

A.D. 1191. Master Benedict and John of Coutances are to be declared excommunicate; also the bishop of Coventry:

"Et Magistrum Benedictum,[1] qui sigillum domini regis, "contra statuta regis et regni, et contra prohibitio- "nem nostram, ferre præsumpsit; Benedict, ii. 224.

"Et Johannem[2] Oxenfordensem archidiaconum.

"Ad hæc vero vobis specialiter et distincte præcipimus, quod "Hugonem Coventrensem episcopum, quem solenniter excom- "municavimus, non solum quia verbo et opere episcopum "diffitetur, et quia in manu piæ recordationis Baldewini, "Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, fidem corporaliter præstitit de "comitatibus non tenendis; verum quia totius subversionis "regni Angliæ consulator exstitit manifestus et auctor, et "turbator pacis, et contra regiam dignitatem et utilitatem "publicus advocatus; publice denuncietis excommunicatum, "et faciatis ab omnibus arctius evitari, ne de cætero ovis "tam morbida gregem Domini valeat inficere et maculare. "Hugonem vero Bardolf, qui ad præsens non fuit in ejectione "et captione nostra, a prædicta denunciatione excipimus, si "statim admonitus Willelmo de Stutevilla resignaverit castella "de Scardheburc, et de tota Eboraci siria et de Westmeri- "lande,[3] quæ detinet occupata. Prohibeatis etiam universis in "diocesi vestra constitutis, sub interminatione anathematis, "ne pro illis, qui se in Anglia justitiarios gerunt, aliquid faci- "ant, nec in aliquo violentæ et usurpatæ obediant potestati. "Valete."

but Hugh Bardolf may be admitted to terms.

Item[4] prædictus Eliensis episcopus in hac forma scripsit Hugoni, Lincolniensi episcopo;

Epistola Willelmi Heliensis episcopi ad Hugonem Lincolniensem episcopum.

The chancellor in another letter orders the revenues of the archdeacon of Oxford to be sequestrated.

"Willelmus, Dei gratia Eliensis episcopus, apostolicæ sedis "legatus, et domini regis cancellarius, H., eadem gratia Lin- "colniensi episcopo, venerabili fratri et amico, salutem. Ea "qua fungimur auctoritate vobis mandamus, et in virtute "obedientiæ vobis præcipimus, quod archidiaconatum et "omnes redditus Johannis Oxefordensis[5] archidiaconi in manu "vestra saisiatis, recipiatis, et[6] conservetis, donec apostoli-

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[1] *Benedictum*] Of Sansetun, afterwards, in 1215, bishop of Rochester.

[2] *Johannem*] John of Coutances, dean of Rouen, and afterwards, in 1196, bishop of Worcester.

[3] *Westmerilande*] Westmarilande, I.; Westmarelande, D.

[4] *Item*] om. B. D. I.

[5] *Oxefordensis*] Exoniensis, D.

[6] *et*] om. B. D. I.

Benedict, ii. 224, 225. "cum aut nostrum inde mandatum acceperitis, quoniam cum "avunculo suo, Rothomagensi[1] Pilato, pacem et tranquillitatem "regni Angliæ perturbat, et malum quodcunque potest domino "regi[2] et regno, tanquam hostis regni et nobis, perquirit. "Unde auctoritate domini papæ illum excommunicationis vin- "culo innodavimus. Valete." A.D. 1191.

Similiter Eliensis episcopus prænominatus scripsit quibusdam aliis episcopis Angliæ, sed nullus eorum exsecutus est mandatum apostolicum, neque suum. Non enim habebant eum pro legato,[3] neque pro regis cancellario. Prædictus vero Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, et cæteri justitiarii Angliæ, dissaisiaverunt illum ab episcopatu suo, et redditus ejus collegerunt ad opus regis, propter thesauros regis quos adnihilaverat. Deinde prædicti justitiarii, et omnes episcopi et comites et barones Angliæ, in communi scripto mandaverunt regi, qualiter cancellarius suus regnum Angliæ et thesauros suos destruxerat, et qualiter ipse per commune concilium regni dejectus est. Ipse vero cancellarius hæc contra scripsit regi, significans quod Johannes frater ejus regnum occupaverat, et quod regni diadema capiti suo imponeret, nisi ipse celerius venire festinasset. Tamen rex, confidens in Domino, servitium Dei noluit deserere donec pecunia et homines defecerunt ei.

The bishops decline to execute the mandate. The justiciars seize the property of the see of Ely, and write to the king. The chancellor also complains to the king.

De recessu Philippi regis Franciæ de Accon, et de itinere suo.

Benedict, ii. 192. Nunc autem revertamur ad regem Franciæ; qui interim, imperfecta peregrinatione sua, a terra Jerosolimitana recedens cum xiv. galeis, transitum fecit ante civitatem de August. Philip's journey home.

[1] *Rothomagensi*] quondam, et nunc, ins. D.

[2] *perturbat . . . regi*] om. D. I.

[3] It is indeed questionable whether the bishop was lawfully legate at this time; and the date of the letters themselves may depend on the time at which his legation was renewed. The questions will be: (1) Did his legation expire with the life of the grantor, Clement III.? (2) If so, when was it renewed by Celestine III.? (3) Was the renewal by Celestine sufficient to constitute him legate without the consent of the king, or (4) against the will of the king's representatives? On some of these points see note in *Epp. Cantuar.*, p. lxxxiii.

A.D. 1191. August. He passes Berytus, Jebeil, Botrun, Enfeh, Tripoli, Arka, Castel Blanc, el Khulat,

Baruth, quæ tunc erat in manu paganorum, et non invasit eos. Benedict, ii. 192, 193.

Deinde transivit ante Gibelet civitatem, et ante Buterun castellum, et ante Neffin castellum. Deinde venit ad civitatem Tripolis, et ibi moram fecit per aliquot dies.

Et cum inde recessisset, transivit ante castellum de Archis, et ante castellum Album, et ante le Culiat, castellum Hospitalis. Deinde venit ad Turtuse, civitatem episcopalem.

Tortosa, Maraclea, Merkeb;

Et est notandum, quod ante Turtusam est insula quædam in mari, quæ dicitur Aredos: unde Turtusa dicitur civitas Antaradensis. Deinde venit ad Maureclai portum bonum; et recedens inde transivit ante Margat, castellum Hospitalis, ubi Ysakius, imperator de Cypre, tenebatur in vinculis.

Banias, Jebleh, S. Simeon, Antioch, Beilan, Alexandretta.

Deinde venit[1] ad Valeniam civitatem. Deinde venit ad Gibel civitatem, deinde ad Melide civitatem, deinde ad portum Sancti Simeonis. Deinde venit ad civitatem Anthiochenam; et recedens inde venit ad portum de Bunel; deinde ad portum Alexandret.

He enters Armenia: passes Corycus, and Salef.

Deinde intravit terram Erminiorum quæ dicitur Erminia,[2] et est terra Rupini de la Muntaigne[3] sub principe Antiochiæ. Deinde venit ad fluvium magnum qui dicitur Thil,[4] et ibi est civitas bona, quæ similiter dicitur Thil. Deinde venit ad alium fluvium magnum, qui dicitur Curck,[5] et ibi est civitas magna deserta quæ similiter dicitur Curck. Deinde venit ad tertium fluvium magnum, qui dicitur Salef, et ibi super fluvium illum est civitas magna quæ similiter dicitur Salef:[6] in fluvio autem illo Salef submersus est Fredericus, Romanorum imperator, cum exiret de terra Soltani de Yconio.

De tribus Magis qui obtulerunt Domino tria munera, aurum, thus et myrrham.

The country of the Three Kings.

Sciendum vero est, quod a finibus illis egressi sunt illi tres reges, qui obtulerunt Domino nostro Jesu Christo tria munera pretiosa, scilicet aurum, thus et myrrham. Quorum nomina hæc sunt: Jesphar, Paptizar, Melchior;[7] quorum

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1 *venit*] om. B. D. I.
2 *Erminia*] Ermenia, B. I.; Ermenea, D.
3 *Muntaigne*] Muntaine, B. D. I.
4 *Thil*] Chil, B. D. I.
5 *Curck*] Curch, D. I.
6 *et ibi . . . Salef*] om. I.
7 *Jesphar . . . Melchior*] Jespar, Pabpilzar, Melchior, I.; Pabtizar, B. D. G.

Benedict, ii. 194. unus erat rex de Salef, quæ dicitur insula; et alter erat rex de Malmistre; et tertius erat rex de Terzol,[1] id est, Tarsis:[2] unde dicitur in Psalmo: "Reges Tarsis[2] et insulæ munera offerent." Et est sciendum, quod hi tres fluvii, scilicet Salef et Curck et Thil, oriuntur in Turkia, quæ dicitur terra Turcorum, qui sunt homines Soltani de Yconio; et dividunt terram Turcorum a terra Rupini de la Muntaigne;[3] et descendunt in mare prope gulfum Sataliæ. Et fluvius qui dicitur Salef est oppositus insulæ de Cypre, et non distat ab ea plusquam per L. milliaria ad æstimationem nautarum; facile enim videtur de una ripa in alteram. Et cum rex Franciæ a fluvio illo de Salef recessisset, transivit juxta montes excelsos qui dicuntur Catmerdes.[4]

Ps. lxxii. 10.

A.D. 1191. August. They came from Seleucia, Malmistra, and Tarsus.

Deinde transivit ante castellum quod dicitur Nessekin. Deinde venit ad villam bonam quæ dicitur Stamere, in qua nobilis abbatia Griffonum est. Deinde transivit ante castellum desertum, quod dicitur castellum de Rote. Deinde venit ad fluvium qui dicitur Scalendros: fluvius iste Scalendros dividit terram Erminiorum a terra imperatoris Constantinopolitani; et ibi ex una parte fluvii illius, in terra imperatoris Constantinopolitani, est castellum quod dicitur Antiochet: et ex altera parte ejusdem fluminis, in Erminia, est castellum quod dicitur Isanci.

Philip passes Sessin, Estelmur, Kelenderi, Antiochetta.

Cumque rex Franciæ venisset ad castellum Antiochet, Constantinus, dominus castelli, recepit eum cum gaudio, et administravit ei et suis necessaria. Et rex Franciæ ibidem moram fecit per octo dies, et prædicti Constantini filium primogenitum fecit militem.

He knights the eldest son of the lord of Antiochetta.

Et est sciendum, quod tota terra quæ est a fluvio illo Scalendros versus Septentrionem secus mare, est terra imperatoris Constantinopolis, quæ dicitur Romania, id est, Græcia.

This is the frontier of Armenia.

Benedict, ii. 195. Et cum ipse inde recessisset, statim intravit gulfum Sataliæ.[5] Gulfus dicitur, ubi aqua protenditur inter duas terras, et sinum facit. Satalia castellum est optimum, unde gulfus ille nomen accepit. Et super gulfum illum sunt duo castella et villæ, et utrumque dicitur Satalia: sed unum illorum desertum est, et dicitur vetus Satalia; et alterum dicitur Satalia nova, quod, Manuel imperator Constantinopolis firmavit. Et transito gulfo Sataliæ, transivit rex Franciæ sub monte qui dicitur Siredune, in fine gulfi Sataliæ. Deinde transivit per montem excelsum valde, qui dicitur Reswt. Deinde venit ad

He enters the gulf of Satalia.

He passes Chelidonia.

[1] *de Terzol*] Cerzol, I.
[2] *Tarsis*] Tharsis, B. D. I.
[3] *Muntaigne*] Muntaine, B. D. I.
[4] *Catmerdes*] Catimerdes, I.; Cathimerdes, B.
[5] *Sataliæ*] Satalliæ, D.

A.D. 1191. Philip passes Phineka, and the port of the Pisans; fluvium qui dicitur Winke,[1] super quem est castellum desertum, quod similiter dicitur Reswt. Et fluvius ille Winke similiter dicitur portus Pisanorum, eo quod piratæ Pisani portum illum sæpius frequentant. Quo cum rex Franciæ venisset, invenit ibi quatuor galeas piratarum, et cepit eas: piratæ autem relictis galeis fugerunt in montana, et sic evaserunt manus ejus. Deinde venit rex ad Mirream civitatem, ubi Beatus Nicholaus episcopatum tenuit, quam Græci vocant Stamire. Deinde venit ille ad bonum portum et securum in omni tempestate et vento, qui dicitur Ckakoiis:[2] et ex utraque parte portus illius fuerunt antiquitus civitates pulchræ et magnæ, quæ dicebantur Cake; et ruinæ magnæ murorum sunt ibi usque in hodiernum diem, et nemo in eis habitat propter metum piratarum. (Benedict, ii. 195.) (Myra, Kekova;)

Deinde transivit per insulas de Yse, in quarum una est castellum quod dicitur castellum Ruge. Ibi fuit quondam quædam puella, quæ Yse vocabatur, a cujus nomine insulæ illæ dictæ sunt. (Kastelorizo.)

Indigenæ quidem narrant, quod quidam miles dilexit puellam illam, et illa noluit consentire illi, quamdiu vixit: defuncta autem illa, miles accessit, et concubuit cum illa, dicens, "Quod cum viva facere non potui, cum mortua feci:" et statim intravit Satan in eam, et ait, "Ecce genuisti in me filium, "et cum natus fuerit, afferam eum ad te." Et post novem menses, cum tempus pariendi instaret, peperit filium abortivum, et portans eum ad militem, ait, "Ecce filius tuus quem "genuisti: abscide caput ejus, et reserva tibi. Quandocunque "enim volueris inimicum tuum vincere, vel terram illius "destruere, capitis abscisi vultus discooperiatur, et respi- "ciat inimicum tuum, vel terram ejus, et statim peribunt; "et cum cessare volueris, recooperiatur vultus, et cessabit "tribulatio." Et factum est ita. Post multum vero temporis miles ille uxorem duxit, quæ sæpius interrogavit eum qua arte, vel quo ingenio, ipse ita destruebat inimicos suos sine armis et sine exercitu: ille autem ei dicere noluit, sed increpavit eam ut taceret. Contigit ergo quadam die dum miles abesset, quod illa accessit ad arcam, in qua sperabat secretum illud esse domini sui, per quod ille ita operabatur inique, et invenit in arca caput illud detestabile, et statim abiens projecit illud in gulfo Sataliæ. Et dicunt nautæ, quod quandocunque caput illud fuerit resupinum, commotus est gulfus (Legend about this place.) (Benedict, ii. 196.)

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[1] *Winke*] Vinke, I.

[2] *Chackoiis*] Karkois, B. D.; Karkoiis, I.; Crachous, Bened.

Benedict, ii. 196. ille adeo, quod nulla navis potest transire illum; et quando caput supinum est, tunc potest navis transire illum. Credat hoc Judæus Apella, non ego. A.D. 1191. Wonders of the gulf of Satalia.

Et est aliud mirabile, quod unoquoque mense anni semel contingit. Videtur quod draco niger et ingens veniat in nubibus cœli, qui mittit caput suum in gulfo Sataliæ, et haurit aquas, et attrahit ita vehementer, quod si navis aliqua fuerit ibi, quamvis fuerit onusta, tamen hauritur et defertur in sublime. Volentes autem hoc vitare periculum, oportet quod, cum viderint monstrum illud, statim faciant tumultum magnum et clamationes altas, percutientes in tabulis, ut auditis clamoribus draco ille elongetur ab eis. Nos[1] autem dicimus hoc non esse draconem, sed æstum solis, qui attrahit ad se aquas maris. Benedict, ii. 197. A water-spout.

Sequitur;[2] cum rex Franciæ recessisset ab insulis de Yse, transivit juxta montem magnum, in cujus summitate sita est civitas Patara, in qua natus et diu conversatus fuit Beatus Nicholaus. Deinde transivit juxta montem excelsum valde qui dicitur Turkie, qui dividit terram imperatoris Constantinopolis a terra Soltani de Yconio. Et exinde incipit Rumania, quæ etiam Græcia dicitur. Philip passes Patara; and the cape of Turkey.

Tota Rumania est terra solida, de dominio imperatoris: et multæ insulæ sunt in mari, quæ dicuntur insulæ de Romania. Caput Romaniæ est civitas Constantinopolis. Romania vero conjuncta est Sclavoniæ et Hungariæ et Istriæ et Aquileiæ. Nomina quarundam principalium insularum, quæ sunt in mari Græco, sunt hæc: insula Siciliæ, quæ est regis Siciliæ; insula de Crete, quæ magna est et fertilis, et in medio ejus est mons magnus, qui dicitur mons Cameli; insula de Rodes; insula de Cypre; insula de Biscopie; insula de Isky,[3] in hac insula crescit copia speciei quæ dicitur Mastic; insula de Ysame; insula de Ynexea; insula de Stuple; insula de Mil; insula des quales; insula de Cuverfu; insula de Serfent; insula de Sasent; insula quæ dicitur Fale de Compari; insula de Andre; insula quæ dicitur Tine. Sed multæ istarum sunt desertæ propter metum piratarum. Et in multis illarum habitant piratæ. Sunt et aliæ insulæ de quibus mentionem fecimus superius, et multæ aliæ quæ non scribuntur in libro hoc. Description of the Greek islands. Benedict, ii. 198. Names of the principal ones.

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[1] *Nos*] Quidam, Bened.

[2] *Sequitur*] As if making an extract. The word does not occur in this place in Benedict, but further on.

[3] *Isky*] Yski, D. I.; Iski, B.

A.D. 1191. Philip reaches Rhodes.

Sequitur; cum rex Franciæ præteriisset caput Turkiæ, venit ad insulam de Rodes; et mansit ibi per aliquot dies, in civitate quæ dicitur Rodes, quam Herodes ædificavit, qui fecit amputari caput Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, et dari in disco saltatrici. Et inter insulam de Rodes et Rumaniam est mare latum per xx. milliaria, ut dicunt nautæ. Benedict, ii. 198.

Rhodes is a third part of the way from Acre to Brundusium.

Et est sciendum, quod cum perventum fuerit ad insulam de Rodes, præteritur tertia pars viæ maris inter Accon et Brundusium. Et inter Accon et Brundusium computantur M. et DCCC. milliaria. Et inter Marsiliam et Siciliam computantur mille et DC. milliaria. Et inter Siciliam et Accon computantur M. et DC. milliaria.[1] Et in medio viæ inter Marsiliam et Siciliam est insula de Sardena. Et in medio viæ inter Siciliam et Accon est insula de Creta.

Voyage from Marseilles to Acre.

Et est sciendum, quod si ventus prosper fuerit illis, qui a Marsilia ad Accon ire voluerint, dimittent insulam de Sardena, et insulam de Sicilia, et insulam de Creta, longe in sinistra parte navigii; et, si rectum cursum tenuerint, non videbunt terram donec videant terram Suliæ; et via illa brevior est et securior sed cavendum est illis ne nimium declinent in dextris navigii, propter Barbarie et alias insulas multas, in quibus habitant pagani sub imperatore Africæ. Sed galeæ non possunt neque audent illam viam ire, quia si tempestas supervenisset, ex facili submergerentur; et ideo[2] oportet eas semper ire prope terram. Benedict, ii. 199.

Voyage from the Cape of Turkey by Scarpanto, Malvasia, Cape Malio, Gulf of Kolokythia; Maina, Coron, Modon, Sapienza, Strivali;

Et qui voluerit transire per costeram Rumaniæ, a capite Turkiæ, transibit juxta montem excelsum qui dicitur Serfent, et ad montem illum incipit brachium Sancti Georgii, per quod itur ad civitatem Constantinopolitanam. Deinde in costera Rumaniæ est Malvaise, mons magnus. Deinde caput Meliæ mons magnus. Deinde est gulfus de Witun, et supra gulfum illum est castellum bonum et[3] forte, quod dicitur Mayne; et supra gulfum illum est civitas episcopalis bona et magna, quæ dicitur Curun: et ibi crescit copia olivarum, adeo quod dicitur, quod in toto mundo non est locus in quo sit tanta copia olei olivæ: et in exitu ejusdem gulfi de Witun est Muszun, civitas deserta, quam Rogerus rex Siciliæ destruxit; et ante introitum illius civitatis sunt duæ insulæ, quarum una dicitur Sapientia, et altera dicitur insula Vulturum. Deinde non longius a terra quam per xx. milliaria, est quædam valde periculosa rupes rotunda, et fere

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[1] *et . . . milliaria*] om. D. I.
[2] *ideo*] ita, B. D. I.
[3] *et*] om. B. I.

Benedict, ii. 199.

submersa aquis, quæ dicitur Triffar; et inter rupem illam et Muszun computantur L. milliaria; et valde necessarium est prætereuntibus quod naves non elongent se nimium a terra, donec præterierint periculum illud. Deinde quasi per centum milliaria a periculo illo, est in mari insula quæ dicitur Serfent; et illa et aliæ duæ insulæ, quarum una dicitur Chefelenie, et altera Jagent, sunt insulæ Margariti.[1] Deinde est portus Wiscardi.

A.D. 1191. Difficulties of navigation.

De Roberto Viscard et ejus adquisitis.

Benedict, ii. 200.

History of Robert Wiscard.

Est itaque sciendum, quod Robertus Wiscard natus fuit in Normannia, et miles factus diu de familia fuit Henrici regis Angliæ, filii Willelmi Bastardi.[2] Qui licet fuisset miles probus in armis, tamen nullam gratiam potuit invenire ditandi apud regem illum. Unde factum est quod, cum uxore sua et filiis et fratre suo, reliquit Normanniam et Romam adiit: et accepta a summo pontifice[3] licentia et consilio subjicere sibi barbaras nationes, confluebat ad eum multitudo magna virorum ei adhærentium. Et recedens inde, intravit Apuliam, et videns eam terram bonam et fertilem, et habitatores illius indoctos armis, sæpe invasit eos in manu forti et armata, et vicit eos, et obtinuit terram. Et totam Apuliam, et Calabriam, et principatum Capuæ subjugavit sibi, et eripuit eas de manu[4] imperatoris Romanorum, et dedit eas Tancredo[5] filio suo.

His conquests in Italy.

Deinde magnum congregavit navigium, jactans quod ipse imperium Constantinopolitanum invaderet, et totum sibi subjugaret. Sed interim dum navigium ejus præpararetur, contigit quod ipse, et Tancredus et Boimundus filii ejus, in una die commiserunt prælium contra dominum papam, et contra imperatorem Romanorum,

His war with Constantinople.

[1] *Margariti*] The Sicilian admiral.

[2] A repetition of the mistake of the older chronicler. Robert Wiscard had made his conquests and died in 1085, long before Henry I. came to the throne.

[3] Nicolas II., in 1059.

[4] *manu*] om. I.

[5] *Tancredo*] The great Tancred was not son of Robert, but his nephew; son of Emma, daughter of Tancred of Hauteville, and Eudes, the good marquis. The son in question was Roger.

A.D. 1191. History of Robert Wiscard.

et contra imperatorem Constantinopolitanum, ita quod ipse Robertus Wiscard commisit prælium contra imperatorem Constantinopolitanum, et unus filiorum suorum contra papam, et alter contra imperatorem Romanorum: et ille et uterque filiorum suorum, in una eademque die, obtinuerunt victoriam. Deinde Robertus Wiscard intravit navigium suum, et uxor ejus cum eo, et subjugavit sibi insulam de Cuverfu, et insulam de Crete, et insulam de Rodes, et alias insulas multas, eripiens eas de manu imperatoris Constantinopolis. Deinde venit ad portum qui nunc nomine suo nuncupatur portus Wiscardi.

Benedict, ii. 201.

De proditione quam uxor Roberti Wiscardi fecit.

Story of his death.

Et cum inde progredi voluisset, et intrare Romaniam, imperator Constantinopolitanus, timens valde adventum illius, mandavit uxori suæ,[1] quod si ipsa prædictum Robertum Wiscard morti tradidisset, et sic terram suam de eo liberasset, ille duceret eam in uxorem, et faceret eam imperatricem Constantinopolitanam. Concessit autem mulier se facturam quod imperator petebat; et nacta opportunitate temporis et loci, porrexit Roberto Wiscard marito suo venenum bibere, et mortuus est; et ibidem, in insula quæ usque in hodiernum diem dicitur portus Wiscardi, sepultus est; et totus exercitus ejus dissipatus est. Mulier autem fugit ad imperatorem Constantinopolitanum, qui statim adimplevit omnes conventiones suas, et duxit eam in uxorem, et coronavit in imperatricem: et cum omnis solennitas debita facta fuisset ei, et in desponsatione et in coronatione et in nuptiis, ita solenniter quod illa diceret imperatori, "Domine, "vestri gratia jam perfecistis mihi omnem conventionem "nostram;" imperator facto silentio, coram omnibus ostendit conventionem quam fecerat cum illa, et qualiter illa morti tradiderat maritum suum; et petiit ab eis judicium de illa: et judicaverunt eam ream esse mortis. Et sic translata de nuptiis ad supplicium, accenso rogo injecta est, et in cinerem redacta.

[1] *uxori suæ*] id est, Roberti, A. *interl.* It is hardly necessary to say that this story is fabulous, and that of all these Italian details scarcely one is accurate.

De Rogero, fratre Roberti Viscardi, et ejus adquisitis. A.D. 1191.

Benedict, ii. 201. Rogerus vero, frater prædicti Roberti Wiscardi, debellavit Siculos, et totam sibi subjugavit Siciliam, et factus est comes Siciliæ. Roger Wiscard conquered Sicily.

Sicilia insula est magna, et antequam præfatus Rogerus debellasset eam, inhabitata fuit a paganis, et erat de dominio imperatoris de Africa. Sed prænominatus Rogerus, expulsis inde paganis, legem Christi instituit, et fecit in ea duos archiepiscopatus,[1] et sex episcopatus. History of Roger Wiscard.

Benedict, ii. 202. Deinde uxorem duxit, de qua unum solum genuit filium, quem vocavit nomine suo Rogerum; et fecit illum ducem Apuliæ, et dedit illi Calabriam, et principatum Capuæ, defuncto Tancredo, filio Roberti Wiscardi, sine prole. His son Roger.

Rogerus dux Apuliæ, filius Rogeri comitis Siciliæ, coronatus est primus regum Christianorum in Sicilia.

Deinde obiit prædictus Rogerus comes Siciliæ, et Rogerus filius ejus, dux Apuliæ, successit ei in comitatu Siciliæ. Et paulo post, per consilium comitum et baronum suorum, fecit se coronari in regem Siciliæ.[2] Et iste Rogerus ita factus est primus rex coronatus in Sicilia; qui uxorem duxit, ex qua genuit duos filios, et unam filiam: quorum primus vocatus est Rogerus, et alter Willelmus; et filia ejus vocata est Constantia. Et ipse dedit filio suo primogenito ducatum Apuliæ, et principatum Capuæ. Qui uxorem duxit inconsulto patre suo, et genuit ex ea filium unum, quem vocavit Tancredum. Deinde obiit,[3] patre suo adhuc vivente. Deinde obiit pater[4] suus, rex Siciliæ, cui successit in regno Willelmus filius ejus, qui uxorem duxit, de qua genuit unum solum filium, quem vocavit nomine suo Willelmum. Roger, son of Roger Wiscard, becomes king of Sicily. His family. William I.

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[1] This is a mistake. The see of Messina was made archiepiscopal in 1166; until then there was but one archbishop, at Palermo.

[2] Hoveden here forsakes the older chronicler, who gives an account of a visit of Lewis VII. and Eleanor to Sicily. The title of king was given first to Roger, by the antipope Anacletus, Sept. 27, 1130; and he was crowned at Christmas following. He was, however, invested with the kingdom as a fief of the papacy by Leo IX., July 25, 1139; ten years before Lewis and Eleanor could have visited him.

[3] *obiit*] In 1149.

[4] *obiit pater*] In 1154.

A.D. 1191.

De Constantia, filia Rogeri regis Siciliæ, data in uxorem Henrico regi Alemannorum, filio Frederici Romanorum imperatoris.

Sicilian History. William II.

Iste Willelmus ultimus successit patri suo in regnum: et dedit Tancredo, fratri avi sui,[1] comitatum de la Liche. Et Constantiam, sororem avi sui, dedit Henrico regi Alemannorum, filio Frederici Romanorum imperatoris, in uxorem. Et fecit jurari ei regnum Siciliæ post illum, si ille decessisset sine prole. Et deinde ipse Willelmus, rex Siciliæ, duxit sibi in uxorem Johannam, filiam Henrici regis Angliæ, filii Matildis imperatricis: sed ille Willelmus rex Siciliæ obiit sine prole.

Benedict, ii. 202. Benedict, ii. 203.

De Tancredo rege Siciliæ.

Usurpation of Tancred.

Quo defuncto, Tancredus prædictus comes de la Liche, immemor sacramenti, quod cum cæteris fecerat Henrico regi Alemannorum, usurpavit sibi regnum Siciliæ, et factus est inde rex coronatus. Quod cum Henricus Romanorum imperator audisset, magno congregato exercitu, intravit terram regis Tancredi, et adducens secum uxorem suam Constantiam, hæredem regni Siciliæ, obsedit Salernum, et infra xv. dies reddita est ei, et uxori suæ, et ipse dimisit eam ibi; et ipse procedens inde obsedit Neapolim, ubi cum ipse moram fecisset per vi. septimanas, amisit fere totum exercitum suum, ex corruptione aeris; et ipse ægrotabat usque ad mortem. Et cum vidisset se nihil posse[2] proficere adversus eam, recessit, et abiit ad civitatem suam Melan.

Benedict, ii. 206. War of Henry VI. and Tancred. Benedict, ii. 207.

De captione Constantiæ imperatricis.

Capture of Constance.

Quod cum audissent Salernitani, injecerunt manus in dominam suam Constantiam imperatricem, et tenentes tradiderunt eam Tancredo regi Siciliæ. Et imperator Alemannorum, dolens et confusus de amissione uxoris suæ, scripsit Cœlestino papæ, ut per auxilium illius recuperasset eam; quæ postmodum reddita est ei per auxilium domini papæ.

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[1] *Tancredo fratri avi sui*] Tancred was the son of William's uncle, not the brother of his grandfather; and Constance was his father's sister, not his grandfather's.

[2] *posse*] om. B. D. I.

Item de itinere regis Franciæ.

A.D. 1191.

Benedict, ii. 203.

Philip's journey resumed: Capo Malio; gulf of Kolokythia, Maina; Coron; Modon; Strivali; Cephalonia; Ithaca.

Sequitur. Cum Philippus rex Franciæ recessisset ab insula de Rodes, et venisset ad costeram de Rumania, transivit per montem magnum qui dicitur caput Meliæ. Deinde venit in gulfo de Witun, et transivit per castellum de Maine. Deinde venit ad civitatem quæ dicitur Curun. Deinde venit ad Munzun civitatem desertam, quæ est in fine ejusdem gulfi. Deinde præteriit insulam de Triffar. Deinde venit ad insulas quarum una dicitur Cefeline, et altera Fale de Compar: et illæ duæ insulæ dicuntur portus Wiscardi. Et ex opposito in Rumania est quædam villa quæ dicitur Sanctus Salvator: et ibi fere omni tempore piratæ insidiantur prætereuntibus. Et cum rex Franciæ recessisset inde, venit ad insulam quæ dicitur Cuverfu.

Benedict, ii. 204.

Account of Corfu.

Ad introitum insulæ de Cuverfu, versus terram Suliæ, est quædam arena periculosa, protensa per medium ab insula de Cuverfu usque ad ripam Rumaniæ; et mare non habet ibi supra arenam plus profunditatis quam quatuor ulnas et dimidium. Insula quidem de Cuverfu magna est et fertilis, et reddit[1] singulis annis imperatori Constantinopolitano xv. quintallos auri. Quintallus est pondus c. librarum. Et insula de Cuverfu distat a Romania per vi. milliaria; et in[2] quibusdam locis est mare ita strictum inter Cuverfu et Romaniam, quod ab una ripa in alteram potest homo audiri ab homine. Longitudo de Cuverfu continet quinquaginta milliaria; et inter Cuverfu et Apuliam computantur c. milliaria: et facile videtur Cuverfu ab illis qui sunt in Apulia, sed non e converso; quia Apulia terra bassa est, et Cuverfu terra alta. Et ad exitum insulæ de Cuverfu in Romania est castellum desertum quod dicitur Butcentrost, super littus maris, in quo Judas proditor natus fuit. Deinde cum fere perventum fuerit in fauce maris, est quædam civitas deserta in exitu insulæ de Cuverfu, quæ dicitur Caszope; in qua est tanta copia serpentum, quod nemo ausus est ex illa parte prope illam applicare. Et quasi ex opposito in Romania est civitas deserta quæ dicitur Sancta Carenta; et ibi est bonus portus, latus et profundus. Et ad exitum illius portus, in fauce maris est quædam[3] rupis, similis turri semiruptæ, quæ protenditur fere per medium

Benedict, ii. 205.

Butrinto; Cassiope; Santa Quaranta;

[1] *reddit*] reddidit, B. D. I.
[2] *in*] om. D. I.
[3] *quædam*] om. D. I.

A.D. 1191. Corfu. portus, et latet sub undis; et ideo necessarium est ut transeuntes transeant prope insulam de Cuverfu. Et in exitu insulæ de Cuverfu sunt tres insulæ, quarum una dicitur Fanum.[1] Benedict, ii. 205.

Paxo; Deinde quasi per quadraginta milliaria ab insula de Cuverfu, est mons magnus in capite Romaniæ, qui dicitur Paxo; et a monte illo usque ad Octrente, civitatem archiepiscopalem quæ est in Apulia, sunt quinquaginta milliaria; et a monte illo usque ad Brundusium sunt centum milliaria: et a monte illo qui dicitur Paxo incipit gulfus de Venia,[2] qui habet in longitudine centum et quinquaginta milliaria, et in latitudine centum milliaria. Euntes autem per gulfum illum versus Venetiam dimittent Romaniam et Sclavoniam et Istriam. In Apulia supra littus maris sunt portus, quorum nomina hæc sunt: primus portus Apuliæ dicitur Leuke; deinde portus qui dicitur Castre; deinde portus qui dicitur Octrente; deinde portus qui dicitur Leliche; deinde portus qui dicitur Brandiz, id est, Brundusium; deinde portus de Monople; deinde portus de Bar, ubi Beatus Nicholaus requiescit; deinde portus de Trane; deinde portus de Barlet; deinde portus de Sypunt;[3] deinde portus de Bestie; deinde portus de Tremule. Portus iste de Tremule est ultimus portus de Apulia. Deinde est Ortona primus portus de terra Venetiæ; deinde portus de Atre; deinde portus de Pescare; deinde portus de Ancune; deinde portus de Ravenne: deinde est Venetia, civitas nobilis, et bonus portus.

Ports in the gulf of Venice; Leuca, Castro, Otranto, Lecce, Brindisi, Monopoli, Bari, Trani, Barletta, Siponto, Viesti, Tremola. Benedict, ii. 206.

Ortona, Atri, Pescara, Ancona, Ravenna, Venice.

Philip lands at Otranto, Oct. 10. Cum igitur rex Franciæ venisset in insulam[4] de Cuverfu, misit nuncios suos ad regem Tancredum, et petiit ab eo licentiam transeundi per terram suam, et data est ei licentia. Deinde venit in Apuliam, et applicuit apud Octrente vi. idus Octobris, feria quinta. Et procedens inde, præmisit præambulos suos ad Henricum Romanorum imperatorem, et petiit licentiam transeundi per terram suam, et data est ei licentia. Qui cum venisset Romam, mala multa locutus est de rege Angliæ, in conspectu domini papæ et omnium cardinalium; dicens quod rex Angliæ coegit eum a terra Jerosolimitana recedere; et appellavit eum de proditione sua. Sed nec dominus papa nec cardinales fidem habuerunt verbis ejus, scientes hæc magis

Benedict, ii. 227. Benedict, ii. 228.

His visit to Rome, and calumnies against Richard. Benedict, ii. 229.

[1] *Fanum*] Fanun, D. I.
[2] *Venia*] So A. B.; Venetia, G.
[3] *Sypunt*] Sipunt, B. D. I.
[4] *insulam*] insula, B. D. I.

Benedict, ii. 228, 229.

A.D. 1191. The pope's treatment of Philip and his pilgrims.

ex invidia processisse, quam ex delicto regis Angliæ. Dominus vero papa cum omni honore et diligentia recepit eum, et per octo dies ministravit ei necessaria. Et pro amore Dei et suo, novum fecit remedium peregrinis; scilicet, quod eum, et omnes qui cum eo venerunt, vel post eum venerunt, absolvit a voto suo et ab itinere professionis Jerosolimitanæ: et licet votum non solvissent, tamen palmas eis distribuit, et cruces collis eorum suspendit, statuens quod essent peregrini.

Philip conspires with the emperor against Richard.

Deinde rex[1] Franciæ effecit adversus Romanorum imperatorem, quod ipse regem Angliæ caperet, si per terram suam transiret. Deinde rex Franciæ veniens in terram suam, defamavit regem Angliæ adversus proximos suos, imponens ei crimina multa. Et proferens cartam regis Angliæ, quæ facta fuit apud Messanam, petiit a Willelmo filio Radulfi, senescallo Normanniæ, Alesiam sororem suam, quam rex Angliæ in uxorem ducere debuerat, et senescallus Normanniæ noluit tradere eam illi.

Benedict, ii. 236.

On reaching home he demands the restoration of his sister.

Benedict, ii. 231.

S. Hugh of Lincoln removes the tomb of Fair Rosamond at Godstow.

Eodem anno Hugo Lincolniensis episcopus, faciens visitationes suas per domos religiosorum in sua diocesi, venit ad abbatiam sanctimonialium de Godestoue,[2] quæ est inter Oxoniam et Wudestoc.[3] Et cum intrasset ecclesiam ut oraret, vidit tumbam in medio chori ante altare, sericis pannis velatam, et lampadibus et cereis circumdatam: et quæsivit cujus esset tumba, et dictum est ei, illam esse tumbam Rosemundæ, quæ quondam exstiterat amica Henrici regis Angliæ, filii Matildis imperatricis; et quod ipse pro amore illius multa bona ecclesiæ illi fecerat. Et respondit episcopus: "Tollite eam hinc, quia scortum "fuit, et sepelite eam extra ecclesiam cum cæteris, ne Chris-

Benedict, ii. 232.

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[1] *Deinde rex*] These additional notices in Hoveden show that his narrative was drawn up after the designs of Henry VI. were known, and most probably after the capture of Richard. The Chronicle of Benedict in the corresponding place, although mentioning Philip's negotiation with the emperor for a passage for himself, says nothing about the design of capturing Richard; nor indeed could it have been at that time regarded even as a remote probability that Richard should return through the imperial dominions.

[2] *Godestoue*] Godestowe, I.; Godistoue, D.

[3] *Wudestoc*] Wdestoke, I.; Wodestoke, B. D.

A.D. 1191. "tiana religio vilescat, et ut exemplo illius cæteræ mulieres "exterritæ, caveant sibi ab illicitis et adulterinis concubi-"tibus." Et factum est ita. Benedict, ii. 232.

Expulsion of monks from Coventry.

Eodem anno Hugo, Coventrensis[1] episcopus, expulit monachos Coventrenses ab ecclesia cathedrali, et in ea instituit canonicos sæculares.

Election and death of Archbishop Reginald.

Eodem anno[2] monachi Cantuarienses elegerunt sibi in archiepiscopum Reginaldum Batoniensem episcopum, qui statim incidit in ægritudinem, et infra quindecim dies post electionem suam obiit, et apud Ba sepultus est. Benedict, ii. 226, 227.

Quarrel of the archbishop of York and the bishop of Durham.

Eodem anno Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, propter animi indignationem quam habebat adversus Gaufridum Eboracensem archiepiscopum, nitebatur modis omnibus a subjectione ejus solvi. Unde prædictus Gaufridus scripsit ei in hanc formam;[3]

Epistola Gaufridi Eboracensis archiepiscopi ad Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum.

The archbishop rebukes the bishop for arrogance.

"Gaufridus, Dei gratia Eboracensis archiepiscopus, et Angliæ "primas, Hugoni, eadem gratia Dunelmensi episcopo, salutem. "Dum ad culmen singularitatis ardenter erumpere properas, "aliis præesse elegisti, et nemini vis esse subjectus. Unde "in te completum esse novimus illud quod dicitur: 'In "'cœlum conscendam, et supra astra cœli exaltabo solium "'meum, et ero similis Altissimo.' Minus igitur memoriter "tenes, 'Quia Deus superbis resistit, et humilibus dat gra-"'tiam;' et, 'Qui se exaltat humiliabitur, et qui se hu-"'miliat exaltabitur.' Nos enim et ecclesiam nostram Ebo-"racensem ardenter, immo more hostili persequeris, contra "professionem tuam, et debitam nobis et ecclesiæ Eboracensi "obedientiam, te a jurisdictione nostra, quod Deus avertat, "subtrahere et eximere desiderans. Nos vero juri ecclesiæ (Not in Benedict.) Is. xiv. 13. 1 S. Pet. v. 5. S. Matt. xxiii. 12.

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[1] *Coventrensis*] Conventrensis, I.

[2] *Eodem anno*] Reginald was elected on the 27th of November; he accepted the election on the 2nd of December; died on the 26th of the same month at Dogmersfield; and on the 29th was buried at Bath. *Gerv.* 580; *Epp. Cant.*

[3] *Eodem . . . formam*] omitted in MSS. B. D. and I., with the following letter, and everything else down to p. 172 below. They are wanting also in the Chronicle of Benedict, except in a very abridged form.

(Not in Benedict.) "nostræ et dignitati, prout decet, providere volentes, tibi, "tanquam suffraganeo nostro, auctoritate apostolica et nostra, "firmiter injungimus, quatenus proxima die Lunæ instantis "post festum Sancti Michaelis, apud Eboracum in matrice "ecclesia, synodo nostræ interesse nulla occasione differas, "debitam nobis exhibiturus reverentiam, et canonicam, juxta "formam mandati apostolici sæpius litteris nostris et ex "parte nostra tibi exhibiti, obedientiam præstiturus; respon-"surus præterea, quod jam per biennium ecclesiam nostram "Eboracensem debitis ei processionibus ab antiquo, et obla-"tionibus in diebus Pentecosten, scilicet, Hovedenesire et "Alvertonsire, contra juris ordinem spoliare præsumpsisti, "et falcem in alienam messem mittere non formidans, cle-"ricis et parochianis nostris spiritualia ministrare usurpasti." A.D. 1191. He summons him to York for the first Monday after Michaelmas.

Benedict, ii. 225. Quibus auditis, Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus ad eum nec venire, nec obedientiam seu professionem illi facere voluit. Dicebat namque se semel fecisse obedientiam et professionem ecclesiæ Eboracensi, et archiepiscopo ejusdem ecclesiæ Rogero; et quod de jure non tenebatur reiterare eam. Et ne prædictus archiepiscopus super hoc posset gravare eum, appellavit ad præsentiam summi pontificis semel, secundo, et tertio supponens seipsum et ecclesiæ suæ causam examini domini papæ, et Romanæ ecclesiæ. Archiepiscopus autem Eboracensis, appellationi Dunelmensis episcopi non deferens, in spiritu furoris sui sententiam anathematis tulit in Dunelmensem episcopum, innixus mandato summi pontificis, in quo continebatur, quod, si Dunelmensis episcopus aut nollet aut injuste differret facere illi debitam obedientiam, ille, omni appellatione remota, compelleret per ecclesiasticam censuram. Videns itaque Dunelmensis episcopus sententiam excommunicationis in eo illatam, post appellationem ad præsentiam summi pontificis factam, noluit eam tenere, sed ita audacter, sicut antea fecerat, celebravit, et celebrari fecit Divina. At archiepiscopus altaria ubi Dunelmensis episcopus celebraverat subvertit, et calices in quibus celebraverat aliquis eo præsente in sua diocesi fregit; et Johannem fratrem suum, comitem Moretonii, habuit pro excommunicato, pro eo quod ipse comederat cum Dunelmensi episcopo post

The bishop refuses to obey; and appeals to Rome.

The archbishop excommunicates him.

The archbishop treats his brother John as excommunicate.

Benedict, ii. 236.

A.D. 1191. Negotiations of the bishop of Durham at Rome.

sententiam illam, et noluit communicare cum illo, donec ipse ad satisfactionem venisset absolvendus. Cumque Dunelmensis episcopus vidisset quod quamplures homines vitassent loqui et manducare aut bibere cum illo, misit nuncios suos ad Cœlestinum papam, exponens ei primo secreto, deinde coram cardinalibus universis, quam indiscrete Eboracensis archiepiscopus sententiam excommunicationis in eum tulerat, in nullo deferens appellationi suæ. Quo agnito, dominus papa et omnes cardinales judicaverunt sententiam illam nullam esse, nec debere teneri. Unde dominus papa in hac forma scripsit; Benedict, ii. 236.

Epistola Cœlestini papæ, ad Hugonem Lincolniensem episcopum et cæteros, de irritatione sententiæ quam Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus dederat in Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum.[1]

A.D. 1192. Letter of Celestine III. to the bishops of Lincoln and Rochester, and the abbot of Peterborough.

"Cœlestinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus "fratribus Lincolniensi et Rofensi episcopis, et dilecto filio "abbati de Burgo, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. "Sicut ea quæ a venerabilibus fratribus, coepiscopis nostris, "circumspectione provida et ratione prævia statuuntur, de- Benedict, ii. 245.

[1] This letter is given in the Chronicle of Benedict under the year 1192. Hoveden appears in his account of this proceeding of Geoffrey against Hugh to have massed his information in a way not usual with him whilst discussing subjects of which he had personal knowledge. Nor is either Hoveden or Benedict liberal in dates on the subject. So far as appears from the existing data, if Hoveden is right in ascribing the letter of Geoffrey given above, (p. 168), to this year, the struggle must have begun almost immediately on Geoffrey's landing in England. Geoffrey was released from his arrest on the 26th of September, and the synod at York, to which he summons the bishop of Durham, was fixed for Sept. 30. Either then the summons was issued before Geoffrey landed, or the letter is misplaced. The former is the more probable. At all events Hugh neglected to make profession of his obedience to the archbishop, and appealed to the pope, in consequence of which Geoffrey, after three citations, excommunicated him, in November or December 1191. Hugh spent Christmas at Howden with John; still lying under the sentence. On Candlemas day 1192 the archbishop again excommunicated him, Hugh now proceeding with his appeal at Rome. (*Ben. Pet.* ii. 237.) After Midlent, Mar. 15, Hugh offered to

Benedict, ii. 246.

A.D. 1192.

He commits to them the duty of declaring the excommunication of the bishop of Durham to be null.

" bemus illibata servare: ita quæ minus quandoque considerate " aguntur, providentia pleniori corrigere, et in statum debitum " nobis imminet reformare. Cum itaque venerabilis frater " noster Gaufridus, Eboracensis archiepiscopus, in venerabilem " fratrem nostrum Hugonem, Dunelmensem episcopum, et quos- " dam alios, excommunicationis sententiam promulgasset, et " eorum nunciis ad nostram præsentiam venientibus, in consis- " torio nostro fuisset hinc inde super ea sententia et quibus- " dam aliis articulis plenarie disceptatum; nos cognoscentes " tam in ipsum quam in alios jaculatam sententiam inconsulte " prolatam fuisse, nullius causæ rationabilis munimine robo- " ratam, eam de consilio fratrum nostrorum denunciavimus " publice non tenere, irritantes eam, ne quid auctoritatis habeat " inhibentes. Ut itaque, quod nos decrevimus, per partes " vestras publice nuncietur, per apostolica scripta vobis man- " damus, ut eandem sententiam per ecclesias vestras prædicetis " auctoritate sedis apostolicæ irritatam; ut fidelium populus " tam ipsi episcopo, quam aliis una cum ipso injuste ligatis, " fraternæ communionis participium secure impendat, et ab " illorum nullatenus, propter hoc, communione recedat. Datum " Laterani."

If the archbishop has proceeded unlawfully against the bishop after appeal, the latter is to be released from making any subjection to him.

Præterea dominus papa mandavit in aliis litteris suis, prædictis Lincolniensi et Rofensi episcopis, et abbati de Burgo, quod si constiterit illis quod Eboracensis archiepiscopus, post appellationem ad Romanum pontificem factam, altaria et calices fregerit, in quibus Dunelmensis episcopus, vel per se vel per alium, missam celebravit, idem Dunelmensis episcopus non teneretur aliquam facere subjectionem præfato Eboracensi archiepiscopo, quamdiu ipsi duo vixerint.

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submit to arbitration, but the attempt failed. (*Ib.* 238.) Then it would seem the papal letter must have arrived, committing the matter to judges delegate. This letter is dated at the Lateran, where the papal court was from February to May 1192. (Jaffé, *Reg. Pont.* 891.) It was probably issued in February or March. The judges proceeded to hear the case at Northampton, at a point of time later than the conclusion of Benedict's chronicle, which contains the letter, but not the proceedings upon it; therefore probably in April or May 1192. After the first hearing it was adjourned to July 1st (p. 172). The final hearing seems to have been in October 1192, at Northampton. (*Gerv.* 1580, 1581.) According to Hoveden in the text, the third hearing was fixed for the 14th of that month. Hoveden has thus anticipated the course of events by nearly a year.

A.D. 1192. *De discordia inter Gaufridum archiepiscopum Eboracensem et Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum.*

Continuation of the suit between the archbishop of York and bishop of Durham, down to October 1192.

Cumque prædicti archiepiscopus et episcopus convenissent in præsentia prædictorum judicum apud Northamtoniam, et diu hinc inde super prædictis articulis inter eos disceptatum fuisset, tandem, per consilium et admonitionem domini Lincolniensis episcopi, controversia illa dilationem cepit usque ad octavas Nativitatis Beati Johannis Baptistæ; ut honore invicem prævenientes, ad plenioris pacis consummationem per Dei gratiam facilius inducantur, rebus omnibus inter eos eodem statu quo fuerunt interim permanentibus. Et si pax interim formata non fuerit, litteræ ad judices a domino papa directæ, eundem vigorem sunt habituræ, quem habuerunt si præfata dilatio non intercessisset, et per tantum temporis, salvis utrique parti omnibus exceptionibus suis; citatione etiam, si qua fieri debebit, facienda sub eodem spatio temporis et eadem forma, ad eundem diem, quo facta fuit prima, scilicet ad diem Sancti Calixti.

A.D. 1191. Roger de Lacy hangs two traitors.

[1]Eodem anno[2] Rogerus constabularius Cestriæ, cui cancellarius tradiderat castella de Nothinham et de Thikehil in custodia, cepit duos (scilicet Alanum de Lec, et Petrum de Bovencurt) ex illis quibus commiserat prædicta castella in custodia, et quia consenserant proditioni Roberti de Crockestun,[3] et Eudonis de Divilla, qui castella illa tradiderunt Johanni comiti Moretonii, suspendit utrumque. Unde comes Moretonii iratus, totam terram illius, quæ in sua potestate erat, devastavit.

Benedict, ii. 232, 233, 234.

John devastates his lands.

Eodem anno[4] Willelmus rex Scotorum misit nuncios suos ad Cœlestinum summum pontificem, pro liber-

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[1] *Eodem anno*] Here MSS. B. D. and I. resume.

[2] *anno*] om. I.

[3] *Crockestun*] Crokestun, I.; Crokiston, D.; Crokestune, G.

[4] *Eodem anno*] The following letter with this prefatory notice is omitted in B. D. and I. A has this note in the margin in the same hand as the text: "Scriptæ sunt superius." G. gives the letter down to the word *favorem*, and ends there with "ut supra."

tatibus ecclesiarum regni sui confirmandis; et invenit gratiam in oculis domini papæ, ita quod dominus papa in hac forma scripsit illi; A.D. 1191. Bull releasing the Scottish Church from all subjection except to the see of Rome itself.

Benedict, ii. 234. "Cœlestinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, carissimo in "Christo filio Willelmo, illustri Scotorum regi, salutem et "apostolicam benedictionem.

"Cum universi Christi jugo subjecti, apud sedem apostolicam patrocinium invenire debeant et favorem, illos tamen "specialius convenit promotionis munimine confoveri, quorum "fidem et devotionem in pluribus est experta: ut ad ipsius "dilectionis favorem tanto amplius provocentur, et ejus reve"rentiæ devotiori affectione subdantur, quanto benivolentiæ "ipsius et gratiæ pignus se noverint certius assecutos. Ea"propter, carissime in Christo fili, reverentiam ac devotionem "quam ad Romanam te habuisse, a longis retro temporibus, "ecclesiam novimus, attendentes, præsentis scripti pagina "duximus statuendum, ut Scoticana ecclesiæ apostolicæ sedi, "cujus filia specialis exstitit, nullo mediante, debeat sub"jacere. In qua hæ sedes episcopales esse noscuntur: ecclesiæ "videlicet Sancti Andreæ, Glasguensis, Dunkeldensis, Dubli"nensis, Brehinnensis, Aberdonensis, Moraviensis, Rosenensis, "Cathinensis. Et nemini liceat nisi Romano pontifici, vel "legato ab ipsius latere destinato, in regnum Scotiæ inter-

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The letter has in fact been given already as the act of pope Clement III., under the year 1188, vol. ii. p. 360. It is given in Benedict as Clement's, vol. ii. 234, under the year 1191, as here. Indeed, if it were Celestine's it could hardly have appeared in England before the time at which Benedict's chronicle ends, and must have been incorporated from Hoveden, in a copy of later date than Hoveden: for March 13 in the first year of Celestine falls in 1192. It is very improbable that both the popes Clement III. and Celestine III. should have issued the same letter *with the same date.* Occasionally I believe a papal letter is found repeated totidem verbis, but the coincidence of the dates is unparalleled. To which of the popes then are we to ascribe it? I think to pope Clement, because it appears first as his act in Hoveden under the proper year; and in Benedict, although misplaced, it bears the name of Clement. Hoveden finding it in his copy of the older chronicle at a date subsequent to Clement's death, forgetting, as the marginal note shows, that it had been inserted before, might easily think that *Clement* was a mistake for Celestine. Nor again is it likely that, if Celestine had been the first author of the letter, it would have been known to the author of Benedict's Chronicle, who clearly, at the time of writing, had not heard of the commission issued about the same time, for the hearing of the cause of Geoffrey and Hugh, just given above.

A.D. 1191. Privileges of the Scottish Church.

"dicti vel excommunicationis sententiam promulgare, et si "promulgata fuerit, decernimus non valere. Adjicimus, ut "nulli de cætero, qui de regno Scotiæ non fuerit, nisi quem "apostolica sedes propter hoc de corpore suo specialiter "destinaverit, licitum sit in eo legationis officium exercere. "Prohibemus autem, ut controversiæ, quæ fuerint in regno "illo de possessionibus ejus exortæ, ad examen extra regnum "positorum judicum non trahantur, nisi ad Romanam eccle- "siam fuerit appellatum. Si qua vero scripta contra hujus "libertatis statutum apparuerint impetrata, vel in posterum, "istius concessionis mentione non habita, contigerit impe- "trari, nullum tibi vel ipsi regno circa hujus prærogativæ "concessionem præjudicium generetur. Præterea libertates "et immunitates tibi, vel ei regno, vel ecclesiis in eo consti- "tutis, a prædecessoribus nostris Romanis pontificibus in- "dultas, et hactenus observatas, ratas habemus, et illibatas "futuris temporibus statuimus permanere. Nulli ergo homi- "num liceat hanc paginam nostræ constitutionis et prohi- "bitionis infringere, vel ei aliquatenus contraire. Si quis "autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipo- "tentis Dei, et Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, se "noverit incursurum. Datum Laterani, tertio idus Martii, "pontificatus nostri anno primo."

Benedict, ii. 234.

Benedict, ii. 235.

Item de adquisitis Ricardi regis Angliæ in terra Suliæ.

Richard gives Joppa and Ascalon to Geoffrey of Lusignan.

Eodem anno[1] rex Angliæ, post reædificationem Cæsareæ et Jopen, dedit utramque Gaufrido de Lezinan, fratri Gwidonis regis. Deinde rex Angliæ firmavit castellum des Plains, et deinde firmavit castellum Maen. Benedict, ii. 227.

Advance towards Jerusalem.

Deinde secunda die ante Natale Domini, perrexit rex Angliæ usque ad Turonum des Chevalers,[2] et ibi fuit Benedict, ii. 230.

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[1] *Eodem anno*] Here MSS. B. D. and I. resume.

[2] *Chevalers*] Chanaleis, B. D. I. A comparison of this with the corresponding passage in Benedict will show that the latter chronicler at the time of writing had not heard of the final failure of Richard's crusade, and had been misled by accounts from Palestine, as yet uncontradicted, of the events which took place between Beit Nûba and Jerusalem in the Christmas of 1191. See *Ben. Pet.* ii. 230, and *Itin. R. R.* 298, 299. The dates are as follows: Nov. 15, Richard began to advance on Ramlah, Saladin retreating; at Ramlah Richard stayed

in Natali Domini; et voluit inde procedere post Natale Domini ad obsidendum civitatem Jerosolimam; sed dux Burgundiæ et Franci noluerunt eum sequi, dicentes quod rex Franciæ, dominus eorum, prohibuit eis in recessu suo, ne ipsi ulterius moram facerent in terra illa; unde oportebat regem Angliæ a proposito suo deficere, quia homines et pecunia defecerunt ei.

A.D. 1191. December. The French crusaders desert Richard.

De reditu imperatoris Affricanorum cum exercitu in terram Sancii regis Portugalensis.

Eodem anno Boyach Almiramunoli,[1] imperator Africanorum, qui anno præcedenti intraverat terram regis Portugalensis cum exercitu suo magno, et ceperat castellum quod dicitur Turres Noves, et obsederat castellum quod dicitur Tumar, et utrumque reliquerat Christianis, propter metum peregrinorum qui in navigio regis Angliæ venerant, et fugiens finxerat se mortuum, ut supra dictum est; isto anno, postquam totum navigium regis Angliæ præterierat, magnum congregavit exercitum, et iterum intravit terram regis Portugalensis, et cepit per vim civitatem Silviæ, et Alcaz, et Almade, et Palmele,[2] et devastavit terram Christianorum. Rex autem Portugalensis non potuit illius resistere viribus: et ipse Boiach Almiramunoli[3] dedit prædictas civitates, quas acquisierat, fratri suo regi de Cordres, id est Corduba.

The emperor of Morocco recovers the cities in Portugal which he had lost in 1190.

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22 days, up to December 8; during which time two skirmishes took place, Nov. 25 and Dec. 3. On Dec. 8 the army retired into winter quarters at Ramlah: Dec. 20, Richard was nearly taken prisoner near Tel-es-safih; the same day Guy of Lusignan went from the camp to Acre. About Dec. 31 the crusaders advanced from Ramlah towards Jerusalem as far as Beit Nûba; there was a skirmish on Jan. 3rd, and on the 13th the retreat from Beit Nûba began, owing to the defection of the French under the duke of Burgundy. See *Joinville* (ed. Didot, Paris, 1859), p. 172.

[1] *Boyach Almiramunoli*] Boyac Almiramumoli, B. I.; Armomummoli, D.; Miramumelin, G.

[2] *Palmele*] Palmade, I.

[3] *Boiach Almiramunoli*] Boyac Almiramumoli, B. I.

A.D. 1191.

De episcopatibus qui sunt in Hispania.

Navarre has only one episcopal see, Pampeluna.

Et est notandum, quod in terra regis Navarræ est una sola civitas episcopalis, quæ dicitur Pampelune; sed multa castella sunt in terra sua, quorum unum dicitur Tudele, super fluvium de Ebera,[1] et alterum dicitur Lestaile,[2] et alia multa. In terra autem regis Castellæ est[3] una sola civitas archiepiscopalis, quæ dicitur Tulette, quæ sedet super fluvium Tagi, et ipsa habet primatiam Hispaniæ: et in eadem civitate est alia episcopalis, qui dicitur episcopus de Musceravs,[4] id est Suriens. Et in eadem civitate est mons quidam, de quo quotidie sumuntur plusquam mille camelorum onera, et tamen nunquam decrescit; quia quamvis spelunca fiat profundissima, tamen cras implebitur, si pluvia ceciderit super eum. Et terra inde sumpta defertur per circumjacentes provincias, et venditur ad lavandum capita, et pannos hominum, tam Christianorum quam paganorum.

Castile, an archbishopric at Toledo.

Wonders of Toledo.

Suffragans of Toledo; Cordova, Placencia, Alarcos, Trugiello, Avila, Segovia, Siguença, Segura, Osma, Palencia, Burgos.

Præterea archiepiscopus Tuletti habet sub se xi. episcopos suffraganeos: scilicet episcopum de Musceraves, episcopum de Alarchas, qui est prope Cordres, id est Corduba, episcopum de Plazence, episcopum de Trugel, episcopum de Aville, episcopum de Segove, episcopum de Alarhges, episcopum de Segunce, episcopum de Soyre,[5] et de Osme, episcopum de Palence, episcopum de Burs.

Præterea in eodem regno regis Castellæ sunt plusquam cc. castella bona, quorum unum est Legruin.

Suffragans of the archbishop of Compostella; Leon, Astorga, Zamora;

In terra regis de Sancto Jacobo est unus archiepiscopatus, scilicet, apud Sanctum Jacobum; et ipse habet sub se xi. suffraganeos, scilicet, episcopum de Leone, episcopum de Sturghe, episcopum de Auzemore, episco-

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[1] *Ebera*] Ebora, B.

[2] *Lestaile*] Lesteile, B. G.; Leestille, D.; Leestrile, I.

[3] *est*] om. B. D. I.

[4] *Musceravs*] Musceians, D.; the Mozarabic Christians.

[5] *Soyre*] Seoyre, D. I.

pum de Salemanke, episcopum de Citaz Rodrike, episcopum de Cooire, episcopum de Sancta Maria de Lughe, episcopum de Sancto Salvatore de Wede, episcopum de Villemajur, episcopum de Aurens, episcopum de Tuie. Præterea in eodem regno regis de Sancto Jacobo sunt castella multa. A.D. 1191. Salamanca, Ciudad Rodrigo, Coria, Lugo, Oviedo, Villamayor, Orense, Tuy.

In terra regis Portugalensis est unus archiepiscopatus apud civitatem quæ dicitur Braga; et ipse habet sub se septem suffraganeos; scilicet, episcopum de Portigal, episcopum de Cuvilana, episcopum de Lamegke,[1] episcopum de Viseou, episcopum de Cunimbre, episcopum de Evere in Marchia Saracenorum, episcopum Ulyxisbonæ super fluvium Tagi. Sees in Portugal: Braga, Oporto, Covilha, Lamego, Viseu, Coimbra, Evora, Lisbon.

Deinde protenditur Hispania quæ dicitur Saracenica, sub imperatore Africanorum: et ibi incipit terra quam rex de Cordres, id est Corduba, frater prædicti Almiramimoli, tenet; scilicet, Corduba civitas, de qua Lucanus ait: Saracenic Spain, kingdom of Cordova, and its cities.

"Corduba me genuit, rapuit Nero, prælia dixi,
"Quæ gessere pares, hinc socer, inde gener."

Et Palmel, et Almada, et Alchaz,[2] et Silves civitas, et Sancta Maria de Hairun, et Badeluz civitas super fluvium de Godiana; et Meride, quæ quondam fuit civitas archiepiscopalis; et Sibilla, quæ quondam fuit civitas archiepiscopalis;[3] civitas ista et Corduba sedent super fluvium qui dicitur Gedelkevir; et Granata civitas, et Jubelarie civitas.

Deinde incipit regnum regis de Gahang, in eadem Hispania, sub imperatore Africanorum; et rex ille est frater Almiramimoli; et ipse habet in dominatione sua Gehen castellum, et Baence civitatem, et Aubede[4] civitatem, et Segure civitatem, et Melega civitatem, ubi fit copia de corduan vermail; et Melte[5] civitatem in fauce maris; et utraque illarum sedet super fluvium qui dicitur Segure. Kingdom of Jaen and its cities.

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[1] *Lamegke*] Lameghe, D. I.
[2] *Alchaz*] Alcaz, B. D. I.
[3] *et Sibilla . . . archiepiscopalis*] om. D. I.
[4] *Aubede*] Aubdene, B. D.
[5] *Melte*] Melce, D. I.

A.D. 1191. Kingdom of Murcia.

Deinde in eadem Hispania Saracenica incipit terra regis de Murcia, qui est frater prædicti Almiramimoli: in cujus dominatione sunt Murcia civitas, et Oriole castellum, et Urgelet castellum, et Almaria civitas, et Cartagine civitas, et Chinchele[1] castellum, et Lapanne de Scinpere[2] castellum.

Kingdom of Valencia.

Deinde in eadem Hispania Saracenica incipit terra regis de Valencia, qui est frater prædicti Almiramimoli: in cujus dominatione sunt Oedeeb castellum, et Stuue castellum, et Valencia civitas, et Burrianz civitas, et Peniscle, et alia castella multa.

Kingdom of Arragon and its sees: Tortosa, Saragossa, Tarragona, Tarazona.

Deinde incipit Hispania terra regis Arragoniæ. In cujus regni principio est Ampost castellum, deinde Turtusa, civitas episcopalis. Deinde Saraguce, civitas episcopalis,[3] deinde Caletau castellum, deinde Doroke castellum, deinde Torol[4] castellum, deinde Sancta Maria Abinrazin, civitas in Marchia Christianorum et paganorum; deinde Tarragune, civitas archiepiscopalis; deinde Tarrazun, civitas episcopalis; deinde Oske civitas, deinde Jake civitas, deinde Leride civitas supra fluvium de Segre, deinde Wike civitas, deinde Barzelune civitas, deinde Sain de Urgel, deinde Gyrunde civitas; deinde Turezele castellum, quod quondam vocabatur Purpallar supra mare; deinde alti montes, qui vocantur portus de Laclusa; deinde Castellun, deinde Empires.[5]

County of Roussillon.

Deinde est[6] terra quæ vocatur Russilun, in qua est civitas bona quæ dicitur Alne; deinde est Nerbona civitas; deinde est Beders civitas; deinde est Agda civitas; deinde est Villenove, episcopatus de Maggalona, et prope inde est portus de Monte Pessolano, qui dicitur Lates. Sunt et alia multa castella et civitates in regno regis Arragoniæ, ut supra dictum est.

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[1] *Chinchele*] Chingele, D. I.; Chincele, B.

[2] *Scinpere*] Scimpere, I.; Scumpere, B.; Cimpere, D.

[3] *deinde . . . episcopalis*] om. I.

[4] *Torol*] Torolca, I.

[5] *Empires*] Emprires, I.

[6] *est*] om. B. I. These geographical details are much abridged in D.

Tertius annus regni Ricardi regis Angliæ.

Benedict, ii. 235.

Anno gratiæ MCXCII., qui erat tertius annus regni Ricardi regis Anglorum, Philippus rex Franciæ fuit in Francia, sanus et incolumis apud Funtaine Blaaud,[1] die Natalis Domini, quæ feria quarta evenit, impudenter jactans se in proximo vastaturum terras regis Angliæ. A.D. 1191. Dec. 25. Philip at Fontainebleau.

Eodem die Natalis Domini, Johannes comes Moretonii, frater Ricardi regis Angliæ fuit apud Hovedene, cum Hugone Dunelmensi episcopo. John at Howden.

Eodem die Natalis Domini, Alienor regina, mater Ricardi regis Angliæ, fuit in Normannia apud Bonevile sur Thoke.[2] Eleanor at Bonneville.

Eodem die Natalis Domini, Ricardus rex Angliæ fuit in terra Suliæ apud le Turun as chevalers,[3] volens post Natale Domini obsidere civitatem Jerusalem: et in die Sancti Hilarii habuit ibi colloquium cum Templariis et Hospitalariis, et cum toto exercitu, de civitate Jerusalem obsidenda; sed non fuit de consilio eorum ut ipse procederet, sed ut rediret ad firmandam Scalonam;[4] et sic perrexit ille ad Scalonam, et firmavit eam, et in firmando eam fecit moram magnam.[5] Richard at Latroon. A.D. 1192. Jan. 13. Richard goes to Ascalon.

Et quindecim diebus[6] ante Pascha, recesserunt ab eo dux Burgundiæ et Franci, dicentes quod cum eo diutius non remanerent, nisi ipse invenisset eis necessaria, et noluit rex invenire eis quicquam. March 22. Departure of the French.

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[1] *Funtaine Blaaud*] Funtaine Blaud, B. I.; Blad, A., corrected to Blaaud. It should be observed that Hoveden has omitted the journal of Philip's return from Rome onwards, which is given in Benedict, ii. 229–230.

[2] *sur Thoke*] super Toke, B.

[3] *Turun as chevalers*] Turonum as chevalers, G.; as chanaleis, B.; ad chevalers, D. See *Itiner. R.R.*, 298, 299; Ben. Pet. ii. 235: from this point Hoveden's account of Richard's movements is original; the information of Benedict's Chronicle ceasing.

[4] *Scalonam*] Ascalonam, B. I.; Ascolonam, D.

[5] *moram magnam*] Richard marched from Ramlah on the 19th of January, and reached it the following day. The fortification occupied several months, during which the king made a journey to Acre, and had several adventures of interest. The army finally left Ascalon on the 4th of June. *Itin. R. R.*, 313–365.

[6] *quindecim diebus*] The duke of Burgundy had left Ascalon and gone to Tyre in February. *Itin. R. R.*, 321. The French nobles took leave of Richard on the 1st of April. *Ib.* 326.

A.D. 1192. Richard fortifies the strongholds, keeping Easter, April 5, at Ascalon.

Infra vero Quadragesimam, rex Angliæ firmavit[1] la Blanchewarde, et Galaciam, et Gazere.

Et in die Paschæ, tenuit ibi commune festum extra villam in tentoriis. Et post Pascha fecit ipse equitationes per terram paganorum, et invenit segetes eorum maturas, et fecit omnes colligi a Christianis pro medietate segetum. Et in planitie de Scalona moram fecit usque ad Pentecosten: et die clausi Pentecosten[2] equitavit apud le Darun,[3] castellum forte, juxta magnum fluvium Euphraten; et cepit in equitatione illa xxiv. paganos, et unum Reneez, qui quondam Christianus fuerat, et Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum negaverat; et rex posuit eum ad sagittandum, et sagittatus est.

He goes to Darum.

He takes Darum.

Et rex[4] die Lunæ post clausum Pentecosten obsedit le Darun, et die Veneris sequenti cepit eam per vim; et cepit in ea MDCCCC. paganos[5] vivos, et dedit illud statim comiti Henrico de Campania.

Quarrels at Acre.

Interim post Pascha orta est gravis dissensio inter Pisanos et Januenses, qui erant in Accon, et mutuo se interfecerunt: et dux Burgundiæ, per exhortationem Januensium misit Tyrum pro Conrado Marchione, volens levare eum in regem; et Pisani miserunt pro rege Angliæ, qui tunc temporis morabatur in Scalona,

[1] *firmavit*] om. D. I. The Itinerarium does not say that Richard fortified any of these places; he probably occupied them with his forces: but Gaza could have hardly been in his hands so early as Easter; for on Easter Tuesday he went in person to reconnoitre it. *Itin.* 330. Blancheguard and Galatia had been deserted by Saladin (*Ib.* 280); and were visited by Richard later. On April 22 he found the former unoccupied (*Ib.* 344); and he was at Galatia in June. *Ib.* 384.

[2] *die clausi Pentecostes*] These dates are inconsistent with the account given in the Itinerarium, and are indeed obviously wrong. Richard took Darum on the Friday before Pentecost May 22 (*Itin.* 355), having besieged it since the previous Sunday (*Ib.* 352). The French arrived at Darum in time for Pentecost, and kept it there (*Ib.* 356). Before the date given by Hoveden Richard was marching on Jerusalem.

[3] *le Darun*] Darun, B. D. I.

[4] *Et rex*] Rex igitur, G.

[5] *paganos*] Saracenos, interl. A.; G. reads *Sarracenos* for *paganos*.

significantes ei propositum ducis Burgundiæ. Et rex venit Accon,[1] et exegit a duce Burgundiæ M. et D. libras argenti, quas ipse ei commodaverat; et dux ille non habens unde redderet, tradidit regi Carokois[2] pro quieta clamantia debiti. A.D. 1192. March. Richard visits Acre, and returns to Ascalon.

De interfectione Conradi Marchionis.

Deinde rediit rex ad Scalonam, ubi dum ipse moram fecisset, duo de servientibus regis Accinorum, id est de Assasis,[3] qui multo tempore servierant in curia Conradi marchionis, et familiares illius diu extiterant, interfecerunt prædictum Conradum in Tyro civitate sua, et statim capti sunt a circumstantibus v^to^. kalendas Maii. Et interrogati, dixerunt se hoc fecisse per præceptum regis Accinorum domini sui: et unus illorum statim capitalem subiit sententiam, et alter excoriatus est Franci vero dixerunt hoc totum factum fuisse per consilium regis Angliæ. Post interfectionem vero prædicti Conradi, uxor illius nupsit[4] Henrico comiti de Campania, nepoti regis Angliæ et regis Franciæ; et statim, per communem totius exercitus electionem, prædictus Henricus est electus in regem terræ Jerosolimitanæ. Et rex Angliæ dedit in excambium regi Gwidoni insulam de Cypre, in vita sua tenendam. Assassination of Conrad, April 28. Henry of Champagne elected king of Jerusalem.

Post captionem del Darun,[5] eodem scilicet die Veneris quo rex Angliæ ceperat eam, Franci redierunt ad regem Angliæ in misericordia ejus usque ad Scalonam, et rex venit illuc ad eos, et inde per consilium totius exerci- The French return to the camp (May 22).

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[1] *venit Accon*] Richard's visit to Acre was before Easter; he arrived there Feb. 20, and returned to Ascalon Mar. 31. *Itin. R. R.*, 322, 326.

[2] *Carokois*] Carkois, B.; Karrakois, D.; Carrakois, I. Mestoch was released on payment of his ransom, Apr. 16. *Itin.* 344. Karakoush was not released until the peace: he rejoined Saladin on the 20th of October. His ransom was 80,000 aurei. Bohadin, 267.

[3] *Assasis*] Aussasis, B. I.; om. D.; Ausasis, G.

[4] *nupsit*] May 5. R. de Diceto, 667.

[5] *Darun*] Darum, I.; castelli, præf., G.

A.D. 1192. June. Richard at Beit-Nuba. He acquires a portion of the True Cross.

tus processit ad obsidendum Jerosolimam. Et cum venissent usque[1] Betenoble,[2] rex cum quibusdam illorum fecit equitationem ante Jerusalem; et perrexit inde ad capellam Sancti Elyæ,[3] quæ distat a Jerosolimis per tres leucas; et invenit ibi crucem quandam de ligno Domini sigillatam infra murum capellæ, quæ vocabatur[4] crux Syriorum, et asportavit eam, et rediit ad exercitum suum.

De carvana a Ricardo rege Angliæ capta.

Capture of the great caravan, June 23.

Interim redierunt ad regem Angliæ exploratores sui, et indicaverunt ei quod carvana[5] Saladini veniebat de Babilonia in Jerusalem, ad muniendum eam et victu et armis; et credidit illis rex, et assumens secum quinque millia hominum electorum, occurrit prædictæ carvanæ, quam undecim millia paganorum conduxerunt: et occurrit eis rex in Vigilia Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, circa horam diei primam, et commisit cum eis prælium, et habuit de illis victoriam; et fere omnes interfecit, et spolia eorum possedit, et cepit tria millia camelorum, et quatuor millia equorum et mulorum et mularum, exceptis interfectis. Et sic cum victoria rediit rex ad Betenoble, unde recesserat, et ex spoliis interfectorum dedit militibus exercitus.

Richard proposes to besiege Jerusalem.

Et habito colloquio cum duce Burgundiæ et Francis, obtulit se juraturum, quod ipse Jerosolimam iret, et obsideret eam, et inde non recederet, quamdiu haberet unum runcinum ad manducandum, donec capta fuisset

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[1] *usque*] om. B. D.; ad, ins. B. D. G. I.

[2] *Betenoble*] Richard marched from Ascalon, June 7: he spent June 8 at Blancheguard: June 9, he marched to Latroon: June 10 to Beit Nuba; where he stayed until July 3. On the 4th the retreat began. *Itin.*, 369–397.

[3] *Elyæ*] Helyæ, B. I.; Heliæ, D. This event took place June 22. *Itin. R. R.*, 377.

[4] *vocabatur*] vocatur, B. D. I.

[5] *carvana*] cavarna, D. I. As to the date of this adventure see *Itin. R. R.*, p. 383, note 1.

civitas; et petiit ut Franci, et omnis exercitus, illud idem sacramentum fecissent. Dux autem Burgundiæ et Franci responderunt ei, quod sacramentum non facerent, neque in terra illa diutius remanerent; sed recederent a terra illa quam citius possent, sicut præceperat illis rex Franciæ dominus illorum. Et sic per discordiam recesserunt a rege, et redierunt usque Accon, et rex secutus[1] est eos.

A.D. 1192. June. The French refuse, and the army returns to Acre. (July 4.)

Et Saladinus statim descendit de montibus, et obsedit Jopen[2] quam rex Angliæ tradiderat Alberico de Rains[3] in custodia, et cum ipse eandem defendere nequivisset, tradidit Saladino pro licentia abeundi cum vita et membris: qui cum a Saladino recepisset sagittam electam in signum pacis suæ, et cum audivisset adventum regis Angliæ, regressus est ad Saladinum, et reddidit ei sagittam suam, et renunciavit paci suæ; et Saladinus statim cepit eum, et captivavit, et villam cepit totam, excepta munitione castri, in qua pauci receperunt se, et mandaverunt regi Angliæ eventum rei. Qui statim tradidit exercitum suum equestrem comiti Henrico de Campania, ad conducendum per terram; et ipse rex cum septem galeis tantum perrexit per mare: et in die tertia venit ad Jopen Sabbato, mane,[4] post festum Sancti Petri ad Vincula; et intravit castellum, et locutus est cum suis, docens eos quomodo sequerentur eum. Deinde exivit ille[5] et pauci cum illo, et ex improviso fecit impetum in exercitum Saladini, et exclamans signum suum, fortiter percussit eos, et ejecit eos a civitate, et multos eorum interfecit in ore gladii, et civitatem illam liberavit de manibus eorum.

Saladin besieges Joppa, and compels the garrison to capitulate.

Richard comes to the rescue (Aug. 1), and enters the castle.

He delivers the city.

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[1] *secutus*] The attack on Jerusalem was given up in consequence of the desertion of the French, on the 4th of July: Richard himself returned to Acre on the 26th.

[2] *Jopen*] Joppen, B. Saladin besieged Joppa on the 26th of July; *Itin.*, 401.

[3] *Rains*] Reins, D.; Renis, I.

[4] *Sabbato, mane*] Really on the Feast of S. Peter ad Vincula, Aug. 1. *Itin.*, 406, 407.

[5] *ille*] om. B. D. I.

A.D. 1192. August. Challenge of Saladin.

Post triduum[1] Saladinus mandavit regi, quod præliaretur cum illo in prælio campestri: et mandatum illud plurimum placuit regi. Et cum omnia hinc inde præordinata essent ad prælium campestre, venerunt ad regem de Accon quinque galeæ cum viris armatis ad succurrendum illi, et tunc noluit Saladinus bellum inire contra regem.[2] Interim Hugo dux Burgundiæ, et Radulfus de Cusci, et vicedominus de Pinkenni[3] obierunt apud Accon, octavo die quo[4] venerant illuc.

Death of the duke of Burgundy.

Saladin proposes a truce for three years.

Deinde Saladinus mandavit regi Angliæ, quod ipse redderet ei omnes expensas quas fecerat in firmatione Scaloniæ,[5] et daret ei, et cæteris Christianis qui in terra Jerosolimitana remanerent, treugas a Paschate proximo venturo per triennium, et pacem eis servaret usque ad præfinitum tempus, si ille redegisset Scalonam in eum statum quo ipse eam dimiserat.

De recessu Ricardi regis Angliæ de terra Suliæ.

September. Richard concludes the truce.

Videns ergo rex Angliæ[6] quod homines et pecunia et sanitas corporis defecerunt ei, per consilium Templariorum et totius exercitus, recepit supradicta quæ Saladinus obtulerat ei; et ipsi sacramentis pacem[7] illam

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[1] *Post triduum*] The great struggle at Joppa was on the 5th. *Itin.* 415–427.

[2] *regem*] In the margin of A., written in a hand of the date of the text: "Ad cujus laudem magister "Gaufridus qui cognominatus est "Vin est sauf, hos versus composuit, "et aureis litteris scripsit.
"Pingitur hic auro rex auree "laus tua tota
"Aurea materia conveniente "nota
"Laus tua prima fuit Siculi, "Cyprus altera, dromo
"Tertia, Carvana quarta, sup- "prema Jope.
"Retrusi Siculi, Cyprus pes- "sundata, mersa
"Dromo, carvana rapta, re- "tenta Jope." Partly also in G.

[3] *Pinkenni*] Pinkeni, B. D. I.

[4] *quo*] qua, B. I.

[5] *Scaloniæ*] Ascaloniæ, B. D. I.

[6] *Angliæ*] om. B. D. I.

[7] *pacem*] The truce was signed Sept. 2. Bohadin, 261.

usque præfixum tempus servandam firmaverunt. Et ex tunc rex Angliæ, traditis omnibus in manu Henrici comitis de Campania, redire in regnum suum properavit,[1] propter sinistros rumores quos audierat, tam de rege Franciæ, et de cancellario suo expulso, quam de comite Moretonii fratre suo, qui castella regni occupaverat, et totum occuparet si posset.

A.D. 1192. September. He proposes to return home.

Venit itaque rex Angliæ ad Cayphas, et ægrotavit ibi, et perrexit inde Accon, et ibi intravit busciam magnam, post festum Sancti Michaelis, octavo idus Octobris, feria quinta, et infra mensem post diem illum applicuit in insula de Cuverfu, et intravit naviculam, et navigavit usque ad tres galeas, quas vidit ex opposito in Rumania, et conduxit eas usque ad Raguse pro ducentis marcis argenti; et postea rediit ad busciam suam, et prædictæ galeæ cum eo, et ipse pacavit eos; et assumpsit secum Baldewinum advocatum Betuniæ,[2] et alios viginti socios, et intravit unam de prædictis galeis: et cum applicuisset prope Gazere[3] apud Raguse,

He sails from Acre, Oct. 8; lands at Corfu; sails thence to Ragusa, and lands at Zara.

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[1] *properavit*] Richard sailed Oct. 9: *Itin.* 441; Bohadin, 267. He landed at Corfu about Nov. 11: R. Dic., 668.

[2] *Betuniæ*] Betoniæ, B.; Beturiæ, I. Baldwin was lord of Choques, and son of Robert V., advocate of Arras. Richard had with him, according to Ralph of Coggeshall, Philip his clerk, who is probably Philip of Poictou, afterwards bishop of Durham; and Anselm his chaplain, who told the abbot of Coggeshall the story. R. Coggesh., Mart. and Dur. *Ampl. Coll.*, v. 830.

[3] *Gazere*] Ansbert, who has an account of the capture, places the landing at Pola (ed. Dobrowsky, p. 114), and adds that Richard pursued his journey through Friuli. W. Newburgh places the shipwreck between Aquileia and Venice (lib. iv., c. 31), in accordance with the letter of the emperor, p. 195 below. Ralph of Coggeshall agrees with Hoveden in placing the landing at Zara: but there is probably some confusion between the place for which Richard took his passage from Corfu, and the place where the storm compelled him to land. The former was unquestionably Ragusa; the latter may have been Zara, Pola, or probably some place still further north. The emperor's letter should be the best authority, and that, if construed literally, places the shipwreck west of Aquileia, which would account both for the journey through Friuli and for the conduct of the count of

A.D. 1192. He proceeds in disguise.

noluit indicare quod esset rex Angliæ, sed peregrini essent: et quamvis ipse barbam haberet prolixam, et capillos prolixos, et vestes et omnia cætera ad similitudinem gentis terræ illius, tamen celari non potuit, propter nimias expensas quas faciebat, contra consuetudinem illius patriæ. Et statim homines illius provinciæ, conjicientes illum esse regem Angliæ, proposuerunt illum capere, et Romanorum imperatori tradere, qui eum odio habuit, propter auxilium regi Tancredo factum, et propter necem Conradi marchionis, consanguinei sui.

The people of the country suspect him, and inform the emperor.

De captione Ricardi regis Angliæ.

He hurries onto Vienna,

Quod cum regi Angliæ per quendam suorum constaret, tradidit familiam suam advocato Bituniæ,[1] præcipiens ut in loco illo per quatuor dies moram fecisset, expendentes profusius quam ipse fecerat. Et ipse cum uno solo comite,[2] velocibus equis ascensis, sero viam carpsit, et properans die ac nocte venit prope Vienam;[3] et non longe ab ea, in quadam parva villa, ipse et comes suus hospitium ceperunt. Et dum comes regis pergeret ad emendum cibum, rex ex labore itineris fatigatus statim incubuit super lectum, et dormivit. Interim comes suus, dum intenderet concambire denarios, a quodam serviente ducis Austriæ cognitus est, et captus, et ductus ante ducem; et cum diutius celare non potuit, indicavit eis hospitium regis: et venientes invenerunt eum dormientem, et ceperunt.

where he is recognized and taken prisoner by the duke of Austria.

Goritz, whose territory comes down nearly to the sea, on both sides of Aquileia. The distances, however, between Ragusa, Zara, and Pola are so great, that the simplest solution would be to suppose that the king touched at all three.

[1] *Bituniæ*] Betunio, B.; Betuniæ, D.; Beturiæ, I.

[2] *uno solo comite*] Willelmo de Stagno. R. Cogges. *ut supra*, 832.

[3] *Vienam*] Wenam, B. I. On S. Thomas's day, Dec. 21: R. Cogges. 832. Dec. 20: R. Dic. 668.

A.D. 1192. December. The advocate of Bethune released.

Advocatus vero Bituniæ, et qui cum eo erant, cum exire vellent a villa in qua rex dimiserat eos, capti sunt, et abire[1] permissi.

Benedict, ii. 236. The steward of Normandy refuses to surrender Gisors (January).

Interim rex Franciæ, habito colloquio[2] cum senescallo et proceribus Normanniæ, petiit ab eis Alesiam sororem suam, quam habebant custoditam in turre Rothomagensi; et castellum de Gysortio, et comitatum de Auca, et comitatum de Albemarlia: et ostendit ei chirographum, factum inter ipsum et regem Angliæ apud Messanam. Cui proceres Normanniæ responderunt, quod ipsi nullum mandatum receperant inde a domino suo, et ideo facere noluerunt quod petebat.

Philip prepares to invade Normandy.

Deinde rex Franciæ, magno congregato exercitu, voluit Normanniam hostiliter invadere: sed primates regni sui noluerunt ei consentire, dicentes, quod dominus papa excommunicaverat omnes qui gwerram facerent in terra regis Angliæ ante reditum suum; et quod ipsi juraverant tenere ei et terræ suæ pacem, donec rediisset.[3]

Benedict, ii. 238. March. The archbishop of York comes to Westminster with his cross erect in defiance of the bishops of the province of Canterbury.

Eodem anno, in Quadragesima, archiepiscopus Eboracensis venit Londonias, per mandatum justitiariorum regis: et cum venisset ad Westmonasterium cum cruce sua, prohibitum est ei a Lundoniensi episcopo, et cæteris episcopis Angliæ, ne ipse a modo præsumeret crucem suam portare in Cantuariensi diocesi. Et contumaciter respondit eis, quod propter illos non dimitteret: tamen, suorum fretus consilio, abscondit eam a facie populi, ne tumultus fieret in clero. Lundoniensis vero episcopus, illum pro excommunicato habens propter transgressionem illam, suspendit Novum Templum a Divini celebratione officii, et a sonitu campanarum, ubi prædictus Eboracensis archiepiscopus fuerat hospitatus; unde oportebat illum a civitate exire. Sed antequam exiret, Alienor regina, et Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, et ipse, et omnes magnates regni convenerunt in unum, et juraverunt fidelitatem et fidele servitium Ricardo regi Angliæ, et hæredi suo, contra omnes homines.

The new Temple suspended.

Benedict, ii. 237. Oaths of fealty taken to Richard.

[1] *abire*] non sunt, ins. G., and in a modern hand, D.

[2] *colloquio*] On the Octave of S. Hilary, Jan. 20. Benedict.

[3] *rediisset*] Hoveden is here singularly reticent as to John's transactions with Philip, which are described by Benedict, ii. 236; and with some important additions by Richard of Devizes, pp. 56, 57. See below, p. 203, note 2.

A.D. 1192. March. The chancellor lands at Dover.

In eadem Quadragesima Eliensis episcopus, cancellarius, rediit in Angliam, per mandatum comitis Moretonii, et mansit per aliquot dies in castello Dorobernia, non ausus ulterius procedere. Comes autem Moretonii, pro quingentis libris[1] argenti, quas cancellarius promiserat ei pro restitutione officii sui, modis omnibus tentavit inducere principes regni, ut recepissent cancellarium in pristinum statum: et noluerunt, sed mandaverunt cancellario, quod nisi ipse celerius a regno recederet, caperent illum. Quo audito, cancellarius, non ausus moram facere in Anglia contra voluntatem principum, transfretavit in Cœna Domini. Benedict, ii. 239.

John fails to persuade the barons to receive him.

He leaves again, April 2.

The nuns of Clementhorpe refuse to be subject to Godstow.

Eodem anno, Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus dedit, et carta sua confirmavit abbatiæ de Godestaue,[2] prioratum Sancti Clementis in Eboraco; sed moniales Sancti Clementis, quæ semper ab ipsis ecclesiæ suæ fundamentis liberæ extiterant, noluerunt obedire abbatiæ de Godestaue, facta appellatione ad dominum papam pro libertatibus ecclesiæ. Benedict, ii. 240.

Interim clerici Rothomagensis archiepiscopi, quos ipse Romam miserat contra cancellarium, in hac forma scripserunt illi; Benedict, ii. 241.

Epistola clericorum Walteri Rothomagensis archiepiscopi ad ipsum.[3]

Report of the agents of the archbishop of Rouen, at Rome.

" Waltero Dei gratia Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, carissimo " domino et patri, clerici sui, salutem. Omittimus pericula " et labores quos in via sæpius nos oportuit sustinere, et " quod frequenter insidiis declinatis, tandem incidimus in " latrones, bonisque omnibus præter quosdam equos et litteras " spoliati, sine omni viatico venimus in urbem sumptuosam,

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[1] *quingentis libris*] quingenta millia marcarum, Benedict; which is of course impossible, and leads to the conclusion that the *millia*, M, is a clerical error. R. Devizes mentions 500*l.* as the fine imposed on the chancellor.

[2] *Godestaue*] Godistoue, D.; Godestoue, G.; Godestowe, B. I.

[3] This letter is omitted in MSS. B. D. I., which have, however, the preceding words, *in hac forma scripserunt illi*, showing that they were transcribed from a more perfect copy. These MSS. omit all that follows down to p. 193.

Benedict, ii. 241. "tertio idus Februarii, apud Beati Petri ecclesiam curia A.D. 1192. February.
"commorante.[1] Ibique invenimus cancellarii clericos plurima They arrived at Rome, Feb. 11.
"jactantes, et multa, ut videbatur, prosperitate gaudentes.
"Nam plenæ legationis officio impetrato, jam sæpe dominus
"papa, et cardinalium quidam, Eliensi episcopo, cum sub-
"scriptione 'legati,' suas epistolas dirigebant, et principali-
"bus legationis bullatis litteris inde nondum traditis, sese The pope had promised to renew the bishop of Ely's legation; but the letters are kept back.
"recessui imminenti prædicti nuncii præcingebant. Etenim
"dominum papam ex toto pronum invenimus, ut partes can-
Benedict, ii. 242. "cellarii tueretur; et qui domino papæ familiarius assident,
"et adhærent, ipsius negotia tanquam propria promovebant.
"Verum, per Dei gratiam, ad adventus nostri instantiam,
"litteræ sunt retentæ, quibusdam, qui devotius negotia nostra
"respiciunt, sæpe et multum dicentibus non fuisse hactenus
"adeo necessariam vestrorum præsentiam nunciorum. Porro
"quando potuimus, audiendi copia impetrata, coram domino
"papa et cardinalibus universis litteras proposuimus, a vobis
"et episcopis et prælatis et justitiariis Angliæ destinatas,
"cum diligentia digna cætera adnectentes, quæ intentioni The writers have had an audience of the pope,
"vestræ credidimus expedire. Et cum nuncii Eliensis atten-
"tassent objicere tam responsionibus quam objectis, dominus
"papa, in vestri depressione negotii, plurima indignanter et
"cum amaritudine proponebat, multiplicatis inculcans sermo-
"nibus, et affirmans: 'Scimus quod illustris rex Anglorum
"'domino Eliensi regni sui totius administrationem reliquit, who made a speech in favour of the bishop of Ely.
"'nec aliquem ei parem vel majorem adhibuit; litteras domini
"'regis super eo vidimus; revocatorias aut contrarias non
"'vidimus nec videmus, nec earum transcriptum sigillis sup-
"'positis et auctenticis consignatum. Sed multæ venerabiles
"'personæ scribunt contra dominum cancellarium: et nos pro
"'domino cancellario multarum recepimus venerabilium lit-
"'teras personarum. Sed et litteræ, quas vos portatis,
"'eorum sunt qui dominum cancellarium expulerunt; nec
"'miramur admodum, si pro se scribere videantur. Scimus
"'quia dominus rex nulli unquam mortalium tantam dilec-
"'tionem exhibuit, vel honorem impendit, quantum domino
"'Eliensi. Ipsum fecit non modo episcopum venerandæ
"'sedis et ditissimæ Eliensis, sed et cancellarium suum; sed
"'et regnum Angliæ universum ejus solius custodiæ com-
"'mendavit. Sed nec omnibus istis contentus esse potuit
"'dominus rex; sed et pro legationis officio domino cancella-

[1] *commorante*] The court was at the Lateran from the middle of February to May. Jaffé, 891.

A.D. 1192. February. Speech of the pope in favour of the bishop of Ely.

" 'rio committendo, et bonæ recordationis domino Clementi, " 'et nobis etiam supplicavit. Vide quam tenere amabat eum; " 'quem unquam hominum tantum diligit, vel dilexit? Ad " 'preces domini regis, et instantiam multam, præsentem " 'legationem indulsimus domino Eliensi. Ab homine, quem " 'dilexerat, regem tam subito tantam gratiam revocasse vix " 'possumus credere, nisi litteras ejus et sigillum regium " 'videremus. Et quod domino regi dedimus, puta legationem " 'domini Eliensis, sine falsitatis nota nec suspendere possu- " 'mus nec auferre. Sed et omnes Anglicani episcopi, pro " 'legationis officio confirmando, nobis proprias litteras trans- " 'miserunt; et nobis unanimiter supplicantes, pro ipso can- " 'cellario commendationem plurimam porrexerunt. Et modo " '[quod] contrarium postulatur ab eis, suæ potius levitati im- " 'putandum videtur. Sed et dominus vester, Rothomagensis " 'archiepiscopus, nobis pro domino Eliensi plenas devotionis " 'litteras destinavit, cum pro ipso scripsisset, dum prosperis " 'uteretur: contra ipsum exilii calamitate oppressum eos " 'grave est exaudiri, cum contra eos scriptum sit:

Benedict, ii. 242.

Benedict, ii. 243.

" 'Cum fueris felix, multos numerabis amicos:
" 'Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris.

Ovid, *Tristia*, ix. 5.

" 'Porro cum pristina felicitate gauderet, et legationis vice " 'apud vos fungeretur, quæ unquam ecclesia, quod monas- " 'terium, quæ persona, quis vulgaris aut nobilis, super ero- " 'gationibus domini Eliensis, vel ecclesiarum gravamine, " 'verbum miserat ad nos aut querelam? Omnes applaudebant " 'felici, omnes murmurant in oppressum. Amici fortunæ " 'fuerant, cum fortunæ gratia recedentes.'

Arguments founded on the king's petition for the archbishop to have the office of legate in Normandy.

" Hæc quidem et multa alia, a domino papa opposita, non " esse non poterant magni ponderis et momenti, ut ab eo " proposita qui superiorem non habet, et a pontifice summo " et judice, et cujus voluntati nemo est qui resistat. Sed et " multum contra nos quibusdam facere videbatur, quod do- " minus rex Angliæ, in reversione vestra, supplicavit pro " vobis, ut in Normanniæ partibus, et cæteris transmarinis, " vobis legatio transferretur. Unde prima facie nemini " videbatur, quod regiæ esset voluntatis, vos in Angliæ par- " tibus administrationem habere, et legationis officium in " Normannia exercere: cum et Angliæ tutelam gerere, et " legationis officium in Normannia exercere, uni et eidem " homini, nec facile nec promptum esse videbatur. Sed et " forma regiæ voluntatis, quæ pro vobis fuerat a rege can- " cellario destinata, senescallo Normanniæ a rege dicebatur " transmissa, ut et ipse in Normanniæ partibus vestro consilio " fungeretur.

Benedict, ii. 243.

A.D. 1192. February. The pope annuls the sentences of excommunication on both sides.

"Ad quæ et similia cum responsiones idoneas haberemus, "tamen domini papæ favor et adjutorium in partem contra-"riam nitebantur. Verumtamen tandem dubitare coactus, "tum ad instantiam nostram, tum cardinalium aliquorum, "quos in nostræ partis gratiam traxeramus, cardinalibus "omnibus congregatis in unum, singulorum consilia requi-"sivit: nostroque negotio diu suspensis deliberationibus agi-"tato, suam dominus papa sedens pro tribunali dedit sen-"tentiam sub hac forma: puta, ut breviter et summatim "procedamus; et cancellarium a vestra et domini Rothoma-"gensis decani[1] denunciatione absolvit; et vice mutata, "sententiam Eliensis episcopi, quam occasione quarundam "probabilium litterarum in vos tulerat, et decanum, et alios "quosdam cancellario odiosos, nullam fuisse publice judi-"cavit.

Benedict, ii. 244.

He does not withdraw the legatine commission from the bishop of Ely, but restrains his power of excommunication.

"Porro dominus papa, in sua procedens sententia, super "injuria archiepiscopo Eboracensi illata, sine forma præscripta, "cancellario purgationem indixit; legationem autem nec ejus "executionem ademit, cum jam ipsam ad precum regiarum "instantiam contulisset, et vobis etiam supplicantibus, cum "pontificibus Angliæ universis: eam tamen legationem pro-"tulit exsequendam sub hac exceptione adjecta, quod ipse "interdictum vel suspensionis vel excommunicationis senten-"tiam proferendi, in vos vel in decanum Rothomagensem, vel "episcopos Angliæ, vel justitiarios vel magnates, nullam "habeat potestatem. Cujus interpretationem sententiæ vos "habituros confidimus utiliorem, verborum faciem vobis in "proximo, in ipsius papæ litteris transmissuros. Sententiæ "vero prænominatæ adjecit, quod consilio cardinalium con-"vocato, nostroque adhibito, et nunciorum domini Eliensis, "personas venerabiles in vestris partibus providebit, quibus "mediantibus inter vos et dominum cancellarium, possit pax "et concordia reformari, saltem quantum ad mutuum ran-"corem animi remittendum. In hujus autem deliberationis "tractatu, et prædictæ forma sententiæ, eas pro certo cre-"dimus ex toto litteras revocandas; quæ cum essent episcopis "totius Angliæ destinatæ, tamen occasione ipsarum, idem "cancellarius vos cum multis aliis excommunicationis vinculo "denunciavit astrictos. Super quam tamen denunciationem, "cum nos domino papæ ad mandatum domini Rothomagensis "decani proposuimus querelam palam in consistorio coram "cardinalibus universis et populo, lectis eisdem litteris et "inspectis; quantum protestatus est voce coram omnibus ex-

He will send mediators.

He disowns the letters published by the bishop of Ely.

[1] *decani*] John of Coutances, dean of Rouen.

A.D. 1192. February. "altata quod nunquam prædictæ litteræ a conscientia ejus originem habuerunt, cœtu cardinalium de se id idem cum admiratione plurima proclamante! Et cum nuncii Eliensis episcopi papæ instantissime reclamarent, nemini aurem propitiam vel fautricem impendit. Valete." Benedict, ii. 244.

The bishop of Ely's agents remonstrate, and compel the pope to confess that he authorized the letters.

In nocte sequenti venerunt nuncii Eliensis episcopi ad dominum papam, et increpantes eum quod ita in conspectu universorum cardinalium protestabatur, quod confirmatio sententiæ quam cancellarius dederat in archiepiscopum Rothomagensem et complices suos, qui in dejectione illius unanimes extiterunt, non manasset a conscientia sua; et quæsierunt ut pro amore Dei, et honore Romanæ ecclesiæ, reduceret ad memoriam servitia quæ cancellarius ei et Romanæ ecclesiæ devote exhibuit: et ut ipse, per testimonium veritatis, opprobrium cancellarii et suorum tolleret, ne inimici illorum de injusta condemnatione sua gratularentur. His et aliis hujusmodi exhortationibus dominus papa exhortatus, in crastino sedens pro tribunali, coram cardinalibus et omni populo confessus est, quod litteræ illæ, quas die præcedenti devoverat, præcepto illius factæ fuerant, et in Angliam missæ, ad confirmandam sententiam excommunicationis, quam cancellarius dederat in archiepiscopum Rothomagensem et complices suos, qui eum a regno dejecerant. Benedict, ii. 245.

Præterea[1] iidem clerici Rothomagensis archiepiscopi mandaverunt ei, quod Romæ locuti fuerunt per quatuor

[1] *Præterea*] The following paragraph is very puzzling; and, as it is not found in Benedict, may be altogether misplaced. Andrew of Chavigni was in Palestine at this time, with the king: *Itin. R. R.*, 302, 355, 405, &c. Either there must have been two persons of the name, which is improbable; or Andrew may have been sent on an occasional mission from Rome, which is equally so; or the chronicler has misplaced this part of his information, having been betrayed by his love of massing the incidents, instead of taking them chronologically. Richard moreover, as appears from the Itinerarium, did not hear of the deposition of the chancellor before the close of Easter, 1192, when the prior of Hereford brought to him, at Acre, the letters of William. The confusion of the events of 1191 and 1192 is very great. It almost looks as if the chroniclers were appalled by the news of Richard's capture, and gave dates for nothing else. In this case moreover it seems to illustrate the transmission of the pen from the hand of the previous historian to that of Hoveden.

A.D. 1192. February. Reports of the archbishop's agents at Rome, of Richard's approval of the deposition of Longchamp.

dies cum Hugone de Gurnai, et cum Willelmo de Pessi, et Dragone de Trubleville, et cum multis aliis, quos rex Angliæ in terram suam destinavit: et quod quindecim diebus post venit Andreas de Chavenneio, narrans, quod multum placuit domino regi, quod cancellarius fuit amotus; sed etiam multum displicuit ei quod communia Londoniæ et totum regnum esset juratum comiti Johanni. Et quæsivit rex ut dominus papa cassaret omnes donationes reddituum ecclesiasticorum quas cancellarius post recessum regis fecerat: sed dominus papa noluit ita absolute illas donationes cassare, sed communiter cassavit omnes donationes reddituum ecclesiasticorum ad regem pertinentium, a quocunque factæ fuerint, et super hoc constituit dominus papa Lincolniensem et Lundoniensem episcopos judices. Concessis autem litteris clericis domini Rothomagensis archiepiscopi, accesserunt ad dominum papam, et dixerunt ei de cancellario: "Ecce quomodo amabat "eum."

De adventu cardinalium in Normanniam.

Benedict, ii. 246.

Arrival of the legates at Gisors.

[1]Eodem anno[2] dominus papa misit a latere suo duos cardinales, scilicet, Octovianum Hostiensem episcopum, et Jordanum de Fossa Nova, ad dirimendam litem quæ erat inter cancellarium et Rothomagensem archiepiscopum. Qui cum venissent in Normanniam usque ad Gysorcium, clausa est eis janua, et intrare non potuerunt. Et cum cognovissent hoc factum fuisse per Willelmum filium Radulfi, senescallum Normanniæ, illum excommunicaverunt, et omnes complices suos et fautores, et consiliarios et auctores prædictæ præsumptionis: et totam Normanniam sub interdicto posuerunt. Quod cum nunciatum esset in Anglia, regina Alienor et Rothomagensis archiepiscopus miserunt ad eos Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum, ut relaxarent sententiam quam dederant in senescallum Normanniæ, et in ipsam Norman-

Benedict, ii. 247.

They excommunicate the Steward, and put Normandy under interdict.

[1] This is the last paragraph which Hoveden has in common with Benedict.

[2] *Eodem anno*] Here MSS. B. D. I. resume. A. has the marginal note *Scribe*.

A.D. 1192. The bishop of Durham mediates.

niam. Primo vero invenit eos Dunelmensis episcopus apud Parisius, deinde secutus est eos usque Vizeliacum; sed nullo modo relaxare sententiam suam voluerunt, nisi recepti fuissent in Normannia. Sed dominus papa interdictum Normanniæ relaxavit, et relaxari fecit a legatis, nec tamen intraverunt Normanniam. Benedict, ii. 247, 249, 250.

Rebellion in Gascony, during the sickness of the Steward.

Eodem anno, dum senescallus Gasconiæ ægrotaret, comes Petragoriensis,[1] et vicecomes de Marchia, et fere omnes barones Gasconiæ, terras regis Angliæ vastare cœperunt. Senescallus vero nec pacem nec treugas interim habere potuit, licet id pluries et perpluries requisisset. Convalescens tandem, invasit castra et munitiones prædicti comitis, et ea omnia debellavit et cepit, quædam ad opus regis muniendo, quædam funditus subvertendo. Similiter omnia castra prædicti vicecomitis cepit, et totum comitatum illius in perpetuum dominationi regis mancipavit. Postmodum filius regis Navarræ[2] affuit illi in auxilium cum octingentis militibus; et terram comitis Tolosæ pariter ingressi sunt, multaque castra circa Tolosam ceperunt, et capta ad opus domini regis munierunt; et multas alias munitiones funditus subverterunt; et usque ad portas Tolosæ progressi sunt, et fere sub ipsis muris pernoctaverunt.

On his recovery he seizes the castles of Perigord and la Marche.

He is succoured by the son of the king of Navarre.

December. Reports of the returning pilgrims, of Richard's progress homewards.

Eodem anno multi peregrini, qui recesserunt cum rege de terra Suliæ, redierunt ante Natale Domini in Angliam, sperantes se invenisse regem in Anglia, et interrogati de rege, ubi esset, responderunt: "Nescimus; sed navem ejus, quam intraverat, vidimus "applicatam apud Brundusium in Appulia."

A.D. 1193. March. Richard is given up to the emperor.

Interim Limpoldus dux Austriæ, qui regem Angliæ ceperat, tradidit eum Henrico Romanorum imperatori. Unde idem imperator in hac forma scripsit Philippo regi Francorum;

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[1] *comes Petragoriensis*] Helias V., 1166–1204.

[2] *filius regis Navarræ*] Sancho, son of Sancho VI.: he succeeded his father in 1194, and is the hero of the story told above, p. 90.

Epistola Henrici Romanorum imperatoris ad Philippum regem Franciæ de captione Ricardi regis Angliæ.[1]

A.D. 1192. Dec. 28.

"Henricus Dei gratia Romanorum imperator, et semper "Augustus, dilecto et speciali amico suo Philippo, illustri "Francorum regi, salutem, et sinceræ dilectionis affectum. "Quoniam imperatoria celsitudo non dubitat regalem magni- "ficentiam tuam lætiorem effici de universis quibus omnipo- "tentia Creatoris nostri nos ipsos et Romanum imperium "honoraverit et exaltaverit; nobilitati tuæ præsentium tenore "declarare duximus, quod inimicus imperii nostri, et tur- "bator regni tui, rex Angliæ, cum esset in transeundo "mare, ad partes suas reversurus, accidit ut ventus, rupta "navi sua in qua ipse erat, duceret eam versus partes His- "triæ, ad locum qui est inter Aquileiam et Venetias,[2] ubi "ipse rex Dei permissione passus naufragium, cum paucis "evasit. Quidam itaque fidelis noster comes Mainardus de "Gorzte,[3] et populus regionis illius, audito quod in terra "erat, et considerato diligentius qualem nominatus rex, in "terra promissionis, proditionem et traditionem et perdi- "tionis suæ cumulum exercuerat, insecuti sunt, intendentes "eum captivare. Ipso autem rege in fugam converso cepe- "runt de suis octo milites. Postmodum processit rex ad "burgum in archiepiscopatu Salzeburgensi, qui vocatur Fri- "sorum,[4] ubi Fridericus de Betesowe, rege cum tribus tantum "versus Austriam properante noctu, sex milites de suis cepit. "Dilectus autem consanguineus noster Limpoldus, dux Aus- "triæ, observata strata, impositis ubique custodibus, sæpe- "dictum regem juxta Wenam, in villa viciniori, in domo de- "specta captivavit. Cum itaque in nostra nunc habeatur "potestate, et ipse semper tuæ molestiæ et turbationibus "operam præstiterit; ea, quæ præmisimus, nobilitati tuæ insi- "nuare curavimus, scientes ea dilectioni tuæ beneplacita

Henry VI. writes to Philip the news of the capture of Richard.

He was shipwrecked between Aquileia and Venice;

pursued by Mainard of Goritz:

escaped capture at Frisach:

but was taken near Vienna.

Philip will be pleased with the news.

[1] An abstract of this letter is given by Rigord, in nearly the same words (ed. Pithou, p. 193).

[2] *inter Aquileiam et Venetias*] See note 3, p. 185, above.

[3] *Mainardus de Gorzte*] Gorze, D. G. Mainhard II., count of Goritz, conjointly with his brother Engelbert, from about 1186 to 1223 or later. These counts were advocates of the church of Cividale or Civitas Austriæ, and had great power in Aquileia itself. Mainhard III. was the person who proposed Rudolf of Hapsburg as king of the Romans, and afterwards became count of Tyrol.

[4] *Frisorum*] Frisarium, W. Newb. Frisach in Carinthia, north of Klagenfurt: it was a detached property of the see of Salzburg.

A.D. 1192. Dec. 28.

"existere, et animo tuo uberrimam importare lætitiam. Datum "apud Rithiencie,[1] v^{to} kalendas Januarii.

A.D. 1193. February. The archbishop of Rouen writes to the bishop of Durham.

His itaque per Angliam publicatis de captione regis Angliæ rumoribus, Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus in hac forma scripsit Hugoni Dunelmensi episcopo;

Epistola Walteri Rothomagensis archiepiscopi ad Dunelmensem episcopum de captione Ricardi regis.[2]

The king's fate is now known.

"Venerabili in Christo fratri, et amico carissimo, Hugoni "Dei gratia Dunelmensi episcopo, Walterus eadem gratia "Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, salutem in vero Salutari. "Super adventu regio rumoribus variis ventilatis, tandem, "quia veritas latere non potuit, nobis omnia sunt aperta. "Verum in adversis et prosperis esse æquanimes nos oportet: Dei enim non possumus avertere voluntatem; et cum "Ejus judicia sint occulta, eventus rerum fortuitos Ejus misericordiæ et providentiæ commendamus. In mœrore animi "nostri cogimur profiteri, de domino nostro rege aliter accidisse, quam ejus regno et universis suis fidelibus expediret: "et si ejus merita plenius intuemur, is casus ejus operibus "nullatenus deberetur. Qui enim ad Dei gloriam patrimonium "universum exhausit, et bellorum fortunæ suorum et suum "sanguinem indifferenter commisit, in omnibus viis suis protectionem Dei merebatur. Verum adversitas quæ bonis "votis objicitur, probatio virtutis est, non indicium reprobationis. Et quid plura? loqui compellimur, quod nollemus. Imperatoris Alemannorum litterarum transcriptum "vobis ducimus transmittendum, quas de domini nostri regis "Angliæ captione ad regem Francorum destinavit, præsenti "pagina nostra involutum. Vobis autem non est opus lacrymis, sed virtute: quoniam fortunæ aggressibus non est "planctibus occurrendum, sed, dissimulato dolore, probitatis "experientiæ intendendum. Forsitan ad vesperum demora-

He transmits a copy of the emperor's letter to king Philip. This is a time for action.

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[1] *Rithiencie*] Rithientia, I. Henry was at Merseburg on the 8th of December (Böhmer, *Regesta Regum, &c.*, p. 149): and nothing seems to be known of his movements until we find him at Speyer, in March 1193. The identification of *Rith-cie* has been scarcely attempted. Böhmer simply queries it. William of Newburgh, however, read it Renhenza (lib. iv. c. 32), and it is probably Rense or Rhense, the well known rendezvous of the electoral body, between Coblentz and Mentz.

[2] This letter is omitted in MSS. B. D. I.

A.D. 1193. February.

Ps. xxx. 5. "bitur fletus, et nos ad matutinum lætitia visitabit. Et quoniam spei nostræ maxima pars post Dei misericordiam in sinu vestro reponitur; lacrymantibus intimis, et toto corde deposcimus supplices et devoti, et quasi carissimi, postulantes, quatenus in negotio quod domino nostro regi, supra opinionem arduum, incumbit, vestræ diligentiæ partes et industriæ totis conatibus impendatis, et consilium vestrum, quod totis visceribus exoptamus, nullius recordatione angustiæ, nullius adversitatis prospectu, nulla occasione, nulla temporalium aut felicitatis cautela, nobis et domino nostro, immo vobis potius, denegetis. Et quoniam præsenti animus, quam absenti plenius intimatur; et in personarum præsentia consilium præsentis articuli copiosius elucescit, et salubriorem Dominus inde sortietur effectum; idcirco nos a vobis affectione prætacta lacrymabiliter postulamus, ut omnis difficultatis exceptione postposita, die Dominica ante *Lætare Jerusalem*, apud Oxenforde nobis et aliis domini regis fidelibus occurratis. Præsens enim negotium instantiam eam desiderat, ut omnis excusatio delitescat, et omnem dilectionem domino regi debitam, in casu quem loquimur, probationem credimus habituram. Dominum autem Batoniensem [1] noveritis de domino nostro rege quantocius liberando cum domino imperatore jam habuisse tractatum. Omnem enim impendit laborem et operam, ut ei præstet obsequium, et regiæ debitum reverentiæ, et honori gratum, et utile ad præsens, sicut et alias, plenum exhibeat famulatum; sicut ab eis recepimus, qui interfuerunt colloquio, quod de nostro domino liberando cum domino principe dominus Batoniensis habebat. Et quoniam universis eventibus Divinum est a Deo auxilium implorandum, rogamus, quatenus in universa vestra diocesi pro ipso preces apud Altissimum faciatis effundi, S. James v. 16. 'Plurimum enim valet deprecatio justi assidua;' et inopportuna mulier in Evangelio meruit exaudiri, et, sicut ibi dicitur, Christus filium suscitavit, quia multæ pro eo lacrymæ fundebantur. Valete."

He begs the bishop to attend a consultation at Oxford on the third Sunday in Lent, Feb. 28.

The bishop of Bath is treating with the emperor for the king's release.

He begs that prayers may be offered in the diocese of Durham for it.

[1] *Batoniensem*] Savaric, bishop of Bath, was consecrated in September 1192. R. de Dic. 668. He claimed relationship with the emperor, who afterwards made him chancellor of Burgundy, but it is not known by what line the connexion existed. On Savaric's family, see a note in *Epp. Cant.* p. lxxxvii. The mission to Germany was no doubt confided to him on account of this connexion. This disproves Hoveden's statement lower down, p. 221, that Savaric received the bishopric from Richard during his captivity.

A.D. 1193. March.

De nunciis missis per justitiarios Angliæ ad quærendum Ricardum regem Angliæ captum.

The abbots of Boxley and Robertsbridge, sent to seek the king, find him shortly before Palm Sunday, March 21.

Audita[1] itaque regis captione, Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, et cæteri domini regis justitiarii, miserunt abbatem de Boxeleia,[2] et abbatem de Ponte Roberti in Alemanniam, ad quærendum regem Angliæ. Qui cum totam Alemanniam peragrassent, et regem non invenissent, Baveriam ingressi sunt, et obviaverunt regi in villa quæ dicitur Oxefer,[3] ubi ducebatur ad imperatorem, habiturus cum eo colloquium in die Palmarum. Et comperto quod prædicti abbates venissent de Anglia, rex præbuit se illis hilarem et affabilem, quærens de statu regni sui, et de fidelitate hominum suorum, et de salute et prosperitate regis Scotiæ, in cujus fide fiducialius innitebatur. Ipsi vero, quæ audierant et viderant, testificati sunt. Conferentibus itaque illis ad invicem, conquestus est rex super proditione Johannis fratris sui, comitis Moretonii, cui tot beneficia et honores contulerat immensos; qui se regi Franciæ contra eum dederat, et rupto fraternitatis fœdere, fœdus cum morte inierat, et pactum cum inferno. Super hoc itaque rex valde contristatus subito in vocem consolationis erupit, dicens; "Johannes frater "meus non est homo qui sibi vi terram subjiciat, si "fuerit qui vim ejus vi saltem tenui repellat."

He complains to them of the conduct of his brother John.

Is. xxviii. 15.

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[1] *Audita*] Here B. D. I. resume. *Scribe*, A. in margin.

[2] *Boxeleia*] Boxleia, D. I. Boxeleya, B. Robert abbot of Boxley, and W. abbot of Robertsbridge, are associated in several transactions relative to Canterbury in 1198 (*Epp. Cant.* 423, 459, 511); but very little is known of either of them.

[3] *Oxefer*] Oxeforde, G. Leopold had imprisoned Richard at Tyernstein (Dürrenstein) on the Danube (Ansb. 114). The agreement for the surrender of the king to Henry was made at Würtzburg, Feb. 14, 1193 (*Ib.* 119). A copy of it will be found in the appendix to the preface of this volume, p. cxli. Richard was brought to Speyer, (the Oxefer of the text is perhaps Oehsenfurt, on the Main, near Würtzburg,) on Palm Sunday; and on the Tuesday after was surrendered to the emperor, March 23 (R. de Dic. 668): from Speyer Richard writes on the 26th to Canterbury for money (*Epp. Cant.* 362).

In itinere autem per tres dies, usque dum ad imperatorem pervenisset, quomodo se habuerit strenue, eleganter, prudenter, admirati[1] sunt universi, judicantes illum dignum imperatoria celsitudine, qui ita novit animo imperare, et fortunæ biformes eventus uniformi constantia superare.

A.D. 1193. March 19–21. Dignified behaviour of Richard.

Die vero constituto, habito colloquio per internuncios cum imperatore, non potuerunt illo die confœderari, eo quod imperator multa petierat, quibus nec etiam pro mortis periculo rex consentiendum judicavit.

March 21. He fails to satisfy the emperor.

In crastino autem, omnibus desperantibus, cum successu læta successit consolatio. Nam imperatore regem impetente in multis, et objiciente quam plurima, tum de proditione terræ Suliæ, tum de morte Marchionis, tum de quibusdam conventionibus ad invicem habitis, et non observatis; rex libere, et constanter, et ita intrepide respondit, quod non solum eum imperator gratia vel venia dignum, sed etiam laude judicavit. Nam inclinantem se regem erexit, et suscepit in osculo pacis, et confœderavit eum sibi; et ampliando honoribus et auxiliis, circumstante populo, et in lacrymas ruente præ gaudio, promisit, asserens quod confœderaret regem Angliæ regi Franciæ. Et tunc quasi pro mercede rex Angliæ centum millia marcarum, mediante duce Austriæ, pro sua liberatione promisit imperatori. Promisitque imperator quod, si per operam ejus rex Angliæ et rex Franciæ non possent confœderari, ipse regem Angliæ ad propria remitteret sine pecunia.

March 22. He argues his case before the emperor, and convinces him.

He promises a ransom of 100,000 marks: the emperor is to make peace between him and Philip.

Eodem anno[2] Cœlestinus papa, considerans quod rex Franciæ et comes Moretonii, frater regis Angliæ, guerram faciebant contra regem Angliæ, in hac forma scripsit episcopis Angliæ;

The pope writes to the bishops.

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[1] *admirati*] mirati, B. D. I.

[2] *Eodem anno . . . . . Angliæ*] omitted in B. D. I., with the following letter.

A.D. 1193. Jan. 11.

Epistola Cœlestini papæ ad archiepiscopos et episcopos per Angliam constitutos.

The pope reviews the history of the crusades.

"Cœlestinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus "fratribus, archiepiscopis et episcopis per Angliam constitutis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum ad propulsandam injuriam populi Christiani, et communis notam "fidei abolendam, quam ei paganorum spurcitia in captione "Sanctæ Terræ, quæ Domini est hæreditas nuncupata, perniciose ac violenter impressit; et ad emundandam etiam "civitatem sanctam, et sepulcrum Dominicum, ab Saracenorum et aliorum insuper occupantium immunditiis, ac auferendam illam per auxilium supernæ clementiæ a potestate "illorum, sedes apostolica suum debitum recognoscens, per "diversas mundi partes nuncios sæpe a suo latere, ac commonitorias litteras destinaverit, et, in Divina confisa clementia, magnas illuc tendentibus impenderit indulgentias; "licet, ut fraternitas vestra potest perpendere, ad hæc agenda "per exhortationes illius viriliter ac devote plurimi se accinxerint, et tot in transmarinis partibus Christi fideles "propter hæc sæpe fuerint congregati, ut multitudo eorum "oppugnantium numerum non modicum videretur excedere, "et animis[1] ac viribus etiam prævalere; non multum tamen "proficere potuit, vel his qui ex adverso contendebant obesse, "pro eo, sicut ex affectu datur intelligi, quod nisus et actiones "eorum, qui fuerant ad partes illas profecti, Domino pro parte "magna displicebant. Unde merito aliorum peccaminum, quia "non in Deo sed viribus propriis confidebant, et non erat ante "ipsorum oculos timor Dei, ex præconcepta superbia cor eorum "permissum est obscurari, ut alia insuper agerent, quæ minime "convenirent, Divinum contra se suis perversitatibus judicium "provocantes. Verum, quia multæ sunt misericordiæ Domini, "Qui, etsi ad malorum pervicaciam retundendam, et subdenda "cervicosorum hominum colla, disciplinæ manus quandoque "Suas medicinaliter aggravat, et ut elevet opprimit, et "percutit aut flagellat ut sanet; si ad Eum cum debita fuerimus humilitate reversi, et de peccatis castigati, ac de "observandis Creatoris de cætero studio ferventiori mandatis "firmum propositum assumpserimus; absque ulla poterimus "hæsitatione sperare, quod affluentius gratiusque nobis assistet, "et de inimicis nominis Christi plenam indulgebit de cœlo "victoriam; ita quod universa quæ incurrimus hucusque

[1] *animis*] auxiliis, Savile.

"gravamina oblivioni tradantur, omnibus conversis retrorsum, "et merita confusione ruentibus, qui oderunt Sion, et gentili- "bus præsumpserunt contaminationibus maculare.

A.D. 1193. Jan. 11. Hope for the future.

"Attendentibus autem, ac studio diligenti scrutantibus, "quales minas populo Israheli, cum ex promissione memoratam "supra terram intraret, Divina potestas intulerit, non erit "dubitationis scrupulus, qui hujusmodi inquisitioni opponat, "quare nostrum pro Deo inceptum conamen speratos non sit "consecutum effectus. Dictum est enim illis, ut ab habita- "torum illius terræ contagiis et spurcitiis abstinerent; et "illorum vitia imitatione digna non ducerent, quæ ipsis possint "accidere in ruinam; sed legem Domini firmo proposito, et "omni animi et intentionis nisu servarent. Quibus itaque "monitis si devote ac humiliter obedirent, unus eorum mille "vinceret, ac decem ex illis decem millia. Quæ certiori post- "modum experimento noverunt; cum pauci de ipsis magnam "ex illis, infinitam quasi multitudinem, trucidarent; et dum "devote Divinis intenderent mandatis, non fuit civitas, vel "munitio, quæ ipsorum possit evitare congressus, vel ipsorum "subtrahi conamine aliquo vel consilio potestati. Quia tamen "cum eorum filii, qui Dominum, ut ibi dicitur, non noverunt, "ab illorum, quæ fuerant sibi legali promulgatione injuncta, "temere cœpissent observatione deficere; inimici eorum ad- "versus eos cuneos obstruentes suæ illos potentiæ sæpius "subjugaverunt; quos denuo per Divinum sibi auxilium sube- "gerunt, cum de commissis excessibus pœnitentes, ac reatum "suum recognoscentes, humiliter pia sunt ad Deum devotione "conversi. Satis autem indubitanter potestis agnoscere, quod "cum ex subortis discordiis proventus speratæ victoriæ Chris- "tianæ militiæ auferretur, causa erat simultatum et odiorum "frequentius in exercitu pullulantium, quia carnem posue- "rant prius brachium suum, et a Domino recesserant corda "eorum. Si ergo volumus sine magno labore in adversariorum "perniciem gloriosum per omnia obtinere triumphum, propter "hucusque perpessa gravamina non deficiamus animo: sed "requirentes cum humilitate ac cordis contritione misericor- "diam Creatoris, in confusionem eorum perpetuam, insupera- "bilem poterimus victoriam ex consueta supernæ dignationis "merito benignitate sperare. Hac itaque consideratione in- "ducti, universis orbis principibus in remissionem injunximus "peccatorum, ut, Divini amoris et propriæ salutis intuitu, "siquis adversus aliquem concepit qualibet occasione rancorem, "etsi despexerit homini, Creatori dimittat; ne ulterius dis- "sentiendi ad invicem occasio præbeatur, quæ hactenus "et victoriæ nobis, ut nostis, proventus abstulit, et maximæ "multitudinis parti absque ullo commodo periculum mortis

Comparison of the history of the Israelites.

The quarrels among the Christians.

He has exhorted the princes of the world to make peace.

A.D. 1193. Jan. 11.

If peace is made, the remnant of Palestine may be saved and the sepulchre recovered.

"induxit: et toto animi studio id inter se consilii reperire "procurent, quo et interim valeat illud tantillum terræ Domini "portionis, quæ adhuc sub Christianorum potestate tenetur, "ne a perversorum manibus occupetur, inconcusse servari, et "contra impiorum impetus sine aliquo pavore defendi; et "accingatur denuo multitudo fidelium, quæ illuc sub debita "et devota humilitate itura, totam possit terram, et sepul-"crum Dominicum, devicto et conculcato penitus occupantium "furore, liberare. Adhæc etiam, quia ex hoc nobis et universo "populo Christiano nimium exuberat causa fletus, et tristari "debemus omnimodis, non lætari; dum, videlicet, terra "ubi steterunt pedes Domini, et salutis nostræ sunt sacra-"menta patrata, gentilium occupationibus detinetur; tornea-"menta, quæ causa lætitiæ inventa fuerunt, et tyronum exer-"cendæ virtutis, penitus inhibemus; ut qui se voluerit exer-"cere, ad terram illam accedat, ubi et corporis et animæ "virtus viriliter poterit ac salubriter demonstrari. Taliter "etiam unitati et pacis concordiæ ad invicem procurent inten-"dere, ut nullus sit qui adversus alium guerram intendat, vel "armis injuriam audeat propulsare; sed communiter potius "studeant quæ dissidentium animos studio ac labore diligenti "reforment. Si quis vero, quod non credimus, Dei timore "postposito, et reverentia nostra et fidei Christianæ contempta, "contra hoc agere aliqua temeritate præsumpserit, noverint "nos vobis, et aliis archiepiscopis et episcopis, districtius "injunxisse, ut eorum terras, qui contumaciter incepto hujus-"modi duxerint insistendum, interdicto ecclesiastico supponatis, "et personas etiam, si opus fuerit, excommunicationis vinculo "astringatis, et faciatis utramque sententiam inviolabiliter "observari. Vobis ergo per apostolica scripta districte præcipi-"endo mandamus, quatenus, ad ea quæ prædiximus celeriter "adimplenda, omni tarditate et contradictione postpositis, vos "accingatis, et studeatis per vestras dioceses, dilatione et "appellatione cessante, id executioni mandare. Datum Romæ "apud Sanctum Petrum, tertio idus Januarii, pontificatus nostri "secundo."

He forbids tournaments.

He urges the bishops to labour for the good cause.

Richard resigns the kingdom of England to the emperor;

Ricardus[1] rex Angliæ in captione Henrici Romanorum imperatoris detentus, ut captionem illam evaderet, consilio Alienor matris suæ,[2] deposuit se de regno Angliæ, et tradidit illud imperatori sicut universorum domino,

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[1] *Ricardus*] Here MSS. B. D. I. resume. The following paragraph is added in the cursive hand in A., with the marginal direction *Scribe.*

[2] *suæ*] om. B. I.

et investivit eum inde per pilleum suum: sed imperator, sicut prælocutum fuit, statim reddidit ei, in conspectu magnatum Alemanniæ et Angliæ, regnum Angliæ prædictum, tenendum de ipso pro quinque millibus librarum sterlingorum singulis annis de tributo solvendis; et investivit eum inde imperator per duplicem crucem de auro. Sed idem imperator, in morte sua, de omnibus his et aliis conventionibus quietum clamavit ipsum Ricardum regem Angliæ, et hæredes suos.

A.D. 1193. and receives it again, under tribute of £5,000 a year.

The emperor at his death released him from this.

Quartus annus regni Ricardi regis Angliæ.

Anno gratiæ millesimo centesimo nonagesimo tertio, qui erat quartus annus regni Ricardi regis Angliæ, Philippus rex Franciæ erat in Francia apud[1] die Natalis Domini, quæ feria sexta evenit, multum contristatus et confusus propter hoc, quod senescallus Normanniæ noluit tradere ei Alesiam sororem suam; et frequenter misit nuncios suos in Angliam ad Johannem fratrem regis, comitem Moretonii, mandans ei qualiter rex captivus tenebatur,[2] et quod ipse nunquam exiret de captione imperatoris Alemanniæ; adnectens quod, si ille voluntati illius et consilio adquiesceret, daret ei Alesiam sororem suam in uxorem, et redderet ei Normanniam, et Aquitanniam, et Andegaviam, et omnes alias terras transmarinas quas rex Angliæ Henricus, pater suus, unquam tenuit; et quod ipse adquireret ei regnum Angliæ.

A.D. 1192. Dec. 25. Philip attempts to draw John into fresh treason against his brother.

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[1] *apud*] so A. B. D. I.; om. G.

[2] These offers of Philip to John are placed by the author of Benedict's Chronicle, and also by Richard of Devizes, under the year 1192. It is of course possible that Philip renewed them in 1193, but Hoveden's silence as to the circumstance and its consequences in the former year looks as if he referred to the same transaction now. His words closely resemble the words of Benedict, and if taken from them satisfactorily show that he had mistaken his authority, who is amply borne out by Richard of Devizes. A document purporting to be the agreement between John and Philip for the division of Richard's dominions is given in the *Fœdera*, i. 57, dated Paris, January 1193.

A.D. 1192. Dec. 25. Richard in prison.

Ricardus vero rex Angliæ tenebatur in captione imperatoris Alemanniæ.

A.D. 1193. January. John goes to Normandy.

Johannes autem frater regis, comes Moretonii, statim post Natale Domini transfretavit in Normanniam. In cujus adventu senescallus Normanniæ, et cæteri fideles regis Angliæ, occurrerunt ei, et petierunt ut ipse venisset cum illis ad colloquium apud Alenzun, ad tractandum de negotiis regis, et liberatione ejus. Quibus ille respondit: "Si receperitis me in dominum, et juraveritis mihi "fidelitatem, vobiscum veniam, et ero defensor vester "apud regem Franciæ; sin autem, ad vos non veniam." His auditis, proceres Normanniæ noluerunt ei obedire, neque fidelitatem jurare; sperantes dominum suum regem Angliæ, per auxilium Dei, sanum et incolumem reversurum. Deinde Johannes frater regis profectus est ad regem Franciæ, et homo suus devenit de Normannia et cæteris terris fratris sui transmarinis, et de Anglia, ut dicebatur; et juravit quod ipse Alesiam sororem illius in uxorem duceret; et ipse quietum clamavit regi Franciæ in perpetuum Gysorcium, et totum Velgesin le [1] Normand: et rex Franciæ concessit ei, cum prædicta sorore sua, illam partem Flandriæ quæ eum contingebat; et juravit ei, quod pro posse suo juvaret eum ad Angliam, et cæteras terras regis fratris sui, ad opus illius perquirendas.

The Norman barons refuse to swear fealty to him.

He joins Philip, and does homage to him.

He promises to marry Alais, and she is to have part of Flanders for dowry.

He returns to England, and takes Wallingford and Windsor.

Deinde prædictus comes Moretonii rediit in Angliam, multos alienigenas secum adducens; et statim reddita sunt ei castellum de Walingford et de [Windeshoveres].[2]

He meets the justices at London, and affirms that Richard will never return.

Deinde ipse comes venit Lundonias, et a Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, et cæteris justitiariis Angliæ, petiit sibi regnum, et fidelitates hominum regni; affirmans quod rex Angliæ frater suus mortuus erat: sed non

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[1] *le*] de, B. D. I.

[2] *Windeshoveres*] Windeshoures, I.; blank in A.; inserted in B. D.; but MS. G. reads *redditum est*, and omits all mention of Windsor. It is clear from the sequel that Windsor is meant. See pp. 206, 207.

crediderunt verbis ejus. Ipse autem a justitiariis et aliis magnatibus regni repudiatus recessit; et furia invectus castella et munitiones suas munivit, et terras regis fratris sui hostiliter invasit. Confluebant ergo multi ad eum, fallentes semetipsos, quia digno Dei judicio flagellati amiserunt omnia quæ habuerunt. Nam justitiarii Angliæ, et fideles domini regis, viriliter restiterunt prædicto comiti Moretonii, et fecerunt ei damna plurima; et munierunt custodibus portus maris et omnia maritima ita caute, quod Franci et Flandrenses, et cæteri multi, qui præfato comiti auxilium promiserunt, in Angliam applicare ausi non fuerunt.[1] Quidam tamen de cœtu eorum in Angliam applicantes capti fuerunt, et vinculis mancipati.

A.D. 1193. March. The justices take measures of defence, and attack John.

Invasion prevented.

Rex vero Franciæ, immemor sacramenti quod in recessu suo de terra Suliæ fecerat regi Angliæ de pace servanda, hostiliter intravit Normanniam, et terram regis combussit, et prædas abduxit. Tamen Robertus comes Leircestriæ, qui paulo ante redierat de terra Suliæ, et cæteri magnates Normanniæ, restiterunt ei viriliter.

Philip invades Normandy, which is defended by the earl of Leicester.

Interim prædicti abbates de Boxleia et de Ponte Roberti, quos justitiarii Angliæ ad quærendum regem miserant, redierunt in Angliam post Pascha, narrantes pacem factam fuisse inter imperatorem et regem Angliæ in Cœna Domini, in hunc modum; Quod rex Angliæ dabit imperatori Romanorum centum millia marcarum argenti de redemptione, et inveniet ei quinquaginta galeas cum omni apparatu per unum annum in servitio suo, et cc. milites per unum annum in servitio suo; et quod ipsi interfuerunt paci illi. Et jam facta concordia venerunt nuncii regis Franciæ, et defidaverunt dominum regem ex parte ipsius. Quibus imperator continuo re-

After Easter, March 28, the abbots of Boxley and Robertsbridge return with the news of the agreement between Richard and the emperor; and of the conduct of Philip.

[1] Gervase describes this as a general levy of the population in arms to guard the coast: "In "Passione Domini et Pascha et deinceps nobiles et ignobles, milites et rustici, ad arma convolabant" "ex mandato reginæ:" c. 1581. Passion Sunday fell on the 14th, and Easter on the 28th of March.

A.D. 1193. March.

The emperor attempts to mediate between Richard and Philip.

spondebat, quod quicunque regem Angliæ inquietaret, et ipsum imperatorem læderet; tantus amor et firma concordia perpetuatur inter eos. Et quia rex Angliæ obtulerat se juri pariturum in curia domini sui regis Franciæ de omnibus quæ rex Franciæ vel aliquis alius de suis partibus ei imponeret, imperator cepit colloquium inter ipsum et regem Franciæ, sed non fuit prosecutus.

Richard sends for Alan Trenchemer.

Rex autem Angliæ misit in Angliam pro navibus, et pro Alano Trenchemer, gubernatore suæ navis, et pro obsidibus dandis imperatori super pactis inter illos contractis. Mandavit, et facta sunt universa.

Arrival of Robert de Turnham.

Deinde venit Lundonias Robertus de Turneham, familiaris regis, missus ab eo cum hernasio suo in Angliam.[1]

Windsor besieged by the barons. Doncaster fortified by the justices.

Tunc convenerunt omnes principes regni, et obsederunt Vindeshoveres, castellum comitis Moretonii; Gaufridus vero Eboracensis archiepiscopus, et Hugo Bardolfus[2] justitiarius regis vicecomes Eboraci, et Willelmus de Stuteville, congregatis exercitibus venerunt usque Denecastre, et firmaverunt eam.

The archbishop of York is prevented from besieging Tickhill.

Et cum archiepiscopus Eboracensis vellet inde procedere, et obsidere Thikehil, castellum comitis Moretonii, Hugo Bardolf et Willelmus de Stuteville consentire noluerunt, quia erant homines comitis Johannis. Tunc recessit ab eis archiepiscopus Eboracensis cum gente sua, vocans eos proditores regis et regni.

April. Philip takes Gisors and Neaufle by treachery of Gilbert of Vacoeuil.

Interim rex Franciæ in manu forti intravit Normanniam, et obsedit Gysorcium. Gilbertus vero de Gwascoil habuit in custodia castellum de Gisortio, et castellum de Nefle; et tradidit[3] utrumque regi Franciæ, et adhæsit ei; sed vilis habitus est inter illos, propter proditionem quam fecerat domino suo regi Angliæ; qui miserat eum a Messana cum plenitudine gratiæ suæ in Normanniam, ad prædicta castella custodienda.

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[1] *Angliam*] Anglia, D. I.

[2] *Bardolfus*] Bardulfus, D. I.; Bardulphus, B.

[3] *tradidit*] Pridie idus Aprilis: Rigord, p. 193.

Deinde venit rex Franciæ Rothomagum,[1] et dixit habitantibus in ea: "Johannes comes Moretonii devenit homo meus de Anglia, et Normanniam totam et "omnes alias terras cismarinas mihi clamavit quietas: "et veni huc, ut civitatem istam, quæ caput est totius "Normanniæ, accipiam; et permittite me pacifice in-"trare, et ero vobis dominus mansuetus et justus." Cui illi responderunt: "Ecce apertæ sunt januæ; in-"trate si vultis; nemo resistit vobis." Et ait rex: "Ego loquar inde cum gente mea." Habito itaque consilio cum gente sua intrare noluit. Rex autem Franciæ ita fraudatus a desiderio suo, recessit a Rothomago cum exercitu suo; et perrarias suas numero viginti tres,[2] quas in circuitu civitatis locaverat, combussit; et fractis vasis vinariis totum vinum suum fudit; et abiit, mandans civibus, quod visitaret eos in virga ferrea.

A.D. 1193. April. Philip comes to Rouen.

The inhabitants bid him enter; but on consideration he retires, and burns his engines.

Rege autem Angliæ moram faciente in captione[3] imperatoris Romanorum, mirati sunt universi de mora illius; et quidam, per prædicationem comitis Moretonii, qui semper prædicabat illum nunquam rediturum, dubitaverunt de illo, et de reditu illius. Unde factum est, quod Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, et cæteri justitiarii Angliæ, licet comitem Moretonii ad deditionem coegissent, et castellum suum de Vindeshoveres, quod obsederant, fere cepissent, ceperunt a comite Moretonii inducias usque ad festum Omnium Sanctorum, castellis de Nothinham et de Thikehil[4] remanentibus in custodia comitis, sicut antea fuerant. Castella vero de Vindeshoveres, et de Wallinford, et de Pecho, tradita sunt in manu reginæ Alienor, matris ejusdem comitis Moretonii, et aliorum custodum, qui tradent ea in manu illius, si rex frater suus interim non redierit.

Rumours about Richard's prolonged absence.

The justices make a truce with John until November.

Windsor, Wallingford and the Peak entrusted to Eleanor.

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[1] *Rothomagum*] Philip was before Rouen from the day of the capture of Gisors to the 29th of April, when he retired. *Chron. Rothomag.* ap. Labbe, *Biblioth.*, i. 362.

[2] *tres*] quatuor, G.

[3] *captione*] custodia, B. I.

[4] *Thikehil*] Tikeil, I.; Tykeil, B.; Tikel, D.

A.D. 1193. April. The bishop of Durham unwillingly retires from Tickhill.

Quod cum Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, qui castellum de Thikehil[1] interim obsederat, audisset, doluit vehementer, quia jam securus erat de illo capiendo; et per mandatum prædictorum justitiariorum inde recessit imperfecto negotio.

Richard demands an aid for his ransom.

Et paulo post venerunt in Angliam nuncii regis cum litteris illius, missi ab eo ad omnes archiepiscopos et episcopos et abbates, et comites et barones, et clericos, et francos tenentes; per quos rex humiliter postulavit ut universi, tam clerici quam laici, tale auxilium facerent ei ad redimendum eum, unde ipse sciret eis grates: et ut ipsi hoc securius facerent, imperator Romanorum scripsit generaliter universis hominibus regis Angliæ, mandans eis quod dominus illorum rex Angliæ cum illo composuerat de redemptione sua pecuniaria; sed summam pecuniæ non manifestavit. Dominus vero papa Cœlestinus similiter pro ipso rege scripsit universis viris ecclesiasticis regni Angliæ, ut imperator et totum ipsius regnum subjicerentur anathemati, nisi rex Angliæ celerius liberaretur a captione illius. Similiter præcepit, ut rex Franciæ et regnum ejus anathemati subjacerent, nisi ipse desisteret a persecutione regis Angliæ, quamdiu fuisset in captione imperatoris.

The pope threatens to excommunicate the emperor and the king of France.

Agreement between Richard and the emperor.

His et aliis admonitionibus domini papæ et universorum cardinalium, et consilio virorum sapientium, imperator Romanorum et rex Angliæ facti sunt amici. Unde rex Angliæ in hac forma scripsit fidelibus suis per Angliam constitutis;

Epistola Ricardi regis Angliæ ad Alienor reginam matrem suam, et ad justitiarios suos Angliæ.

April 19. Letter of Richard to Eleanor and the Justices.

"Ricardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, Alienor eadem gratia reginæ Angliæ, carissimæ matri suæ, et justitiis suis, et omnibus fidelibus suis per Angliam constitutis, salutem.

[1] *Thikehil*] Thikeil, I.; Tykehil, B.; Tikeil, D.

A.D. 1193. April 19. The bishop of Ely has negotiated an interview with the emperor at Hagenau.

"Notum sit universitati vestræ, quod postquam recesserunt " a nobis dilecti nostri, Hubertus venerabilis episcopus Sares- " biriensis,[1] et Willelmus de Sanctæ Mariæ Ecclesia prothono- " tarius noster, venit ad nos carissimus cancellarius noster " Willelmus Eliensis episcopus; et eo inter dominum impera- " torem et nos fideliter interloquente, eo usque res pervenit, " quod de castello de Trivellis, in quo detinebamur, obviam " venimus imperatori apud Hagenou, ubi honorifice ab ipso " imperatore et tota curia recepti fuimus. Ibique dominus " imperator et domina imperatrix nos magnis et variis mu- " neribus honoraverunt; et, quod præcipuum est, mutuum " fœdus amoris et[2] indissolubile inter dominum imperatorem " contractum est et nos, ita quod[3] uterque nostrum alterum " contra omnes viventes, in jure suo obtinendo et retinendo, ju- " vare debet. Honeste autem circa ipsum imperatorem moram " facimus, donec ipsius et nostra quædam negotia perficiantur, " et donec ei septuaginta millia marcas argenti solverimus. " Quare vos rogamus, et in[4] fide, qua nobis tenemini, adju- " ramus, quatenus in hac pecunia perquirenda solliciti sitis; et " vos justitiarii nostri, qui aliis in regno nostro præestis, " exemplum aliis præbeatis: ut ita honorifice et magnifice " de proprio nobis subveniatis, et etiam de his quæ de aliis " mutuo accipere poteritis, ut aliis fidelibus nostris exemplum " detis similia faciendi. Universum autem aurum et argentum " ecclesiarum diligenti observatione, et scripti testimonio, ab " ipsarum ecclesiarum prælatis accipiatis; eisque per sacra- " mentum vestrum, et aliorum baronum nostrorum, quos " volueritis, affirmetis, quod eis plenarie restituentur. Uni- " versorum etiam baronum nostrorum obsides recipiatis, ut " cum fidelissimus cancellarius noster, quam cito peractis in " Alemannia negotiis nostris, in Angliam venerit, eosdem ob- " sides penes carissimam matrem nostram reginam reperiat, " ut eos, de quibus inter nos et dominum imperatorem con- " venit, expedite possit ad nos transmittere; ne liberatio " nostra per absentiam obsidum et negligentiam vestram mo- " ram patiatur. Pecunia autem collecta similiter matri meæ, " et illis quibus ipsa voluerit, tradatur. Quem autem in ne-

Formation of a league with the emperor; and terms of ransom.

The king charges his faithful to do their utmost to raise the money; and promises repayment.

The barons are also to furnish hostages to go to Germany.

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[1] The bishop of Salisbury landed in England after his visit to Richard, on the 20th of April. He had stayed behind the king in Palestine, and on his arrival in Sicily heard of Richard's imprisonment, and hastened to join him. Richard immediately despatched him home. W. Newb., lib. iv. c. 33; Gervase, c. 1582.

[2] *et*] om. I.

[3] *ita quod*] itaque, D. I.

[4] *in*] om. D. I.

A.D. 1193. April 19. The king will be grateful.

"cessitate nostra promptum inveniemus, in suis necessitatibus "amicum nos reperiet et remuneratorem; gratiusque nobis "erit, si quis in absentia nostra in aliquo nobis subveniat, "quam si in præsentia nostra in duplo quis nobis subveniret. "Volumus autem ut singulorum magnatum nomina, et sub-"ventiones quæ præsentialiter fient, per sigillum matris "nostræ nobis significentur, ut sciamus quantum unicuique "in gratiarum actionibus[1] teneamur. Sciatis pro certo quod "si in Anglia in libera potestate nostra essemus constituti, "tantam vel majorem pecuniam domino imperatori daremus, "quam modo damus pro pactionibus consequendis, quas per "Dei gratiam consecuti sumus; et si etiam pecuniam non "præ manibus haberemus, proprium corpus nostrum impera-"tori traderemus, donec pecunia solveretur; antequam quod "factum est relinqueretur imperfectum. In bulla autem "domini imperatoris aurea fert vobis cancellarius noster præ-"dictam testificationem. Testibus nobis ipsis apud Hagenou,[2] "xiii. kalendas Maii."

The terms made with the emperor are well worth the money.

De auxilio ad redemptionem regis statuto.

Great aid levied in England for the king's ransom, by the queen and justices.

Auctoritate igitur litterarum istarum, mater regis et justitiarii Angliæ statuerunt, quod universi, tam clerici quam laici, quartam partem redditus sui de hoc anno darent ad redemptionem domini regis, et tantum superadderent de mobilibus suis, unde rex deberet eis grates scire; et de unoquoque feodo militis viginti solidos, et de abbatiis ordinis Cisterciensis,[3] et de domibus ordinis

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[1] *actionibus*] actione, B. D. I.

[2] *Hagenou*] Richard continued at Speyer until the 30th of March, after which he was removed to Trifels, in Rhenish Bavaria, the stronghold where the imperial insignia were kept; and there he seems to have had a visit from his chancellor, after which he was removed to Hagenau, before the 19th of April, the date of the letter. He was at Worms on the 28th of May and on the 8th of June, on which days he wrote to Canterbury on the subject of the election to the archbishopric. *Epp. Cant.*, 364, 365. Here Ralph of Coggeshall describes him as still imprisoned, c. 833. There he stayed until June 29, when the final agreement was made for his release.

[3] *Cisterciensis*] Cestrensis, A.

de Semplingham, totam lanam suam de hoc anno; et universum aurum et argentum ecclesiarum, sicut rex in mandato suo præceperat. A.D. 1193. April.

Deinde venit in Angliam ex parte domini regis prædictus cancellarius suus, afferens litteras domini imperatoris, aurea bulla imbullatas, in hac forma; Return of the chancellor with the emperor's letter.

Epistola Henrici Romanorum imperatoris ad magnates Angliæ pro Ricardo rege Angliæ.

"Henricus Dei gratia Romanorum imperator, et semper "Augustus, dilectis sibi archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, "baronibus, nobilibus, et omnibus ad quos præsens pagina[1] "pervenerit, in Anglia constitutis, salutem et bonam voluntatem. April 19. The emperor writes to the prelates and barons.

"Dignum judicavimus, et nostræ celsitudini gloriosum, si "universitatem vestram sollicitius inducamus ad ea modis "omnibus quibus potestis agenda, quæ ad honorem carissimi "nostri illustris regis Ricardi, domini vestri, debeantur; ne "devotionis vestra constantia et meritum fidei circa ipsius "commoda appareat mortuum, sed in suis et in regni sui "obsequiis vivere videatur. Sane omnibus, quorum devotio "prædicto regi absenti sincera extiterit et pura, uberes referemus gratiarum actiones; ad universitatis vestræ notitiam "devenire volentes, quod imperatoria sublimitas cum regia "ipsius nobilitate in concordia et bona pace consistit. Unde "quæcunque ipsi irrogata fuerint contraria, pariter cum eo "nobis parient molestiam et gravamen. Quare ad devotorum "suorum et fidelium honorem et profectum, et turbatorum "suorum damnationem et exterminium, operam præstabimus "semper efficacem, et quia corde et animo uniti sumus, facta "regis vestri, specialiter nostri et imperii nostri penitus reputabimus; et gravamina ejus nobis et coronæ imperiali "illata censemus; nec ea, Deo concedente, sine ultione, et "eorum, qui ea intulerint, gravi damno et destructione, transibimus. Datum apud Hagenou, xiii. kalendas Maii." He urges them to show their faith to their king; and promises gratitude. The two have made alliance, offensive and defensive.

[1] *pagina*] scriptum, B. D. I.

A.D. 1193. April.

De colloquio inter imperatorem et regem Franciæ non prosecuto.

Proposed interview, on June 25, between Philip and the emperor, which does not come off.

Deinde post pacem istam inter imperatorem et regem Angliæ ordinatam, ipse imperator cepit colloquium inter ipsum et regem Franciæ, de pace facienda inter illum et regem Angliæ, mediante Willelmo Remensi archiepiscopo, regis Franciæ avunculo, et regis Angliæ consanguineo; et statuerunt diem colloquii inter Valculur[1] et Tulun, in crastino nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, feria sexta.

The chancellor received at St. Alban's by the queen and the justices.

Cancellarius vero regis cum in Angliam intravit, cum humilitate magna ad Sanctum Albanum accessit; ubi occurrerunt ei domina regina mater regis, et dominus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, et alii justitiarii domini regis. Ibi etiam bullam domini imperatoris auream, fœdus indissolubile inter dominum imperatorem et dominum regem continentem, prædictus cancellarius justitiariis porrexit; asserens, quod nec ut justitia, nec ut legatus, nec ut cancellarius, sed ut simplex episcopus in Angliam venit; nec ut incola, sed ut hospes, immo tantum ut nuncius domini regis. Injunxit etiam quibusdam baronibus, quod cum eo ad dominum regem venirent: videlicet, Gilberto episcopo Rofensi, et Sefrido episcopo Cicestrensi, et Benedicto abbati de Burgo, et Ricardo comiti de Clare, et comiti Rogero Bigot, et Gaufrido de Say, et aliis quampluribus.

The king summons certain prelates and barons.

Guardians of the ransom appointed.

Ibi etiam dispositum est, penes quem pecunia collata debeat residere: scilicet sub custodia Huberti Walteri Cantuariensis electi, et domini Ricardi Lundoniensis episcopi, et Willelmi comitis de Arundel, et Hamelini comitis de Warenna, et majoris Lundoniarum,[2] sub sigillo dominæ reginæ matris regis, et sigillo domini Rothomagensis archiepiscopi.

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[1] *Valculur*] Vauculur, D. I.

[2] *majoris Lundoniarum*] Henry fitz Aylwin.

De electione Huberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi.

A.D. 1193. May. Election of Hubert Walter as archbishop of Canterbury.

Et est notandum, quod post adventum Huberti[1] Walteri Saresbiriensis episcopi in Angliam, convenerunt in unum monachi metropolitanæ ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, et elegerunt sibi in archiepiscopum prædictum Hubertum Saresbiriensem episcopum. Contra cujus electionem Herbertus[2] Cantuariensis archidiaconus appellavit ad summum pontificem; tum quia rex in captione erat, tum quia episcopi Angliæ, quorum est interesse electioni Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, non interfuerunt electioni illi.

Protest of the archdeacon.

Eodem anno, dum rex Angliæ erat in captione imperatoris, Saladinus obiit in prima hebdomada[3] Quadragesimæ. Unde dux Venetiæ in hac forma scripsit prædicto regi Angliæ;

Death of Saladin, in March.

Epistola Dandoli, ducis Venetiæ et Dalmatiæ et Chroatiæ,[4] ad Ricardum regem Angliæ, de morte Saladini.

Letter of the Doge of Venice to Richard on Saladin's death.

"Serenissimo domino suo Ricardo, Dei gratia regi Angliæ, " duci Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, comiti Andegaviæ, Henri- " cus Dandolus,[5] eadem gratia Venetiæ, Dalmatiæ, atque " Chroatiæ[4] dux, salutem et sinceræ dilectionis obsequium. " Certa nobis relatione noveritis intimatum quod inimicus ille " Christianæ religionis Saladinus interiit. Cujus quidam filio- " rum, quem totius dominii sui dicitur constituisse hæredem, " in Damasco[6] versatur. Alter vero Babiloniæ et Alexandriæ[7] " dominatur. Frater[8] autem ejus est in circuitu Babilonis " cum exercitu copioso; et est dissensio maxima inter eos. " Valete."

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[1] *post adventum Huberti*] Hubert was elected May 30. R. de Dic. 669.

[2] *Herbertus*] le Poor, afterwards bishop of Salisbury.

[3] *in prima hebdomada*] March 4, 1193.

[4] *Chroatiæ*] Cher, A. B. D. I.

[5] *Henricus Dandolus*] Dandalus, B. Doge of Venice, 1192–1205.

[6] *Damasco*] Malek al Afdal Noureddin Ali.

[7] *Babiloniæ et Alexandriæ*] Malek al Aziz Othman.

[8] *Frater*] Malek al Adel Seifeddin-Abubekr (Saphadin).

A.D. 1193. June. On the approach of the day fixed for Philip's interview the emperor, the German princes take alarm, and Richard fears for his release.

Interim appropinquante termino colloquii inter imperatorem et regem Franciæ, rex Angliæ per certa indicia cognovit quod, si colloquium illud haberetur, imperator et rex Franciæ confœderarentur contra archiepiscopos Coloniensem et Maguntinum, et contra duces de Luvain,[1] et de Lemburc,[2] et Saxoniæ, et multos alios magnates et nobiles, qui conspiraverant contra imperatorem propter necem episcopi de Leges, fratris ducis de Luvain, quam imperator machinatus erat. Timebat etiam rex Angliæ quod, si colloquium illud haberetur, ipse sine dubio traderetur in manus regis Franciæ. Unde rex Angliæ plurimum se intromisit, ut colloquium illud deficeret, et pax inter imperatorem et prædictos magnates fieret. Ad illius igitur instantiam imperator et magnates prædicti inter se pacis fœdus et concordiæ inierunt in hunc modum: "Quod imperator jurare fecit episcopos quamplures, et comites et "barones, in animam suam, quod ille nec præcepit nec "voluit ut prædictus episcopus de Leges[3] occideretur; et "quando hoc scivit, vehementer inde doluit. Et de satisfactione reddidit unicuique prædictorum virorum, "qui contra eum conspiraverant, omnia castella quæ "pater suus vel ipse eis abstulerat, et sic facti sunt "amici; excepto duce Saxoniæ." Et colloquium illud, quod inter illum et regem Franciæ esse debuit apud Valculur, adnihilatum est.

He procures a reconciliation between the emperor and the kinsmen of the murdered bishop of Liege.

The conference is prevented.

June 25-29. Interview of Richard with the emperor at Worms.

His itaque peractis, imperator die Veneris proxima post festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ venit Wermasiam, ubi dominus rex Angliæ erat. Et ibi colloquium celebratum est inter eos per quatuor dies; cui interfuerunt episcopi de partibus illis, et duces de

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[1] *Luvain*] Henry the Warrior, 1190-1235, brother of the bishop of Liege.

[2] *Lemburc*] Lenburc, D. I. Henry III., duke of Limburg, 1170-1221 uncle of the bishop of Liege.

[3] *episcopus de Leges*] Legis, corrected to Leges, A. Albert of Louvain, son of Godfrey the Courageous, duke of Brabant (Louvain), and Margaret of Limburg; elected in 1191, and murdered Nov. 23, 1192.

Luvain et de Lemburc,[1] et comites et barones multi: et ex parte regis Angliæ interfuerunt episcopi Batoniensis et Eliensis; et quarta die, scilicet vigilia apostolorum Petri et Pauli, venerunt ad regem Angliæ Willelmus Brigwere,[2] et Baldewinus de Betun; et adhuc omnes[3] penitus desperaverunt de liberatione regis Angliæ. Sed per Dei misericordiam ipso die apostolorum Petri et Pauli omnino convenit inter imperatorem et regem, hoc modo; "Dominus rex dabit imperatori centum millia marcarum puri argenti ad pondus Coloniæ, et alia quinquaginta millia marcarum argenti pro auxilio, quod deberet conferre imperatori ad Apuliam acquirendam. Præterea rex dabit sororem Arturi ducis Brittanniæ, nepotis sui, uxorem filio ducis Austriæ. Et liberabit imperatorem Cypri sine restitutione imperii; similiter et filiam ejusdem imperatoris, quam faciet tradi duci Ostricii, ut avunculo suo. Prædicta vero centum millia marcarum debet dominus rex conducere suo periculo usque ad terminos imperii; et quam cito intrabunt in aliquam partem imperii, dominus rex libere et quiete redibit cum salvo conductu in Angliam." Et hoc juraverunt in animam imperatoris episcopi, duces, comites, et nobiles omnes qui interfuerunt. Unde cyrographum factum est inter imperatorem et regem Angliæ in hac forma;

A.D. 1193. June 25–29. On the fourth day Richard's friends arrive.

June 29. New terms agreement of ransom.

New marriage for Eleanor of Brittany.

The conduct of the ransom money.

Exchange of oaths.

Forma compositionis factæ inter Henricum Romanorum imperatorem et Ricardum regem Angliæ.

"In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Hæc est forma compositionis inter dominum imperatorem, semper Augustum, et dominum Ricardum, illustrem regem Angliæ. Dominus imperator mittet nuncios suos cum nunciis domini regis, qui Londonias ibunt, et ibi recipient centum

Form of treaty between Henry VI. and Richard I.

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[1] *Lemburc*] Lenburc, I.; Lenburg, D.

[2] *Brigwere*] de Briwere, I.; Bruere, D.; Briwere, B.

[3] *omnes*] om. I.

A.D. 1193. June 29. Arrangement for the safe conduct of the ransom; 100,000 marks; hostages to be given for 50,000 marks. Arrangement for the marriage of Eleanor with a son of the duke of Austria. The emperor is to give the king a safe escort.

" millia marcarum puri argenti ad pondus Coloniæ. Quæ " pecunia a nunciis imperatoris accepta, et ponderata, sigillabitur in præsentia nunciorum ipsius, et in conductu regis " per regni sui terminos ducetur: ita ut si eam in regno suo " perdi contigerit, periculo regis perdatur. Postquam vero ad " terminos imperii venerit dicta pecunia, per nuncios regis " nunciis domini imperatoris præsentabitur, qui eam illico " ibi recipient, et si forte in partibus imperii eam perdi contigerit, periculo imperatoris perdetur, et rex in ea non " tenebitur, nec obsides sui. Alia quoque quinquaginta millia " marcarum argenti dabit rex imperatori et duci Austriæ, et " pro illis ponet obsides: scilicet, domino imperatori pro triginta millibus marcis sexaginta obsides; duci vero Austriæ " septem obsides pro viginti millibus marcis. Solutis ergo " centum millibus marcis, et datis obsidibus, rex libere recedet. Si autem dominus rex solverit promissionem, quam " domino imperatori de Henrico quondam duce Saxoniæ fecerit, imperator de quinquaginta millibus marcis regem " liberum dimittens et absolutum, pro ipso rege solvet duci " Austriæ viginti millia marcarum, et rex non tenebitur dare " duci Austriæ septem obsides, nec imperatori sexaginta. " Cum igitur rex prædictam promissionem de Henrico quondam duce Saxoniæ impleverit, et centum millia marcarum " solverit, libere recedet. Præterea rex fecit jurare in animam " suam, quod neptem suam, filiam comitis Britanniæ, tradet " nuptui filio ducis Austriæ, infra septem menses postquam " liberatus fuerit, et in terram suam redierit; et eam transmittet usque ad introitum imperii, si eam recipere voluerint; " et si noluerint, erit absolutus. Item si promissio de Henrico quondam duce Saxoniæ completa non fuerit, quinquaginta millia marcarum, quæ residua sunt, solventur infra " septem menses postquam dominus rex in terram suam redierit. Cum autem rex liberatus fuerit, et[1] redire voluerit, " imperator dabit ei conductum per terram suam usque ad " fines imperii sui, et in portu illo, ubi mare intrabit, quamdiu ibi stabit, donec prospero vento recedat. Præterea ea " omnia, quæ tam in his quam in aliis familiaribus litteris " sigillatis sigillis imperatoris et regis, super contractibus " qui inter eos ordinati sunt, uterque pro parte sua rata et " firma habebit, et bona fide observabit."

Dismay of Philip and John.

Quod cum rex Franciæ audisset, statim mandavit comiti Johanni, ut ipse sibi caveret, quia diabolus jam

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[1] *et*] rex, ins. D. I.

solutus erat. Comes autem Johannes sciens hoc de rege fratre suo dictum fuisse, statim transfretavit de Anglia in Normanniam, et adhæsit regi Franciæ, non ausus exspectare adventum regis fratris sui in Angliam.

A.D. 1193. July. John joins Philip in Normandy.

Deinde rex Angliæ misit Willelmum Eliensem episcopum, cancellarium suum, et Willelmum Brigwere,[1] et alios viros sapientes ad regem Franciæ, ad pacem cum illo faciendam qualemcunque. Qui pacem fecerunt cum illo in hac forma;

Peace arranged between Richard and Philip.

Pax facta inter reges Franciæ et Angliæ, per Willelmum Eliensem episcopum et cæteros regis Angliæ nuncios, sed non servata.

July 9. The ambassadors, the chancellor, William des Roches, John des Preaux, and William Brewer, made the peace.

"Noverint universi ad quos litteræ præsentes pervenerint, " quod Willelmus, regis Angliæ Ricardi cancellarius, Eliensis " episcopus, sedis apostolicæ legatus, et cum eo Willelmus de " Rupibus, et Johannes de Pratellis, et Willelmus Briwere, " ex parte regis Angliæ cum litteris ejusdem regis patentibus " ad regem Franciæ accesserunt: in quibus continebatur, quod " ea quæ ipsi cum ipso agerent et ordinarent, ipse rex " Angliæ rata prorsus et firma haberet. Ipsi autem hoc modo " egerunt, et istas conventiones cum rege Franciæ ex parte " domini sui regis Angliæ fecerunt. Rex Angliæ Ricardus " mittit se super dominum regem Franciæ de tota terra quam " rex Franciæ adquisivit super se et homines suos, de qua " ipse et homines sui sunt tenentes, quod ipse tantum inde " retinebit, quantum ipse voluerit, sibi et suis. De comite " autem Johanne sic erit; quod si homines regis Angliæ po" terunt sufficienter monstrare in curia domini regis Franciæ, " quod idem Johannes juraverit ad perquirendam pecuniam " ad liberationem regis Angliæ, et de hoc dederit litteras suas, " ipse Johannes tenebitur ad solvendum, et totam terram " quam ipse tenebat quando rex Angliæ frater ejus iter arri" puit ultra mare, tenebit, citra[2] mare et ultra, ita libere sicut " prius tenebat; excepto eo, quod liber erit a sacramento quod " fecerat de non intranda terra Angliæ; et de hoc dictus rex " Angliæ faciet dominum Johannem securum per se, et per " barones, et per archiepiscopos et episcopos terræ suæ, et " insuper per regem Franciæ. Si autem comes Johannes vellet " negare, quod litteræ illæ non essent suæ, aut quod illud non

Arrangement as to the late captures.

As to John: he is to pay the money he has collected for the king's ransom, and to be freed from his oath not to visit England.

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[1] *Brigwere*] Briuere, I.; Bruer, D. | [2] *citra*] circa, I.

A.D. 1193. July 9. Terms as regards John.

" jurasset, homines regis Angliæ sufficienter in curia regis " Franciæ monstrabunt, per idoneos testes, quod juraverit ad " quærendam pecuniam ad liberationem regis Angliæ. Si " autem monstratum fuerit, sicut dictum est, quod comes ju- " raverit ad quærendam pecuniam ad liberationem regis, vel " si defecerit de recipienda monstratione, rex Franciæ non " intromittet se de comite Johanne, si pacem de terra sua " prædicta recipere voluerit.

As regards the count of Blois.

" De comite Lodowico[1] sic erit: rex Angliæ assignabit ei in " terra sua, ad laudem et consilium regis Franciæ et archi- " episcopi Remensis, quingentas libratas Andegavensium de " redditibus annuatim, aut plus si plus fuerit, et faciet affi- " dari[2] ei, quod ipse faciet comiti Lodowico justitiam, et ser- " vitium quod pater suus fecit comiti Teodbaldo, et ipse rex " Angliæ comiti Lodowico reddet tantum pecuniæ, quantum " retinuit post mortem comitis Theodbaldi, de eo, quod de- " bebat ei reddere.

As regards Hugh de Gurnay.

" De Hugone de Gurnay[3] sic erit: Hugo totam terram, " quam alicubi tenebat, tenebit de rege Franciæ, nisi sit " quod Hugo bona voluntate, absque coactione aliqua, et sine " defectu regis Franciæ, voluerit redire ad regem Angliæ; " et rex Franciæ Hugonem super hoc libenter rogabit, abs- " que vim[4] faciendo, et aliquid de suo mittendo. Si autem " Hugo noluerit redire ad regem Angliæ, cum terra quam " de rege Franciæ tenet, et aliam terram suam de Anglia " et de Normannia vellet tenere de rege Angliæ, neque ex- " cambium pro terra illa accipere, nec aliquam pacem exinde " per regem Franciæ et per regem Angliæ recipere, opor- " tebit regem Angliæ facere grantum Hugoni rationabiliter.

As regards the counts of Angoulême;

" Comes Engolismus[5] et sui liberabuntur, et salvo redi- " bunt in terram suam; et ipse et sui erunt in eo statu quo " fuerunt ante gwerram; neque propter aliquid quod de gwerra " fecerit, malum ei aut suis fiet.

Perche;

" Comes Particii[6] redditus suos in Anglia integre habebit, " et rex Angliæ et sui pacem ei tenebunt.

and Meulan.

" Comes Mellenti[7] terram suam rehabebit, quæ est in terra " regis Angliæ.

" Quando rex Angliæ revenerit in pacem regis Franciæ, ipse " faciet regi Franciæ servitia et justitias in curia regis

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[1] *Lodowico*] Lewis count of Blois, who had succeeded his father, count Theobald, in 1191.

[2] *affidari*] affidare, B. D. I.

[3] *Gurnay*] Gurnai, I.

[4] *vim*] inde, I.; corrected in B.; om. D.

[5] *Comes Engolismus*] Aimar.

[6] *Comes Particii*] Geoffrey III.

[7] *Comes Mellenti*] Robert IV.

"Franciæ de singulis feodis quos ab eo tenet, sicut singulus "feodus apportat. Præterea rex Angliæ dat regi Franciæ "viginti millia marcarum boni argenti et puri ad pondus "Trecensis, persolvendas per duos annos ibidem, his termi-"nis: ad primum dimidium annum a die liberationis suæ "de captione imperatoris quinque millia marcarum; et ab "eo termino ad proximo[1] sequentem dimidium annum quin-"que millia marcarum; et exinde ad proximo[2] sequentem "dimidium annum quinque millia marcarum; et exinde ad "proximo[3] sequentem dimidium annum quinque millia mar-"carum argenti. Et pro his conventionibus omnibus obser-"vandis rex Angliæ tradet regi Franciæ Locas, et Castelionem "supra Edriam; et archiepiscopo Remensi Driencurt et "Arches.[4] Hæc autem quatuor castella custodientur ad ex-"pensas regis Angliæ; ita tamen quod pro Locis et pro Castel-"lione custodiendis, Willelmus de Rupibus, aut ille qui loco "ejus erit, tradet regi Franciæ duo millia librarum Andega-"vensium singulis mensibus, quantum ad mensem continget, "et semper de victualibus apponet in illis duobus castellis "ad duos menses; in Luches ad undecim milites[5] et centum "et quadraginta servientes, in Castellione ad quatuor milites "et quadraginta servientes. De Driencurt et de Archis[6] "senescallus Normanniæ faciet, pro victualibus et custodia, ad "grantum et voluntatem archiepiscopi Remensis. Similiter "victualia apponentur a senescallo Normanniæ in istis duobus "castellis semper sufficientia ad duos menses, secundum quod "archiepiscopus Remensis dicet.

A.D. 1193. July 9. Payments to be made by Richard to Philip, for which Loches, Châtillon-sur-Indre, Driencourt, and Arques are pledged.

Arrangements for their security.

"Si omnes prædictæ conventiones integre observatæ fue-"rint regi Franciæ; et quando ex parte regis Angliæ so-"luta fuerint regi Franciæ quinque millia marcarum argenti, "rex Franciæ reddet ei unum de prædictis quatuor castellis, "quod rex Franciæ voluerit. Et iterum quando quinque "millia marcarum solutæ fuerint regi Franciæ ex parte regis "Angliæ, rex Franciæ reddet ei unum de illis quatuor cas-"tellis, quod rex Franciæ voluerit. Si vero decem millia "marcarum redditæ fuerint simul regi Franciæ ex parte regis "Angliæ, rex Franciæ reddet illi duo de illis quatuor "castellis, quæ rex Franciæ voluerit. Si vero quindecim "millia marcarum simul redditæ fuerint regi Franciæ, rex "Franciæ reddet illi tria de illis quatuor castellis, quæ rex "Franciæ voluerit. Si simul viginti millia marcarum redditæ

Arrangements for their restoration.

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[1] *proximo*] proximum, I.
[2] *proximo*] proximum, I.
[3] *proximo*] proximum, I.
[4] *Arches*] Archez, I.
[5] *milites*] om. I.
[6] *Archis*] Arches, B. I.

A.D. 1193. July 9.

" fuerint regi Franciæ, prædicta quatuor castella reddentur " regi Angliæ. Rex autem Franciæ nullum de illis quatuor cas- " tellis reddet, nisi conventiones prædictæ ei et suis fuerint " observatæ, de præfata sibi pecunia reddenda, de comite " Johanne, de comite Lodowico, de comite Engolismi et suis, " de comite Particii, de comite Mellenti. Quando vero rex " Franciæ habuerit Locas et Castellionem, et archiepiscopus " Remensis Driencurt et Arches, rex Franciæ recipiet regem " Angliæ in gratiam suam pro exsequendo conventiones præ- " dictas, sicut carta præsens dicit, et rogabit imperatorem de " liberatione regis Angliæ.

Oaths of the envoys;

" Prædictus autem cancellarius, et Willelmus de Rupibus, " et Johannes de Pratellis, et Willelmus Briwere, in animam " regis Angliæ juraverunt, quod rex Angliæ conventiones, " quæ in carta præsenti continentur, observabit; et quando " rex Angliæ redierit, ipse in propria persona jurabit, infra " rationabilem terminum postquam a rege Franciæ summo- " nitus fuerit, se prædictas conventiones servaturum, et lit- " teras suas patentes ei inde daturum. Præfati autem qua- " tuor, et cum eis constabularius[1] Normanniæ, et Robertus " de Harencurt, et Stephanus de Longo-campo, juraverunt, " quod si rex Angliæ dictas conventiones non observaret, se " mitterent Parisius in captione regis Franciæ.

and of the sureties.

Oaths of the bishops and barons of England.

" Archiepiscopi, episcopi, barones terræ regis Angliæ, quos " rex Franciæ voluerit, quando requisiti fuerint, jurabunt quod " ipsi se Parisius in captione regis Franciæ[2] ponent, si rex " Angliæ prædictas conventiones non servaverit, sicut præsens " carta dicit: et si rex Angliæ moreretur antequam rex " Franciæ reddidisset præfata quatuor castella, rex Franciæ " illa quatuor castella redderet recto hæredi pro exsequendo " prædictas conventiones, sicut præsens carta continet, et salvo " jure regis Franciæ.

Sealing by the envoys.

" Quæ omnia prædicta, ut rata permaneant et inconcussa, " ego Willelmus Elyensis episcopus, regis Angliæ cancellarius, " et ego Willelmus de Rupibus, et ego Johannes de Pratellis, " et ego Willelmus Briwere,[3] per præceptum regis Angliæ " domini nostri, sigillorum nostrorum attestatione roboravimus. " Actum Meduntæ,[4] anno ab Incarnatione Domini millesimo " centesimo nonagesimo tertio, septimo idus Julii."

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[1] *constabularius*] William du Hommet, or Humez.

[2] *Franciæ*] se, ins. B. D. I.

[3] *Briwere*] de Briwere, I.; Brigwere, G.; de Bruere, B.; de Bruer, D.

[4] *Meduntæ*] Meduneæ, B,

De archiepiscopatu Cantuariensi dato Huberto Saresbiriensi episcopo. A.D. 1193.

Eodem anno Ricardus rex Angliæ, dum adhuc esset in captione Romanorum imperatoris, dedit Huberto Walteri, Saresbiriensi episcopo, archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem; et Savario,[1] archidiacono Northamtoniæ, episcopatum Batoniensem; et Henrico Marescallo, Eboracensis ecclesiæ decano, episcopatum Exoniensem; et magistro Philippo Pictavensi,[2] clerico suo, dedit rex archidiaconatum Cantuariæ; et Henrico abbati Glastinbiriensi[3] dedit episcopatum Vigornensem; et prædicto Savarico, Batoniensi episcopo, dedit abbatiam de Glastinbiri.[4] Electo itaque[5] Henrico Marescallo, Eboracensis ecclesiæ decano, ad episcopatum Exoniensem, Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, tunc temporis moram faciens apud Ripun,[6] dedit Petro fratri suo decanatum Eboraci, præsentibus Hamone præcentore,[7] et Simone Apulo, et aliis clericis suis quampluribus. Sed quia prædictus Petrus tunc temporis Parisius erat, et Ricardus rex Angliæ instanter petebat ut archiepiscopus daret decanatum illum Johanni præposito de Duai,[8] fratri advocati de Betun, idem archiepiscopus, consilio suorum fretus, dedit decanatum illum Simoni Apulo,[9] clerico suo, et sic liberavit se a petitione regis. Sed postmodum cum archiepiscopus vellet contra factum suum venire, dicens præfato Symoni quod non dederat ei

Ecclesiastical appointments made by Richard during his captivity.

Disputes about the deanery of York.

It is given first to Peter, the archbishop's brother; then to John de Bethune; then to Simon of Apulia.

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[1] *Savario*] Savarico, B. D. This is wrong. Savaric had been elected and consecrated before Richard's capture: see above, p. 197, note 1.

[2] *Philippo Pictavensi*] The companion of his crusade and journey. The archdeaconry was vacant by the promotion of Herbert le Poor to the see of Salisbury.

[3] *Glastinbiriensi*] Glastingberiensi, I. Henry de Soilli, bishop of Worcester, 1193–1195.

[4] *Glastinbiri*] Glastingburi, I.; Glastingbiri, B.

[5] *itaque*] autem, B. D. I.

[6] *Ripun*] Ripund, D. I.; Ripunt, B. G.

[7] *præsentibus . . . præcentore*] om. I.

[8] *Duai*] Duay, I.

[9] *Simoni Apulo*] afterwards bishop of Exeter, 1214–1223.

A.D. 1193. The canons elect Simon of Apulia as Dean.

decanatum illum, nisi in custodia ad opus Petri fratris sui, canonici Eboracensis ecclesiæ communiter elegerunt sibi præfatum Simonem in decanum contra voluntatem archiepiscopi.

De discordia inter Gaufridum Eboracensem archiepiscopum et canonicos suos.

The archbishop gives the deanery to Philip of Poictou.

Unde factum est quod idem archiepiscopus, ut placeret regi, dedit prædicto magistro Philippo,[1] clerico et familiari regis, præfatum decanatum; et sic orta est discordia inter ipsum archiepiscopum Eboracensem et canonicos suos; cujus hæc fuit origo et initium.

Exactions of the archbishop from the canons for the king's ransom.

Eodem tempore, cum Ricardus rex Angliæ in reditu suo a terra Jerosolimitana captus esset, et in Alemannia detentus, et jam inter imperatorem et ipsum de se per pecuniam redimendo convenerat, ipsi archipiscopo[2] terræ suæ custodiam præcipue, et corporis sui liberationem litteris suis commisit. Quo mandato suscepto, fraternæ captionis miseria commotus, canonicos, quos magis familiares habebat, quos etiam ditaverat et exaltaverat, vocavit, monuit, et rogavit, ut quartam partem reddituum suorum ad præfati regis liberationem conferrent, sicut in aliis partibus regni factum est.

Their complaints.

Qui renuentes, et concanonicos suos in partes suas trahentes, asserebant eum in hoc casu et in[3] consimilibus libertates ecclesiæ suæ velle subvertere; et sic ab ejus familiaritate, colloquio, et consortio discesserunt.

The appointment to the deanery disputed.

[4]Tunc temporis, ut supra dictum est, vacabat Eboracensis ecclesiæ decanatus; cujus donationem ad se pertinere archiepiscopus, electionem vero suam esse capitulum asserebat. Ideoque ad sedem apostolicam ex

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[1] *Philippo*] of Poictou.

[2] *archiepiscopo*] Eboracensi, ins. B.

[3] *in*] om. D. I.

[4] *Tunc*] MS. D. omits what follows as far as the king's letter, on p. 226.

parte archiepiscopi est appellatum. Capitulum nihilominus ad electionem magistri Simonis Appuli in decanum processerunt. Hoc facto, dictus Simon ad regem, qui, ut dictum est, erat in Alemannia, transfretavit. Missi sunt etiam[1] ad sedem apostolicam ab archiepiscopo nuncii ad prosequendam appellationem, ita tamen ut per Alemanniam usque ad regem transitum facerent. Illis ad regem venientibus, eoque salutato, et itineris sui causis expositis, interdixit rex statim, ne alterutra partium ob has causas ad curiam accederet Romanam; inhibens ne regnum suum[2] ingrederetur qui sine ejus assensu hoc aggredi præsumeret, proponens se pacem inter illos sine dilatione reformaturum. Rediit itaque unus ex nunciis archiepiscopi ad ipsum, cum litteris regis continentibus ut ad eum cum omni festinatione veniret; sicut etiam proposuerat, sed casu emergente præpeditus est.

A.D. 1193. Geoffrey appeals to the pope. Simon goes to the king in Germany.

Richard forbids the appeal to the pope.

Medio siquidem tempore canonici Eboraci ecclesiam majorem a consueta Divina celebrandi solemnitate, campanas etiam a solito pulsandi officio suspenderunt; et ob id tota civitas commota fuit: altaria etiam denudaverant; stallum archiepiscopi in choro sera præcluserant; ostium per quod ei a palatio suo et capella descendenti[3] in ecclesiam patebat ingressus, sera obstruxerant; et alia plura in ejus contumeliam fecerant. Unde et ipse a mari, ubi transfretare paratus erat, ad ecclesiam suam rediens, clericos quosdam præmisit, monens et præcipiens ecclesiæ ipsius ministris, ut, antiqua forma servata, in ea ministrarent. Qui ejus admonitionem et præceptum contemnentes, ecclesiam vacuam reliquerunt, et ab officio Divino destitutam.

The canons suspend all service in the Cathedral, and lock out the archbishop.

Eodem anno Clemens[4] papa misit Huberto Walteri, Cantuariensi electo, pallium.

The pall sent to archbishop Hubert.

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[1] *etiam*] om. B. I.

[2] *suum*] om. I.

[3] *descendenti*] descendendi, I.

[4] *Clemens*] Properly Celestine III. Hubert received the pall, Nov. 7, 1193, at Canterbury.

A.D. 1193. August.

Philippus rex Franciæ duxit sibi in uxorem Botildam, filiam Waldemiri regis Dacorum.

Marriage of Philip with a Danish princess.

Eodem anno Philippus rex Franciæ desponsavit sibi Botildam,[1] filiam Waldemeri quondam regis Dacorum, sororem etiam[2] Cnut regis Dacorum modo regnantis, mense Septembris, apud Amiens, Sabbato:[3] et in crastino fecit eam coronari et consecrari in reginam Franciæ, coram nunciis regis Dacorum, qui eam ad eum duxerant: scilicet ea intentione, quod prædictus rex Dacorum veniret in Angliam cum navali exercitu. Sed in crastino primæ noctis, qua prædictus rex Franciæ illam uxorem suam cognoverat, voluit eam dimittere secreti sui conscius. Et cum ipse vellet eam tradere in manus nunciorum fratris sui, ad reducendam in patriam suam, noluerunt eam recipere, sed abeuntes cum festinatione, reversi sunt in regiones suas, et illa remansit in custodia regis Franciæ mariti sui. Et paulo post factum est inter illos divortium per Willelmum Remensem archiepiscopum, et per sacramentum Reginaldi Carnotensis et Philippi Belvacensis episcoporum; et per sacramentum Roberti comitis de Drues, et comitis de Nevers, et Walteri[4] camerarii regis Franciæ, et aliorum multorum; qui juraverunt quod prædicta filia regis Dacorum erat consanguinea comitis de Hainou,[5] cujus filiam idem rex Franciæ uxorem habuerat: sed idem rex Franciæ hoc fecit fieri, ut acciperet sibi in[6] conjugem filiam[7] comitis Palatini de

He takes a dislike to her.

He is divorced from her on the ground of consanguinity.

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[1] *Botildam*] Blank in G., which MS. later on consistently calls her Ingeburga. She is called Ingeburga generally: she was daughter of Waldemar I., king of Denmark 1157–1182; and sister of Canute VI., king 1182–1202.

[2] *etiam*] om. B. I.

[3] *Sabbato*] Aug. 14.

[4] *Walteri*] De Villebeon.

[5] *comitis de Hainou*] Baldwin V., count of Hainault, father of queen Isabella, was great-grandson of Baldwin II., whose uncle Robert Friso, count of Flanders, was grandfather to Waldemar I., the father of Ingeburga.

[6] *in*] om. B. I.

[7] *filiam*] blank in A. for the name of the count. The Count Palatine was Conrad of Hohenstaufen, brother of Frederick Bar-

Reno in Alemannia, avunculi supradicti Henrici Romanorum imperatoris. Quæ cum regi Franciæ a patre et aliis parentibus suis esset concessa, refutavit eum: et consilio matris suæ nupsit Henrico duci Saxoniæ, nepoti Ricardi regis Angliæ.

A.D. 1193. August. He proposes another marriage, and is refused.

Interim Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, et cæteri justitiarii Angliæ, ceperunt ad redemptionem regis, de unoquoque feodo militis viginti solidos, et quartam partem universorum laicorum reddituum, et omnes ecclesiarum calices, et cæteros ecclesiarum thesauros. Episcopi vero quidam ceperunt de clericis quartam partem reddituum suorum, et quidam decimam partem, ad redemptionem prædicti regis. Similiter factum est per omnes terras regis transmarinas; et sic infinitam adquisiverunt pecuniam. Deinde venerunt Lundonias nuncii imperatoris, et receperunt ibi maximam partem redemptionis regis in pondere et mensura, et tradiderunt eam, sub sigillorum suorum testimonio, illis qui illam deferrent usque ad fines imperii, periculo regis Angliæ.

The justices exact enormous sums for the king's ransom.

It is paid in great part.

De terris quas imperator dedit Ricardo regi Angliæ pro homagio suo.

Præterea prædictus imperator dedit regi Angliæ, et carta sua confirmavit has terras subscriptas: scilicet, Provinciam, et Vianam, et Vienais,[1] et Marsiliam, et Nerbonam, et Arleleblanc, et Leun supra Rodanum usque ad Alpes, et quicquid imperator habet in Burgundia, et homagium regis Arragoniæ, et homagium comitis de Disders,[2] et homagium comitis de Sancto Ægidio. Et est sciendum, quod in his terris sunt

The emperor gives the kingdom of Arles with its dependencies to Richard.

barossa; and the lady was Agnes his daughter, who married Henry of Saxony, son of Henry the Lion, and Count Palatine in 1196. The proposal and rejection of Philip are described most amusingly by William of Newburgh, lib. iv., c. 32.

[1] *Vienais*] Vianeis, B. I.

[2] *Disders*] The count of Die (?).

A.D. 1193. The emperor had no real hold on these lands.

quinque archiepiscopatus,[1] et triginta tres[2] episcopatus. Et est sciendum, quod supradictus imperator nunquam prædictis terris et hominibus dominari potuit; neque ipsi aliquem dominum ad præsentationem imperatoris recipere voluerunt.

Richard sends for his mother, and makes Hubert Walter justiciar.

Rex autem Angliæ statim misit in Angliam pro Alienor regina matre sua, et pro Waltero Rothomagensi[3] archiepiscopo, et pro aliis multis, ut venirent ad eum in Alemanniam: et constituit Hubertum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum summum justitiarium in Anglia.

The day of Richard's release fixed for three weeks after Christmas.

Interim Henricus Romanorum imperator, per consilium principum imperii sui, statuit Ricardo regi Angliæ diem liberationis suæ, a secunda feria post diem Natalis Domini in tres septimanas. Unde idem rex Angliæ in hac forma scripsit Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo;

[4] *Epistola Ricardi regis Angliæ ad Hubertum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum de liberatione sua.*

Dec. 22. Letter of Richard to the archbishop.

"Ricardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, venerabili patri in Christo, et amico carissimo Huberto, eadem gratia Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, salutem, et sinceræ dilectionis plenitudinem.

"Quoniam certi sumus, quod liberationem nostram plurimum desideratis, et quod liberatio nostra admodum vos lætificat; idcirco volumus quod lætitiæ nostræ particeps sitis. Inde

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[1] *quinque archiepiscopatus*] Lyons, Arles, Vienne, Aix, and Narbonne.

[2] *triginta tres*] viginti tres, B. viginti quatuor, I. If the archbishoprics are the five mentioned in the last note, the sees contained in them are more nearly 33 than 24.

[3] *Waltero Rothomagensi*] The archbishop of Rouen's justiciarship thus terminates : he held it two years and a quarter (R. de Dic. 671); which calculated from the 10th of October 1191 brings the date of the appointment of Hubert Walter to January 1194. According to Gervase, 1586, the appointment was made before Christmas. Early in that month the archbishop and queen Eleanor arrived in Germany, keeping the Epiphany at Cologne. On the morrow of S. Blaise, Feb. 4, they were with the king at Mentz.

[4] Here MS. D. resumes.

"est, quod dilectioni vestræ dignum duximus significare, A.D. 1193. Dec. 22.
"dominum imperatorem certum diem liberationis nostræ nobis "præfixisse in diem Lunæ proximam post vicesimam diem "Natalis Domini: et die Dominica proximo sequenti corona-"bimur de regno Provenciæ quod nobis dedit. Unde mittimus "in Angliam litteras domini imperatoris super his patentes "vobis, et cæteris amicis nostris et benivolis; vos autem "interim pro omni posse vestro, quos scitis nos diligere, "consolari velitis, et quos scitis promotionem nostram deside-"rare. Teste meipso apud Spiram, vicesimo secundo die "Decembris."[1]

The day of release is fixed for Monday, Jan. 17.

Epistola Henrici Romanorum imperatoris ad magnates Angliæ, de liberatione Ricardi regis Angliæ.

"Henricus Dei gratia Romanorum imperator, et semper "Augustus, dilectis suis archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, "baronibus, militibus, et universis aliis fidelibus Ricardi "illustris regis Angliæ, gratiam suam, et omne bonum.

Dec. 20. Letter of the emperor to the English barons.

"Universitati vestræ duximus intimandum, quod dilecto "amico nostro Ricardo, illustri regi Anglorum, domino vestro, "certum diem liberationis suæ statuimus, a secunda feria "post diem Nativitatis Domini in tres septimanas, apud "Spiram, sive apud Wermaciam; et inde in septem dies[2] "posuimus ei diem coronationis suæ de regno Provenciæ, "quod ei promisimus; et hoc certum habeatis et indubitatum. "Nostri siquidem propositi est et voluntatis, præfatum domi-"num vestrum sicut amicum nostrum specialem promovere, "et magnificentius honorare. Datum apud Gheallusam,[3] vi-"gilia beati Thomæ Apostoli."

The day of the king's release is fixed for Jan. 17, and on the 24th he is to be crowned king of Arles.

Sed antequam pax ista confirmata esset inter imperatorem et regem, rex misit Willelmum Eliensem episcopum, cancellarium suum, et alios nuncios suos in Franciam, ad comitem Johannem fratrem suum, et effecit adversus eum quod ipse rediit in Normanniam, et juravit regi fratri suo fidelitatem et pacem contra

Richard prevails on John to return to his fealty.

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[1] *Decembris*] Septembris, added in a modern hand over an erasure, in I. The date is omitted in D.

[2] *dies*] om. B. D. I.

[3] *Gheallusam*] Theallusam, A. C. G. The emperor was at Geilenhausen in December, and the text is doubtless the true reading. Böhmer, 149. The date is omitted in D.

A.D. 1193. The wardens of his castles refuse to give them up, and he returns to Philip.

omnes homines: et rex præcepit quod omnia castella honorum quos ipse illi[1] dederat traderentur illi, citra mare et ultra: sed custodes illorum noluerunt tradere illi aliquod castellum per breve. Unde comes iratus regressus est ad regem Franciæ, et adhæsit ei: et rex Franciæ tradidit illi castellum de Driencurt, et castellum de Archis, quæ tradenda erant Willelmo Remensi archiepiscopo.

Berengaria arrives at Rome, and stays there half a year.

Eodem anno Berengera regina Angliæ, et Johanna quondam regina Siciliæ, et filia imperatoris Cypri,[2] venerunt Romam[3] sub custodia Stephani de Turneham; et a domino papa Cœlestino et nobilibus Romanis honorifice sunt susceptæ; et moram fecerunt ibi fere per dimidium anni spatium, propter metum imperatoris: et cum inde recessissent, tradidit eas dominus papa in conductu magistri Mellur[4] cardinalis; et perrexerunt usque Pisam. Deinde usque Jeneues. Deinde usque Marsiliam. Apud Marsiliam suscepit eas rex Arragoniæ, et exhibuit eis omnem honorem et reverentiam; et conduxit eas usque ad fines regni sui: et comes[5] de Sancto Ægidio conduxit eas per terram suam. Et sic pervenerunt Pictavim.

She is escorted safely to Poictiers.

Quintus annus regni Ricardi regis Angliæ.

Dec. 25. Richard keeps Christmas at Speyer.

Anno gratiæ millesimo centesimo nonogesimo quarto, qui erat secundus annus captionis Ricardi regis Angliæ, idem Ricardus fuit adhuc in captione Henrici Romanorum imperatoris, in Alemannia apud Spiram, die Natalis Domini, quæ Sabbato evenit; et ibi mansit usque ad tempus liberationis suæ, quod statuerat ei imperator,

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[1] *illi*] ei, B. D. I.

[2] *Cypri*] de Cypre, B. D. I.

[3] *Romam*] et, ins. B. D. I.

[4] *Mellur*] Meillur, B. C. G. I.; and so corrected in A. Melur, D. Melior, cardinal priest of SS. John and Paul, tit. Pammachii.

[5] *comes*] Raymond V., count of Toulouse, died in 1194; his son Raymond VI., who afterwards married queen Johanna, succeeded him.

videlicet, a secunda feria[1] post diem Nativitatis Domini in tres septimanas. A.D. 1194. January.

Cumque imperator venisset illuc, una cum archiepiscopis, episcopis, et ducibus et magnatibus imperii sui, et diu tractasset de liberatione regis Angliæ, venerunt ad imperatorem nuncii regis Franciæ, et nuncii comitis Johannis fratris regis Angliæ; et obtulerunt imperatori ex parte regis Franciæ quinquaginta millia marcas argenti, et ex parte comitis Johannis triginta millia marcas argenti, tali conditione, ut ipse regem Angliæ teneret in captione sua usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis[2] proxime sequens; aut si imperator mallet, darent ei in fine uniuscujusque mensis, quamdiu ipse regem Angliæ in captione sua teneret, mille libras argenti; aut si imperator mallet, rex Franciæ daret ei centum millia marcarum argenti, et comes Johannes daret ei quinquaginta millia marcarum argenti, tali conditione, ut ipse traderet eis regem Angliæ, vel saltem in captione sua teneret ab illo tempore per spatium unius anni. Ecce quomodo amabant eum!

Philip and John propose to the emperor that he shall retain Richard in captivity until Michaelmas.

Quibus auditis, imperator distulit diem liberationis[3] regis Angliæ, et alium diem liberationis suæ statuit ei in Purificatione Sanctæ Mariæ, apud Maguntum.[4]

The emperor delays the release until Feb. 2.

Interim Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, octavo die Natalis Domini, Eboracum venit, et consilio virorum prudentum ministros constituit in metropolitana ecclesia Eboraci, quam vacuam invenit: qui in ipsa ecclesia, sicut decebat, solemniter deservirent. Et hoc ita observatum est, donec canonici et eorum capellani per laicam potestatem et violentiam essent restituti. Post hæc quatuor ex majoribus ecclesiæ, ob prædictam ecclesiæ suspensionem excommunicati, ad regem, tunc temporis liberatum, transfretaverunt; et licentia ab eo accepta, qui commotus fuerat quia archiepiscopus, sicut

On Jan. 1 Geoffrey, archbishop of York, places new clerks in the cathedral which was without ministers.

[1] *feria*] om. D.
[2] *Michaelis*] Archangeli, ins. Savile.
[3] *liberationis*] suæ, ins. D. I.
[4] *Maguntum*] Manguntum, D. I.

A.D. 1194. January. Appeals to Rome.

in mandatis acceperat, ad eum non venerat, Romam profecti sunt. Contra quos nuncii ab archiepiscopo sunt illuc destinati.

The pope waiving the question of right, nominates Simon of Apulia to the deanery.

Utraque autem parte in præsentia Cœlestini papæ constituta, de electione decani diutius est agitatum et deliberatum, quoniam post appellationem rite interpositam factam esse dinoscebatur, et ideo[1] irritanda, vel potius irritata erat denuncianda. Dominus vero papa cognitioni causæ, utrum si ad archiepiscopum[2] decanatus donatio, an ad capitulum decani electio spectaret, tunc temporis volens supersedere; fretus sua potestate, de cujus amplitudine disputare fas non est; præfato Simoni Apulo, salvo in posterum tam ipsius archiepiscopi quam capituli jure, decanatum contulit, confirmavit, et per annulum suum aureum investivit. Quo articulo ita exposito, statim processerunt ad diffamationem ipsius archiepiscopi, et accusationem; proponentes eum esse suum et aliorum clericorum spoliatorem violentum, exactorem improbum, et ecclesiarum fores manu armata frangere, ecclesiastica beneficia Simoniace dividere et retinere, appellationibus non deferre, privilegia Romani pontificis contemnere; et, ut breviter dicatur, asserebant eum omne episcopale officium vilipendentem, aucupitio, venationi, et aliis curis militaribus deditum esse. Et his et aliis de causis intendebant eum deponere; illi maxime, quos ipse maximis honoribus et inæstimabilibus divitiis et redditibus in Eboracensi ecclesia ditaverat, et, ultra quam debuerat per Deum, exaltaverat. De talibus dicit Dominus, "Filios enutrivi "et exaltavi, ipsi autem spreverunt Me." Caveant ergo sibi, ne spernat eos justus Judex; et ne cum Juda proditore condemnentur in gehenna. Isa. i. 2.

The canons bring heavy charges against Geoffrey.

The pope appoints judges to to inquire into the

His propositis, scripsit dominus papa Hugoni Lincolniensi episcopo, et conjudicibus suis, ut si essent qui archiepiscopum super objectis accusarent, audirent dili-

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[1] *ideo*] om. D. I.

[2] *archiepiscopum*] episcopum, D. I.

genter hinc inde proposita, et veritatem inquisitam sigillis suis signatam ad sedem destinarent apostolicam. Si vero accusator non appareret, et archiepiscopus fama publica laboraret, ei purgationem cum tribus episcopis et totidem abbatibus indicerent. Sed quia archiepiscopus ante citationem judicum appellaverat, et iter ad prosequendam appellationem arripuerat, dicti judices ei spatium trium mensium, secundum quod in rescripto domini papæ continebatur, ad ejus prosecutionem assignaverunt, diem præfigentes kalendas Junii. Sed archiepiscopus ad terminum illum non venit, tum propter regis prohibitionem, tum propter aeris intemperiem, quæ tunc temporis est Romæ. Clerici vero ejus eodem tempore in curia Romana consistentes, et has causas absentiæ suæ prætendentes, impetraverunt, ut quicquid contra archiepiscopum post appellationem medio tempore factum fuerat, in irritum revocaretur, quia per eum non stetit quo minus ad curiam venisset Romanam; et terminus quo se apostolico præsentaret conspectui, infra octavas Beati Martini proximo sequentis, est ei a domino papa præfixus: et quoniam nec tunc in curia Romana per se vel per sufficientem responsalem comparuit, ad Natale Domini proximo sequens, ab omni administratione episcopali suspensus fuit.

A.D. 1194. truth of the charges.

The judges fix June 1 for the hearing of the appeal at Rome.

Geoffrey does not go to Rome.

The day postponed to Nov. 18, but he does not appear, and is suspended.

De colloquio inter imperatorem et Ricardum regem Angliæ.

Interim Henricus Romanorum imperator, cum magnatibus imperii sui, et Ricardus rex Angliæ, cum Alienor regina matre sua, et Waltero Rothomagensi archiepiscopo, et Willelmo Eliensi episcopo cancellario suo, et Savarico Batoniensi episcopo, convenerunt apud Maguntum[1] in Purificatione Beatæ Mariæ; et celebrato ibi concilio de liberatione regis Angliæ, imperator

Feb. 2. Meeting of the king and emperor at Mentz.

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[1] *Maguntum*] Manguntum, B. D. I.

A.D. 1194. Feb. 2.

The emperor shows Richard the proposals of Philip and John.

voluit a pacto resilire, propter cupiditatem pecuniæ quam rex Franciæ et comes Johannes ei obtulerant. Et adducens secum nuncios regis Franciæ et nuncios comitis Johannis, de quorum numero erat Robertus de Nunant, frater Hugonis Coventrensis episcopi, tradidit regi Angliæ litteras regis Franciæ et comitis Johannis legendas, quas ipsi miserant contra liberationem illius. Quibus visis et lectis, rex plurimum turbatus est et confusus, desperans de liberatione sua. Convenit ergo[1] super hoc Maguntinum,[2] et Coloniensem,[3] et Saxeburcensem[4] archiepiscopos, et Wermaicensem,[5] et de Spire,[6] et de Legis[7] episcopos; et de Suave,[8] fratrem imperatoris, et de Ostricio,[9] et de Luvain[10] duces; et comitem Palatinum[11] de Reno, et cæteros magnates imperii, qui constituti fuerant ex parte imperatoris fidejussores inter illum et regem Angliæ super pactis inter illos contractis.

Richard engages the emperor's counsellors in his favour.

De liberatione Ricardi regis Angliæ.

They urge Henry to fulfil his agreement.

Qui audacter introierunt ad imperatorem, et plurimum increpaverunt eum de cupiditate sua, qui ita impudenter a pacto suo resilire volebat; et effecerunt adversus eum quod ipse liberum et quietum dimisit

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[1] *ergo*] per consiliarium suum, ins. Savile.

[2] *Maguntinum*] Manguntinum, I. Conrad of Wittelsbach, 1183–1200; cardinal bishop of Sabina.

[3] *Coloniensem*] Adolf, count of Altena, 1193–1205: whose alliance with Richard dates from this time.

[4] *Saxeburcensem*] Adalbert of Bohemia, 1183–1200.

[5] *Wermaicensem*] Henry of Mastricht, 1192–1195.

[6] *Spire*] Spir, D. I.; Spira, G. Otto, count of Henneberg, 1187–1200.

[7] *Legis*] Probably Simon of Limburg, son of duke Henry III., who was elected in 1193, and received investiture; but was displaced and made a cardinal by Celestine, in 1194.

[8] *Suave*] Conrad, the emperor's brother.

[9] *Ostricio*] Leopold V.

[10] *Luvain*] Henry the Warrior, 1190–1235.

[11] *Palatinum*] Conrad of Hohenstaufen, 1156–1195.

regem Angliæ a captione sua; ita tamen quod rex Angliæ tradidit imperatori Walterum Rothomagensem archiepiscopum,[1] et Savericum Batoniensem episcopum, et Baldewinum Wac, et alios multos, filios comitum et baronum suorum, obsides de residuo pecuniæ redemptionis suæ, et de pace servanda imperatori et imperio suo, et omni terræ suæ dominationis. Et Maguntinus et Coloniensis archiepiscopi tradiderunt eum in manu Alienor matris suæ liberum et quietum ex parte imperatoris, pridie nonas Februarii, feria sexta, die Ægyptiaca, quam moderni diem malam vocant, et sic in die
Ps. xli. 1. mala liberavit eum Dominus.

A.D. 1194. Feb. 4. Interchange of hostages and release of the king.

Cum autem idem rex rogaret Robertum de Nunant, fratrem Hugonis Coventrensis episcopi, ut pro illo obses esset, respondit Robertus, quod ipse erat homo comitis Johannis, et ideo noluit pro ipso obses esse. Unde rex iratus præcepit illum capi, et in carcerem mitti; et factum est ita.

Robert of Nunant refuses to be a hostage.

Eodem vero die, quo rex liberatus fuit de captione imperatoris, misit Salt de Bruil,[2] in terram Suliæ, ad Henricum comitem Campaniæ nepotem suum, et ad alios Christianorum principes, mandans eis diem liberationis suæ; et quod ipse, si Deus fecerit ei vindictam de inimicis suis, et pacem dederit, veniet ad terminum statutum ad succurrendum illis contra paganos. Promisit etiam prædicto Salt de Bruil, quod quadraginta libratas terræ daret ei in reversione sua de terra Suliæ.

Richard sends a message into Syria, that he will return at the time appointed.

Eodem die rex summonuit per litteras suas Hugonem Coventrensem episcopum, quod ipse veniret in curia sua, et staret judicio episcoporum, in eo quod ipse episcopus erat, et judicio laicorum in eo quod ipse de eo laicalem tenuerat bailliam, super his quæ adversus eum loqueretur.

He summons Hugh, bishop of Coventry, to appear in his court.

Eodem die Romanorum imperator, et archiepiscopi

The emperor and

[1] *archiepiscopum*] om. I.

[2] *Bruil*] nuncium quendam, ins. Savile. Saut de Bruill is mentioned in the Close Rolls of John, A.D. 1205; ed. Hardy, p. 23.

A.D. 1194. Feb. 4. princes give notice to John and Philip to surrender Richard's castles now in their hands.

et episcopi, et duces et comites imperii, facto communi scripto, et sigillis suis appositis, mandaverunt regi Franciæ et comiti Johanni, quod statim visis litteris illis redderent regi Angliæ castella, civitates, munitiones, villas, et prædia, et alia universa, quæ ipsi super eum ceperant, quamdiu ipse in captione imperatoris fuerat; et nisi fecerint, scirent pro certo, quod ipsi juvarent regem Angliæ pro posse suo ad recuperandum omne quod amiserat.

De homagiis factis Ricardo regi Angliæ a magnatibus Alemanniæ.

Richard makes friends and allies among the German princes.

Deinde rex Angliæ promisit, et cartis suis confirmavit, quibusdam archiepiscopis et episcopis, et ducibus et comitibus, et baronibus[1] multis de imperio, redditus annuos[2] pro homagiis et fidelitatibus, et auxiliis eorum contra regem Franciæ. Recepit itaque homagium de archiepiscopo Maguntino, et de archiepiscopo Coloniensi, et de episcopo de Legis, et de duce Ostricii, et de duce de Luvain, et de marchiso[3] de Munferrat, et de duce de Nemburc, et de duce Suaviæ fratre imperatoris, et de comite Palatino de Reno, et de filio comitis de Henou, et de comite de Holande,[4] et de aliis multis, salva fidelitate imperatoris.

De recessu Ricardi regis Angliæ a captione imperatoris.

Length of his captivity.

Et est sciendum, quod rex Angliæ fuit in captione imperatoris per spatium unius anni, et sex hebdomadarum, et trium dierum. Liberato autem rege, omnes qui aderant præ gaudio lacrymati sunt. Deinde im-

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[1] *baronibus*] et, ins. B. D. I.

[2] *annuos*] annuo, D. I.

[3] *marchiso*] Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, received, in 1197, 800*l.* as his fee from Richard, and 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* as a present. Stapleton, *Norman Rolls*, ii. xiv. and 301.

[4] *Holande*] Dietrich VII., 1190–1203.

perator tradidit regi salvum conductum, usque ad[1] portum de Amvers. Cumque rex Coloniam venisset, archiepiscopus Coloniæ recepit eum cum gaudio; et pro exultatione liberationis illius celebravit Missam[2] in hunc modum, "Nunc scio vere quia misit Dominus "angelum Suum, et eripuit me de manu Herodis, et "de exspectatione plebis Judæorum," etc.[3] Et cum rex inde recederet, prædictus archiepiscopus conduxit eum usque ad portum de Amvers, ubi Renus fluvius cadit in mare. Et illuc convenit multitudo navium, quæ de Anglia venerant contra regem. Et portus ille de Amvers est in terra ducis de Luvain. Quo cum rex venisset, intravit galeam Alani Trenchemer, ut cum ea facilius transiret inter insulas; singulis autem noctibus exiens de galea illa intravit navem magnam et pulcherrimam, quæ venerat de Rie, et in ea jacuit in nocte; et in die rediit ad galeam, donec perveniret ad portum de Swiene, qui est in Flandria, in terra comitis de Henou, et fecit quatuor dietas a portu de Amvers, usque ad portum de Swine,[4] et in portu de Swine fecit moram quinque dierum; et sexta die circa horam tertiam recessit a portu de Swine, et in crastino post horam diei nonam applicuit in Angliam apud Sandicum portum, die Dominica, tertio idus Martii.[5]

A.D. 1194. February. His reception at Cologne.

Acts xii. 11.

March. He reaches Antwerp, and goes thence to Swine.

He sails from Swine, and lands at Sandwich, Mar. 13.

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[1] *ad*] om. I.

[2] *missam*] These words are the introit of the feast Ad Vincula S. Petri, August 1. On the 22nd of February is the feast of S. Peter's Chair at Antioch, which has no special service in the Missal, but follows the rite of S. Peter's Chair at Rome, Jan. 18. We must suppose then that Adolf substituted for the service of Jan. 18 that of Aug. 1, by a convenient and courtier-like mistake, on the 22nd of February, on which day it seems most probable that the incident occurred.

[3] See R. de Diceto, c. 672. On this occasion Richard granted a charter to the merchants of Cologne, relieving them from a payment of two shillings paid annually for their guild-hall in London. Pauli, *Bilder aus Alt-England*, p. 151. The charter as given in Sartorius, *Urkundliche Geschichte der Ursprunges der Deutschen Hanse*, ed. Lappenberg, ii. 11, is dated at Louvain, Feb. 6: but this is impossible.

[4] *Swine*] Sweine, D.; Swiene, I.

[5] According to this computation Richard left Antwerp on Friday, March 4, and reached Swine on Monday the 7th. He had then

A.D. 1194. Feb. 9.

John sends a foolish messenger to England, who boasts to the archbishop of his master's friendship with Philip.

Interim non longe ante adventum regis,[1] venit in Angliam Adam de Sancto Eadmundo, clericus et familiaris comitis Johannis, missus ab eo in Angliam[2] cum litteris ad castella sua munienda contra regem fratrem suum. Qui cum Lundonias venisset, et sine impedimento transire potuisset, accessit ad hospitium Huberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, et comedit cum illo, multa jactans de prosperitate domini sui, et de familiaritate regis Franciæ quam habebat adversus dominum suum, dicens quod rex Franciæ tradiderat domino suo castellum de Driencurt, et castellum de Archis, quæ tradenda erant archiepiscopo Remensi, sicut in supradicto scripto continetur; et plura tradidisset domino suo, si dominus suus haberet homines in quibus confideret.

The mayor of London arrests the messenger.

His itaque et aliis jactantiis prædictus Adam plurimum exasperavit dominum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, et omnes qui audierunt verbum illud; sed nemo misit in eum manum propter reverentiam mensæ. Attamen post prandium, cum prædictus Adam ad hospitium suum rediret, major Londoniarum injecit manus in eum, et tenuit; et cepit omnia brevia sua, in quibus mandata comitis Johannis continebantur, et tradidit ea Cantuariensi archiepiscopo. Qui in crastino, convocatis coram eo episcopis, comitibus, et baronibus regni, ostendit eis litteras comitis Johannis, et earum tenorem.

Council held Feb. 10.

Et statim per commune consilium regni definitum est

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spent a month in Germany between Mentz and Antwerp, where he had to wait a long time for a wind (R. Coggesh.): but as no mention is made of his coronation, which should have been performed at Arles, we may conclude that it did not take place. Ralph de Diceto places the landing at Sandwich on the 20th instead of the 13th of March: Gervase makes him land on the Saturday, March 12. Ralph of Coggeshall confirms Hoveden, but gives the hour, "the second "hour of the day," differently. Richard went on to Canterbury on the Sunday (Gerv. 1582); and met the archbishop on the way to Rochester, on the Monday. He reached London on the Wednesday after he landed. R. Dic. 672.

[1] *ante adventum regis*] Feb. 9, as appears from what follows.

[2] *Angliam*] Anglia, D. I.

quod comes Johannis dissaisiaretur de omnibus tenementis suis in Anglia, et ut castella sua obsiderentur: et factum est ita.

A.D. 1194. Feb. 10. John dispossessed of his lands.

Eodem die Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Hugo Lincolniensis, et Ricardus Lundoniensis, et Gilbertus Rofensis, et Godefridus Wintoniensis, et Wigornensis et Herefordensis episcopi, et Henricus Exoniensis electus, et abbates et clerici multi Cantuariensis diocesis, convenerunt in capella monachorum infirmorum apud Westmonasterium, et sententiam anathematis tulerunt in comitem Johannem, et in omnes fautores ejus et consiliarios, qui pacem et regnum regis Angliæ turbaverunt vel turbarent, nisi relicta hostilitate ad satisfactionem venirent. Deinde appellaverunt ad præsentiam domini papæ contra Willelmum Eliensem episcopum, ne ipse de cætero fungeretur in Anglia legationis officio; et appellationem suam sigillis suis confirmaverunt, et miserunt illam domino regi, deinde summo pontifici confirmandam. Facta est autem hæc appellatio quarto idus Februarii, feria quinta.

The bishops excommunicate him; and appeal to the pope against the bishop of Ely's legation.

Omnes igitur, quibus commissa fuerant comitis Johannis castella obsidenda, reversi sunt in patrias suas. Episcopus vero Dunelmensis, cui commissum fuit castellum de Tikehil[1] obsidendum, magnum congregavit exercitum Eboraci siriæ, et de Northimbria, et de aliis terris suis, et obsedit illud. Et comes David, frater regis Scotiæ, et Ranulfus comes Cestriæ, et[2] comes de Fereres, cum magno exercitu obsedit castellum de Nothingham. Et archiepiscopus Cantuariensis cum magno exercitu obsedit Merleberge; quod infra paucos dies redditum est ei, salvis vita et membris inclusorum. Similiter redditum est ei castellum de Lencastre, quod Theodbaldus Walteri, frater ejus, custodierat ex parte comitis Johannis; et Mons Sancti

The bishop of Durham besieges Tickhill castle; the earls of Huntingdon and Chester, Nottingham; and the archbishop takes Marlborough.

Lancaster and S. Michael's mount are surrendered.

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[1] *Tikehil*] Tykeil, B.; Tikehilla, G.; Tikeil, I.

[2] Blank for the name of the earl in A.; William.

A.D. 1194. February.

Michaelis in Cornubia redditus est ei, quem Henricus de la Pumerai,[1] expulsis inde monachis, contra regem munierat. Idem vero Henricus, audito adventu regis, obiit timore perterritus.

Nottingham and Tickhill hold out until the king's arrival.

March.

Then Tickhill surrenders.

Hæc autem tria castella, videlicet, Merleberge et Lencastre[2] et Mons Sancti Michaelis, reddita fuerunt ante adventum regis: cætera vero duo, scilicet Nothingham et Tikehil, viriliter restiterunt impugnantibus. Sed audito adventu regis, illi de castello de Tikehil, per licentiam Dunelmensis episcopi, miserunt duos milites ad videndum si rex venisset, et ad offerendum ei castellum illud. Et noluit rex recipere, nisi ponerent se in misericordia ipsius sine aliqua exceptione. Et sic redeuntes narraverunt Roberto de la Mare, constabulario, et cæteris inclusis, voluntatem regis. Qui inito consilio cum Dunelmensi episcopo, qui eis vitam et membra promisit, tradiderunt ei ad opus regis castellum de Tikehil.[3]

March 25. The king comes to Nottingham.

Illi autem qui in castello de Notingham erant, non miserunt quenquam suorum obviam regi. Unde rex iratus venit ad Notingham, die Annunciationis Dominicæ, feria sexta, cum tanta hominum multitudine, et sonitu tubarum et buccinum, quod illi qui in castello erant, audientes hoc et videntes, admirati sunt, conturbati sunt, commoti sunt;[4] tremor apprehendit eos: et tamen credere non poterant quod rex venisset, sed sperabant[5] totum hoc factum fuisse a principibus exercitus ad illudendum eis. Rex vero hospitatus est prope castellum; ita quod sagittarii de castello sagittabant homines regis ante pedes ejus. Unde rex iratus armavit se et exercitum suum ad faciendum insultum in castellum; et factus conflictus multus inter illos et

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[1] *Henricus de la Pumerai*] Brother of Jollan de Pumerai (B. Pet. i. 163), who was nephew to earl Reginald of Cornwall.

[2] *Loncastre*] Lancastre, G. I.; Lencastre, A., corrected to Lancastere.

[3] *Tikehil*] Tikel, D.; Tikeil, I.

[4] *commoti sunt*] om. D. I.

[5] *sperabant*] putabant, D.

homines castelli; et multi ceciderunt ex utraque parte vulnerati et mortui. Rex vero interfecit sagitta unum militem. Prævaluit itaque rex, et retrusis illis in castellum, cepit quasdam præparationes[1] quas fecerant ante portas, et portas exteriores combussit.

A.D. 1194. March 25. He takes the barbicans.

Eodem die venit illuc Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et crucem suam ante se portari fecit. Gaufridus vero Eboracensis archiepiscopus crucem suam non portavit; sed conquestus est regi de archiepiscopo, qui crucem suam portare fecit in Eboracensi diocesi. Quod cum Cantuariensis archiepiscopus audisset, et vidisset quod Eboracensis archiepiscopus crucem suam non portasset, dixit, "Ego crucem meam per totam Angliam "porto, et portare debeo, sicut totius Angliæ primas; "tu autem crucem tuam non portas, et forsitan por- "tare non debes: et ideo rebus sic existentibus appello "ad dominum papam."

The archbishop of Canterbury has his cross carried in the province of York.

Vicesima sexta die mensis Martii rex Angliæ fecit[2] perarias suas fieri, habens in proposito quod amplius insultum non faceret in castellum, donec machinæ suæ bellicæ pararentur; sed furcas levari fecit prope castellum, in quibus suspendit quosdam servientes comitis Johannis extra castellum captos.

March 26. Richard prepares for a siege.

Vicesima septima die mensis Martii Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, et illi qui cum eo erant in obsidione castelli de Tikehil, venerunt ad regem apud Notingham, adducentes secum captivos qui capti fuerant in castello de Tikehil; et rex processit obviam illis. Et viso rege, episcopus Dunelmensis descendit, et rex[3] similiter obviam ei, et osculatus est eum. Deinde ascendentes equos suos venerunt ad obsidionem.

March 27. The bishop of Durham arrives from Tickhill.

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[1] *præparationes*] id est, barbecans, A. B. I. interl. G. has the words in the text.

[2] *fecit*] præcepit, D.

[3] *rex*] om. D. I.

A.D. 1194. March 27.

Castellum de Notingham redditum est Ricardo regi Angliæ.

The defenders of Nottingham castle prepare to submit.

Eodem die cum rex sedisset ad prandium suum, Radulfus Murdac et Willelmus de Vendeval, constabularii castelli de Nothingham, miserunt duos ex sociis suis ad videndum regem. Quo viso regressi sunt in castellum, nunciantes eis qui miserant eos, ea quæ audierant et viderant, de rege et statu ejus. Quæ cum Willelmus de Vendeval et Rogerus de Muntbegun[1] audissent, cum aliis duodecim exierunt a castello, et posuerunt se in misericordia regis, et amplius non redierunt in castellum.

March 28. They surrender.

Vicesima octava die Martii, mediante Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, Radulfus Murdac, et Philippus de Wirecestre et Radulfus de Wirecestre, fratres ejus, et universi qui in castello erant, tradiderunt regi castellum, et posuerunt se in misericordia regis de vita et membris et terreno honore.

March 29. Richard views Sherwood forest.

Vicesima nona die mensis Martii, Ricardus rex Angliæ profectus est videre Clipestune et forestas de Sirewude,[2] quas ipse[3] nunquam viderat antea; et placuerunt ei multum: et eodem die rediit ad Nothingham.

Concilium Ricardi [regis] Angliæ apud Nothingham.

March 30. Great council held at Nottingham.

Tricesima die mensis Martii, feria quarta, Ricardus rex Angliæ celebravit primum concilii sui diem apud Notingham; cui interfuerunt Alienor regina mater ejus, et Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, qui in dextris regis sedebat in concilio illo, et Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, qui a sinistris ejus sedebat, et Hugo Dunelmensis, et Hugo Lincolniensis, et Willelmus Eliensis regis cancellarius, et Willelmus Herefordensis, et Hen-

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[1] *Muntbegun*] Munbegum, B. Mundegum, D.; Munbegun, I.

[2] *Sirewude*] Sirewde, B. I.

[3] *ipse*] om. B. D. I.

ricus Wigornensis, et Henricus Exoniensis, et Johannes Candidæ Casæ episcopi; et comes David frater regis Scotiæ, et Hamelinus comes de Warenna, et Ranulfus comes Cestriæ, et Willelmus[1] comes de Ferreres, et Willelmus comes de Salesbiria, et Rogerus Bigot. A.D. 1194. March 30. Council at Nottingham.

Eodem die rex dissaisivit Gyrardum de Camvilla de castello et vicecomitatu Lincolniensi, et Hugonem Bardolf de vicecomitatu Eboraci siræ, et de castello Eboraci, et de castello de Scardheburg, et de custodia de Westmerilande; et omnia supradicta exposuit venditioni. Unde factum est, quod cum cancellarius conventionasset, se daturum regi pro vicecomitatu Eboraci siræ, et[2] pro vicecomitatu Lincolniensi, et pro vicecomitatu Nordhamtesiræ,[3] mille et quingentas marcas in principio conventionis, et singulis annis de unoquoque prædictorum comitatuum centum marcas de incremento; Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus obtulit regi tria millia marcarum pro vicecomitatu Eboracensi, et singulis annis centum marcas de incremento: et sic abjecto cancellario, Eboracensis archiepiscopus obtinuit vicecomitatum Eboracensem, et ita facta est regis serviens, et præcipitavit se in potentias regis.

The sheriffdoms of Lincoln and Yorkshire, and the castles of York and Scarborough put up for sale.

The archbishop buys the sheriffdom of Yorkshire.

Tricesima prima die mensis Martii, scilicet pridie kalendas Aprilis, rex Angliæ celebravit secundum diem concilii sui; in quo ipse petiit sibi fieri judicium de comite Johanne fratre suo, qui, contra fidelitatem quam ei juraverat, castella sua occupaverat, et terras suas transmarinas et cismarinas destruxerat, et fœdus cum inimico suo rege Franciæ contra eum inierat. Similiter et de Hugone de Nunant Coventrensi episcopo sibi fieri judicium postulavit, qui secreti sui conscius eum reliquerat, et regi Franciæ et comiti Johanni inimicis suis adhæserat, omne malum in perniciem regni sui machinans.

March 31. The king demands sentence against John and the bishop of Coventry.

[1] *Willelmus*] om. B. G. I.; added in A.

[2] *pro . . . et*] om. I.

[3] *Nordhamtesiræ*] Norhamtunesyre, B. I.

A. D. 1194. March 31. They are summoned to appear within forty days.

Et judicatum est, quod comes Johannes et episcopus Coventrensis peremptorie scitarentur; et si infra quadraginta dies non venerint, nec juri steterint, judicaverunt comitem Johannem demeruisse regnum, et episcopum Coventrensem subjacere judicio episcoporum, in eo quod ipse episcopus erat, et judicio laicorum, in eo quod ipse vicecomes regis extiterat.

April 1. Richard imposes a tax of two shillings on each carucate; and makes other exactions.

Kalendis Aprilis, prima die ejusdem mensis, prædictus rex Angliæ celebravit tertium diem colloquii sui: in quo constituit sibi dari de unaquaque carucata terræ totius Angliæ duos solidos, quod ab antiquis nominatur Temantale.[1] Deinde præcepit quod unusquisque faceret sibi tertiam partem servitii militaris, sicut singulus feodus apportat, ad transfretandum cum illo in Normanniam. Deinde exigebat ab monachis ordinis Cistrensis totam lanam suam de hoc anno; sed quia hoc facere erat eis grave et importabile, fecerunt cum eo finem pecuniarium.

April 2. He hears complaints against the archbishop of York.

Secunda die mensis Aprilis, Sabbato, celebravit diem quartum et ultimum concilii sui: in quo omnes, tam clerici quam laici, qui volebant sibi conqueri de archiepiscopo Eboracensi, fecerunt querimonias multas de rapinis et injustis exactionibus: sed archiepiscopus Eboracensis nullum dedit eis responsum. Deinde per consilium et machinationem cancellarii, ut dicitur, Girardus de Camvilla[2] fuit retatus[3] de receptatione prædonum, qui rapuerunt bona mercatorum euntium ad nundinas de Stanford; et ab eo recesserunt ad rapinam illam faciendam, et de rapina illa redierunt ad eum. Præterea appellaverunt eum de læsione regiæ majestatis, in eo quod ipse ad vocationem justitiarum regis venire noluit, nec juri stare de prædicta recepta-

Gerard Camville indicted for treason and robbery.

[1] *Temantale*] This is the Northumbrian word for *tithing*, Vol. ii., p. 228, and is certainly wrongly applied by our author in this place: it would answer more to *Danegeld* than to anything else that could have been in his mind.

[2] *Camvilla*] Canvillis, B. D. I.

[3] *retatus*] rectatus, D. I.

tione raptorum, neque eos ad justitiam regis producere; sed respondit se esse hominem comitis Johannis, et velle in curia sua juri stare. Præterea appellaverunt eum [1] quod ipse fuit in vi et adjutorio cum comite Johanne, et aliis inimicis regis, ad castella regis de Notingham et de Tikehil capienda. Girardus vero de Camvilla negavit omnia quæ objiciebantur ei ab illis; et illi dederunt vadium de prosequendo, et Girardus dedit vadium de defendendo se per unum de liberis hominibus suis.

A.D. 1194. April 2. Other charges against him.

Eodem die statuit dominus rex diem coronationis suæ apud Wintoniam in clauso Paschæ.

The king fixes April 17 for his coronation; and

Eodem die perrexit rex usque Clipestun contra Willelmum regem Scottorum: et præcepit ut omnes qui capti fuerant in castello de Notingham, et castello de Tikehil, et castello de Merleberge, et castello de Lancastre, et in Monte Sancti Michaelis, convenirent ad eum apud Wintoniam in crastino clausi Paschæ.

meets the king of Scots at Clipstone.

Tertia die mensis Aprilis, Dominica scilicet in Ramis Palmarum, fecit rex Angliæ moram apud Clipestun, et rex Scottorum apud Wirkesope propter diem solemnem.

April 3. He keeps Palm Sunday at Clipstone.

Quarta die mensis Aprilis rex Angliæ et rex Scotiæ venerunt apud Suuelle.

April 4. Southwell.

Quinta die mensis Aprilis rex Angliæ et rex Scotiæ venerunt [2] ad Maltonam, ubi rex Scotiæ petiit a rege Angliæ dignitates et honores quos prædecessores sui habuerunt in Anglia. Petiit etiam comitatum Northimbriæ, et Cumberlande et Westmerilande, et comitatum de Lancastre, sibi reddi de jure prædecessorum suorum. Cui rex respondit, se satisfacturum per consilium [3] baronum suorum.

April 5. Malton.

The king of Scots demands Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland.

Sexta die mensis Aprilis venerunt prædicti reges ad domum Petri forestarii de Rotelande.

April 6. Rutland.

Septima die mensis Aprilis venerunt prædicti reges

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[1] *eum*] om. I.

[2] *apud Suuelle . . . venerunt*] om. D. I.; Suthwell, G.

[3] *consilium*] comitum et, ins. Savile, from B.

A.D. 1194. April 7-8. Gaitington. apud Gaidinton.[1] Octava die mensis Aprilis prædicti reges fecerunt moram apud Gaidintoniam[2] propter reverentiam Parasceuæ Domini. April 9. Northampton. Nono die mensis Aprilis, in vigilia Paschæ, venerunt prædicti reges ad Northamtoniam: et decima die et undecima die mensis Aprilis fecerunt prædicti reges moram apud Northantun: ubi rex Angliæ, habito cum episcopis et comitibus et baronibus suis cum deliberatione consilio, respondit regi Scotiæ, Richard refuses the king of Scots' request. quod petitionem suam, quam fecerat de Northimbria, nulla ratione facere debuerat, et maxime illis diebus, in quibus omnes fere principes regni Francorum facti sunt ei inimici. Nam si hoc fecisset, videretur quod hoc magis ex timore procederet, quam ex dilectionis affectu.

De conductu qualis debeat fieri regi Scotiæ, quotiescunque in Angliam venerit per mandatum regis Angliæ.

April 11. He makes arrangement for the honourable escort of the king of Scots to and from court. Tamen rex Angliæ in præsentia Alienor matris suæ, et Huberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, et Hugonis Dunelmensis episcopi, et Gocelini[3] Glascuensis episcopi, et aliorum multorum tam clericorum quam laicorum utriusque regni, concessit, et carta sua confirmavit Willelmo regi Scottorum,[4] et hæredibus suis in perpetuum; quod quandocunque ipsi per summonitionem regis Angliæ ad curiam suam venient, episcopus Dunelmensis et vicecomes Northimbriæ recipient eum ad aquam de Tuede, et in salvo conductu ducent eos usque ad aquam de Taise;[5] et ibi recipient eos archiepiscopus Eboracensis et vicecomes Eboraci, et in salvo conductu ducent eos usque ad fines comitatus Eboracensis; et sic per episcopos et vicecomites ducentur de

[1] *Gaidinton*] Gaindirtun, D.; Gaindintone, B.; Gaindurtunum, I.

[2] *Gaidintoniam*] Gaindintonum, I.; Gaindintone, B.; Gartintune, G.

[3] *Gocelini*] Jocelini, G.; Goscelini, I.

[4] *Scottorum*] Scotiæ, D. I.

[5] *Taise*] Tese, B. I.; These, D.

comitatu ad comitatum, donec perveniant ad curiam regis Angliæ:[1] et ex quo rex Scottorum intraverit terram regis Angliæ habebit quotidie de bursa regis Angliæ centum solidos de liberatione. Cum autem rex Scotiæ ad curiam regis Angliæ venerit, quam diu ipse in curia regis Angliæ moram fecerit, habebit quotidie de liberatione triginta solidos, et duodecim wastellos dominicos, et duodecim siminellos dominicos, et quatuor sextaria de dominico vino regis, et octo sextercia de vino expensabili, et duas libras de pipere, et quatuor libras de cymino, et duas petras de cera, vel quatuor cereos, et quadraginta grossos et longos colpones de dominica candela regis, et quater viginti colpones de alia candela expensabili; et cum ipse in patriam suam redire voluerit, conducetur per episcopos et vicecomites de comitatu in comitatum, donec pervenerit ad aquam de Tuede: et habebit similiter quotidie centum solidos de bursa regis Angliæ ad liberationem. Carta autem hujus concessionis et confirmationis regis Angliæ tradita fuit Willelmo regi Scotiæ in villa de Northantune, feria secunda in hebdomada Paschæ, per manum Willelmi Eliensis episcopi, regis cancellarii, anno ab Incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu Christi M°C°XC°IV°., anno etiam regni regis Ricardi quinto.[2]

A.D. 1194. April 11. Allowances of the king of Scots whilst he is at court.

Discordia inter Willelmum regem Scottorum et Hugonem episcopum apud Brakeleia.

Duodecima die mensis Aprilis, feria tertia in hebdomada Paschæ, Ricardus rex Angliæ recessit de Northamtonia, et perrexit usque ad Selvestun; et Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, perrexerunt usque ad Brakelai, ubi præpara-

April 12. The king goes to Selston.

[1] *Angliæ*] om. I.

[2] *quinto*] The act is given but in a mutilated form in the *Fœd.* i. 62; from the orginal in the Treasury of Receipt of the Exchequer, but dated at Winchester, April 17.

A.D. 1194. April 12. Quarrel of the king of Scots and the bishop of Durham at Brackley.

tum erat hospitium Dunelmensis episcopi, quod ipse a triginta annis retro tenuerat ex liberatione marescallorum regis Henrici. Et ubi procuratio sua præparata fuerat, supervenerunt servientes regis Scotiæ volentes ejicere servientes episcopi, sed non poterant. Emerunt tamen cibaria regis, et in quadam domo ejusdem curiæ præparaverunt. Quo cum Dunelmensis episcopus venisset, et dictum esset ei a suis ita contigisse, noluit pedem referre, sed audacter hospitium suum intravit, et mensas apponi jussit. Et dum pranderet supervenit Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et obtulit ei hospitium suum: et consuluit ei ut ipse, relicto hospitio illo regi Scotiæ, abiret. Cum autem rex Scotiæ a venatu redisset sero, et nunciatum esset ei ita contigisse, grave tulit, et noluit illo ire: sed præcepit procurationem suam dari pauperibus, et ipse venit ad regem apud Selvestun, et conquestus est ei de injuria quam fecerat ei Dunelmensis episcopus; unde rex iratus multum increpavit Dunelmensem episcopum.

April 13. Richard comes to Woodstock.

Tertia decima die mensis Aprilis venit rex ad Wudestoc.[1]

April 14. Fremantle. April 15. Winchester. He takes the castle from the bishop.

Quartadecima die venit rex ad Fresmantel:[2] quintadecima die mensis Aprilis venit rex Angliæ ad Wintoniam, et eo die dissaisivit Godefridum Wintoniensem episcopum de castello et comitatu Wintoniæ, et de illis duobus maneriis quæ episcopus Wintoniensis ab illo emerat ante iter suum Jerosolimitanum, et de magna parte patrimonii sui.

April 16. He visits the monastery of S. Swithun.

Sextadecima die mensis Aprilis, post prandium, transtulit se rex Angliæ de castello Wintoniæ ad prioratum Sancti Swithuni, et ibi nocte illa jacuit, et se balneari fecit; et mandavit Gaufrido Eboracensi archiepiscopo, ne ipse in crastino ad coronationem suam accederet cum cruce sua, ne forte tumultus fieret inter ipsum et

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[1] *Wudestoc*] Wodistoke, D.; Wdestoke, I.

[2] *Fresmantel*] Freitmantel, I. A. has Fresmantel, corrected to Freidmantel. Freimantel, G.; Freidmantel, B.

Cantuariensem archiepiscopum. Et quia prohibitum erat ei crucem suam portare, noluit coronationi regis interesse.

A.D. 1194. April 16. Preparations for the coronation.

Septima decima die mensis Aprilis, die Dominica in octavis Paschæ, convenientibus in unum in ecclesia Sancti Swithuni Huberto Cantuariensi, et Johanne Dublinensi archiepiscopis; et Hugone Dunelmensi, et Hugone Lincolniensi, et Ricardo Londoniensi, et Gilberto Roffensi, et Willelmo Eliensi, et Sefrido Cicestrensi, et Henrico Exoniensi, et Willelmo Herefordensi, et[1] Wigornensi, et de S. David, et[1] Pangorensi[2] episcopis; et abbatibus multis, et clero et populo; Ricardus rex Angliæ vestimentis regalibus indutus, coronam auream habens in capite,[3] processit de thalamo suo coronatus, gestans in manu sua dextra sceptrum regale, cujus summitate habetur signum crucis, et in manu sinistra virgam auream, in cujus summitate habetur species columbæ; et a dextris ejus ibat Willelmus Eliensis episcopus, cancellarius suus, et a sinistris Ricardus Londoniensis episcopus. Præcedebat quoque eos ordinata processio archiepiscoporum et episcoporum, et abbatum, et monachorum et clericorum. Comites vero, et barones, et milites, et magna plebis multitudo, sequebantur regem.

April 17. Coronation of Richard, at Winchester.

He appears crowned in procession.

Et pannus sericus quatuor lanceis superpositus[4] ferebatur supra regem a quatuor comitibus: videlicet, Rogero

Canopy borne by four earls.

[1] *et*] blanks for names of the bishops of Worcester and Bangor.

[2] *Pangorensi*] Pangornensi, B. I.

[3] *coronam auream habens in capite*] It is worth while remarking that notwithstanding the political significance given to this second coronation of Richard, it was a ceremony different in kind from the first, and far more in itself analogous to the great crown-wearing days of the earlier Norman kings. The king receives the crown from the archbishop privately (Gerv. 1587), and presents himself to the people already crowned and in his royal robes. It is not so much a renewal of his "inauguration" after an eclipse of dignity or even a loss of it, as an assertion that that dignity has undergone no diminution. The day and place recall the Easter crown-wearing of William the Conqueror at Winchester. Gervase was reminded by them of the Canterbury crowning of king Stephen, c. 1588.

[4] *superpositus*] suppositus, D. I.

A.D. 1194. April 17. Three swords carried before him.

Bigot comite de Norfolchia,[1] et Willelmo comite de Insula Vectæ,[2] et—comite Salesbiriensi,[3] et—comite de Ferreres.[4] Et tres gladii de thesauro regis sumpti gestabantur ante regem; quorum unum gestabat Willelmus rex Scottorum, et alterum portabat Hamelinus comes de Warenna,[5] et tertium gestabat Ranulfus comes Cestriæ: medius autem illorum ibat rex Scottorum, et comes Warennæ a dextris ejus, et comes Cestriæ a sinistris ejus.

He receives a blessing from the archbishop;

Et sic coronatus ductus est in metropolitanam ecclesiam[6] Sancti Swithuni usque ad altare; et ibi flexis genibus devote recepit benedictionem ab Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, et inde ductus est ad sedem suam.

who celebrates the mass.

Alienor vero regina mater ejus, cum puellis suis, sedebat in Boreali parte ecclesiæ ex opposito regi. Cantuariensis vero archiepiscopus Missam celebravit; et rex ductus est a prædictis episcopis ad oblationem, et reductus est in sedem suam.

The king returns to his chamber and changes his crown.

Post celebrationem Missæ reductus est rex in thalamum suum, præcedente ordinata processione, ut superius. Rex vero depositis gravioribus vestimentis suis et corona, leviora sumpsit indumenta et coronam leviorem, et ita ad prandendum intravit refectorium monachorum; et præfati archiepiscopi et episcopi, et rex Scotiæ, et comites et barones, sedebant ad mensam, unusquisque in locum suum, secundum ordinem et dignitatem suam, et epulabantur splendide. Cives autem Lundoniarum, data regi mercede ducentarum marcarum, servierunt de pincernaria, contra calumniam civium Wintoniæ. Cives vero Wintoniæ servierunt de coquina.

The banquet.

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[1] *Norfolchia*] Northfolchia, B. I.

[2] *Vectæ*] Wettæ, B.; Wetæ, G.; Wectæ, D. I. William de Fortibus.

[3] *comite Salesbiriensi*] blank for the name in A. William.

[4] *comite de Ferreres*] blank for the name in A. William.

[5] *de Warenna*] Warennæ, I. Warennia, B.

[6] *metropolitanam ecclesiam*] metropolitana ecclesia, B. D. I.

Eodem die post prandium sero rediit rex in domum suam, quæ est in castello Wintoniæ. A.D. 1194. April 17. He returns to the castle.

Decimo octavo die mensis Aprilis, in crastino coronationis regis, Jollanus frater[1] Henrici de la Pumerai, appellatus quod proditiose interfuerat captioni Montis[2] Sancti Michaelis in Cornubia, elegit magis abjectus esse ab Anglia, quam stare inde juri in curia regis. April 18. Jollan de la Pumerai goes into exile.

Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus reddidit Ricardo regi Angliæ Northimbriam.

Nonodecimo die mensis Aprilis, Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, sponte sua, nullo cogente, reddidit regi comitatum Northimbriæ, cum castellis et aliis pertinentiis suis: et præcepit ei rex ut ipse ea traderet Hugoni Bardulfo. Quod cum Willelmus rex Scotiæ audisset, statim obtulit regi Angliæ quindecim millia marcarum argenti pro Northimbria et pertinentiis suis, dicens quod comes Henricus pater suus illam tenuit ex dono Henrici regis secundi, et post eum rex Malcolmus filius ejus quinque annis eam pacifice possedit. Unde rex Angliæ, habito cum suis consilio, respondit regi Scotiæ, quod daret ei totam Northimbriam, exceptis castellis, pro memorata pecunia: sed rex Scotiæ noluit illam recipere sine castellis. April 19. The bishop of Durham surrenders the county of Northumberland. The king of Scots renews his claims.

Vicesima die mensis Aprilis fecit rex Angliæ segregari ab aliis ditiores, qui capti fuerant in castellis de Notingham, et de Tikehil, et aliis castellis comitis Johannis, et poni in carceribus ad redimendum: cæteros autem abire permisit per plegios veniendi ad vocationem suam, et standi judicio curiæ; et unusquisque illorum invenit plegios de centum marcis, si ipse non rediret in curiam regis. April 20. Disposal of the prisoners taken at Tickhill and Nottingham

[1] *frater*] regis, ins. Savile, from D. | [2] *Montis*] om. D. I.

A.D. 1194. April 21. Richard refuses to give any castles to the king of Scots.

Vicesima prima die mensis Aprilis, Willelmus rex Scottorum iterum tentabat si ipse modo quolibet obtinere posset comitatum Northimbriæ cum castellis: sed non erat de consilio regis Angliæ ut ipse ei aliqua castella traderet, sed tamen dedit ei spem habendi ea in futuro, post reditum suum de Normannia.

April 22. The king of Scots goes home.

Vicesima secunda die mensis Aprilis, feria sexta, Willelmus rex Scotiæ recessit a curia regis Angliæ, versus patriam suam rediturus, dolens et confusus propter repulsam ei factam.

Richard goes to Waltham.

Eodem die rex Angliæ recessit a Wintonia versus mare ad transfretandum, propter sinistros rumores quos audierat de Normannis, et jacuit apud Waltham.

April 23. He refuses to arbitrate between the two archbishops; and restores to Geoffrey his lands in Anjou.

Vicesima tertia die mensis Aprilis rex Angliæ fecit moram apud Walteham, et Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus venit illuc ad regem, et crucem suam ante se portare fecit. Unde Hubertus Walteri, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, plurimum conquestus est regi: sed rex respondit, quod hoc non pertinebat ad eum, immo ad dominum papam.

Eodem die reddidit rex Gaufrido Eboracensi archiepiscopo Baugi et Langis in Andegavia, et carta sua confirmavit.

Pax facta inter Gaufridum Eboracensem archiepiscopum et Willelmum Eliensem episcopum, regis cancellarium.

April 24. Reconciliation of the archbishop of York with the bishop of Ely.

Vicesima quarta die mensis Aprilis, dominus rex fecit pacem et finalem concordiam inter Gaufridum Eboracensem archiepiscopum et Willelmum Eliensem episcopum, cancellarium suum, de omnibus controversiis quæ inter illos erant, tam de captione Eboracensis archiepiscopi apud Doroberniam, quam de abjectione cancellarii ab Anglia; ita quod prædictus Eliensis episcopus, ad summonitionem Eboracensis archiepiscopi, jurabit cum centesima manu sacerdotum, quod ipse nec præ-

cepit nec voluit ut idem Eboracensis archiepiscopus caperetur. Et post concordiam illam, eodem die recessit rex de Waltham, et perrexit ad Portesmue ad transfretandum, et Alienor regina mater ejus cum eo. A.D. 1194. April 24. Richard goes to Portsmouth, and stays there from the 25th to the 27th.

[1] Vicesima quinta, et vicesima sexta, et vicesima septima die mensis Aprilis, fecit rex moram apud Portesmue.

Vicesima octava die mensis Aprilis recessit rex a Portesmue, et perrexit usque Stanstede causa venandi. Quo abeunte, Walenses et Braibanceni[2] hostiliter congressi sunt, et mutuo se interfecerunt. April 28. He goes to Stansted.

Vicesima nona die mensis Aprilis rediit rex ad Portesmue,[3] ad extinguendam malitiam Walensium et Braibancenorum: et factum est ita. April 29. Portsmouth.

Tricesima die mensis Aprilis, et prima die mensis Maii, festo apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi, fecit rex ibidem moram, et videbatur ei nimis tædiosa. April 30 and May 1. Portsmouth.

Secunda die mensis Maii rex, tædio affectus, fecit totam classem suam carcari hominibus et equis et armis, feria secunda: et contra consilium nautarum suorum intravit quandam navem suam longam, sperans transfretare navigando; et quamvis ventus esset ei contrarius noluit reverti. Cæteræ autem naves remanserunt in portu; rex vero, et qui cum eo erant, jactabantur fluctibus. Erat enim tempestas valida, et erat cor eorum pavens. May 2. The king attempts to set sail.

Et in crastino sequenti rediit rex in insulam Vectæ, deinde ad Portesmue. Et facta ibi et in provincia illa octo dierum mora, nono die, feria quinta, festo Sanctorum Nerei et Achillei atque Pancratii martyrum, iterum naves intravit ipse, cum exercitu suo, et transfretavit in Normanniam, et applicuit apud Barbeflet cum centum magnis navibus onustis viris bellicosis, et equis et armis; et statim properavit Vernolium ire, quod rex May 3. He returns to Portsmouth. May 12. He sails to Barfleur.

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[1] MS. D. omits all from this point to *fecerat*, p. 252, line 4.

[2] *Braibanceni*] Braibaceni, B.; Brabaceni, I.

[3] *ad Portesmue*] om. I.; a Portesmue, Savile, from B.

A.D. 1194. May 28. The king of France deserts the siege of Verneuil.

Franciæ obsederat. Cujus adventu audito, rex Franciæ ab obsidione Vernolii recessit, in vigilia Pentecosten, nesciente exercitu suo, postquam ipse ibidem moram octodecim dierum in obsidione fecerat.

Concordia facta inter Ricardum regem et Johannem fratrem regis.

Reconciliation of Richard and John.

Interim Johannes frater regis, comes Moretonii, rediit ad regem fratrem suum; et mediante Alienor regina matre eorum, facti sunt amici rex et ille; sed rex nullum castellum neque terram aliquam ei reddere voluit. Exercitus vero regis Franciæ, quem ipse dimiserat in obsidione Vernolii, cum vidisset quod rex suus abierat, secutus est eum die Lunæ in hebdomada Pentecosten. Rex vero Angliæ impiger, et "torto Balearis verbere "fundæ" ocior, audito quod rex Franciæ obsedisset Vernolium, illuc festinanter advenit; et non invento ibi rege Franciæ, in ore gladii secutus est exercitum ejus fugientem. Deinde properavit rex Angliæ ad Vernolium, et partes debiliores firmavit. Deinde properavit rex ad castrum Montis Mirabilis, quod Andegavenses et Cenomannenses obsederant; sed priusquam ipse illuc veniret, ceperunt illud, et funditus diruerunt. Deinde rex Angliæ cum festinatione properavit ad castrum de Luches, transitum faciens per castrum Toronum, ubi duo millia marcarum a burgensibus dono spontaneo recepit.

May 30. Richard pursues Philip from Verneuil.

Luc. Phars. i. 229.

Montmirail taken by the Angevins and Manceaux.

Richard goes by Tours to Loches.

De auxilio quod Navarenses fecerunt Ricardo regi.

Siege of Loches.

Milites vero Navarræ, et Braibanceni,[1] obsederunt castrum de Luches. Quorum dux et prævius extiterat Anfuns,[2] filius Sanctii regis Navarræ, frater Berengeræ

[1] *Braibanceni*] Braibaceni, B. I.

[2] *Anfuns*] Although here called Alfonso, the new king of Navarre really was Sancho VII,

reginæ Angliæ: sed ipse non perduxit eos usque Luches, quia antequam illuc veniret, nunciatum est ei quod pater suus rex Navarræ obiret; et hac de causa reversus est in regionem suam, et receptus est in regem ab hominibus regni.

A.D. 1194. June. Succours from Navarre.

Cumque rex Angliæ ad castrum de Luches veniret, invenit ibi prædictos Navarrenses et Braibancenos,[1] jam in vigiliis, et jejuniis, et laboribus multis, in captione illius castelli in vanum laborantes; et statim cum suis, et cæteris, qui aderant, die noctuque in eo insultum faciens, tandem cepit illud vi et armis, et cepit in eo quinque milites, et quatuor et viginti servientes, feria secunda post festum Sancti Barnabæ apostoli.

June 13. Richard takes Loches.

Interim consiliarii regis Franciæ ceperunt colloquium cum senescallo et constabulario et proceribus Normanniæ, ad Pontem Archæ. Ubi die statuto, cum Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, una cum prædicto senescallo [2] et constabulario [3] et proceribus, veniret ad locum colloquii, et ibi frustra cum illis adventum nunciorum regis Franciæ exspectaret, rex Franciæ cum exercitu non modico venit ad castellum modicum, quatuor milliaribus distans a Rothomago, nomine [4] Fontaines, et obsedit illud; et in obsidione illa per quatuor dies plus quam credi posset laborans, tandem cepit illud, et demolitus est. Interim comes Johannes, frater regis Angliæ, et Robertus comes Leircestriæ, et alii multi barones convenerant Rothomagum: sed quia non habebant cui principaliter tanquam domino regi adhærerent, et quia impares multitudine et viribus multum a rege Franciæ differebant, non præsumpserunt infestare regem Franciæ. Cum autem rex Franciæ destructo castello illo inde recederet, et versus Franciam remearet, incautum invenit comitem Leircestriæ, qui ad insidias

Proposed conference at Pont de l'Arche between the king of France and the Norman barons.

Philip takes Fontaines.

The Norman barons dare not attack Philip.

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[1] *Braibancenos*] Braibacenos, B.I.

[2] *senescallo*] William Fitz-Ranulf.

[3] *constabulario*] William du Hommet.

[4] *nomine*] om. B. D. I.

A.D. 1194. June 15. The Earl of Leicester captured.

ei parandas de nocte Rothomagum exierat, et usque in terram Hugonis de Garnagio[1] ad deprædandam eam, evagationem fecerat inconsultam, et sic a rege Franciæ cum paucis suorum detentus est.[2]

June 17. Conference at Vaudreuil.

Deinde ex communi assensu utriusque regis, Willelmus Remensis archiepiscopus, et comes de Neverz, et comes de Bar,[3] et magister Anselmus decanus Turonensis, et alii multi ex parte regis Franciæ; et Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, et senescallus Normanniæ, et constabularius, et alii multi ex parte regis Angliæ, convenerunt prope vallem Rodolei, sexta feria post festum Sancti Barnabæ apostoli, de treugis inter prædictos reges ad invicem firmandis tractatum habituri. Post longam itaque deliberationem inter eos habitam, in hoc tandem convenit: quod treugæ, quæ usque ad finem triennii ex parte regis Franciæ requirebantur, tantum per unum annum essent duraturæ; ita quod rex Angliæ teneret, in nullo obnoxius regi Franciæ, omnes terras quas habet in manu propria: et rex Franciæ similiter oppida, quæ occupavit vel tenet, pacifice teneret: et interim liceret utrique illorum munire et roborare omnes munitiones quas integras et infractas retinuisset, cæteras vero dirutas reædificare interim non liceret eorum alicui. Si quis vero alius, præterquam in castris reædificandis, domos vastatas vel combustas ædificare affectaret, licite posset vel in ædificiis, vel in colligendis segetibus vel aliis fructibus, sibi pacifice providere.

Terms of truce agreed on.

Fortifications that have been destroyed are not to be rebuilt.

Goods of churchmen to be restored.

Cæterum vero compromissum fuit, quod omnes ecclesiæ, et ecclesiasticæ personæ, quæ suis bonis vel redditibus per violentiam hujus guerræ privatæ fuerant, in omni loco terrarum utriusque regis, restituerentur

[1] *Garnagio*] Gurnai, B. D.

[2] *detentus est*] The earl of Leicester was taken prisoner June 15. Rigord, 195.

[3] *comes de Bar*] Miles de Puiset, count of Bar-sur-Seine, 1189–1218.

in integrum. Sed quia rex Franciæ volebat quod omnes illi qui ei adhæserant, vel regi Angliæ, clauderentur in treugis istis, ita quod a neutro illorum molestarentur, vel quod etiam nemo conversorum in alterutrum hostiliter moveretur, impeditæ sunt treugæ; quia videlicet rex Angliæ violare nolebat consuetudines et leges Pictaviæ, vel aliarum terrarum suarum, in quibus consuetum erat ab antiquo, ut magnates causas proprias invicem gladiis[1] allegarent.

A.D. 1194. June 17. Richard refuses to compel the barons of Poictou to peace.

Et sic imperfecto negotio ab invicem separati sunt omnes qui colloquium illud ceperant, et ex illo die prædicti reges inimiciores facti sunt, et acrius inter se alter adversus alterum congressus est, in rapinis et iniquis combustionibus. Rex quidem Franciæ venit ad civitatem Ebroicarum, et eam penitus subvertit, et ecclesias destruxit, non parcens ætati vel sexui: et reliquias sanctorum inde asportavit. Hæc autem fecit eo quod cives Ebroicenses, relicto eo, reversi fuerant ad fidem et servitium domini sui regis Angliæ.

The conference fails, and the war is renewed.

Philip destroys Evreux.

Cum autem rex Franciæ, destructa civitate Ebroicensi, inde recederet, et ad villam quæ dicitur Freteval veniret, rex Angliæ ad insidias ei parandas venit Vendomiam. Et quia locus ille non erat clausus muro, nec ad defendendum aptus, fecit rex tendere extra villam tentoria sua; et in eis, ita securus ac si esset clausus muro, exspectabat mandatum regis Franciæ, qui mandavit ei quod die illo visitaret illum in manu hostili. Cujus mandatum rex Angliæ lætus suscipiens, renunciavit illi quod ipse exspectaret eum; et nisi venisset, ipse visitaret eum in crastino mane. Quod cum rex Franciæ audisset, non visitavit regem Angliæ illo die.[2] Mane autem facto rex Angliæ fecit exercitum suum armari, et processit, ut cum exercitu regis Franciæ congrederetur. Quo audito, rex Franciæ

July. Richard comes to Vendome: Philip to Freteval.

Messages between the two.

Richard prepares to fight.

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[1] *gladiis*] gladii, I.

[2] *illo die*] Thirty-seven days after Pentecost, July 4. R. de Dic., 674.

A.D. 1194. July. Philip flies and loses his treasure.

et exercitus ejus fugit ante faciem regis Angliæ[1] subsequentis. In fuga autem illa multi de exercitu regis Franciæ interfecti sunt, et multi capti. Captus est etiam regis Franciæ thesaurus magnus, et capella regia, et cartæ universorum hominum regis Angliæ, qui se dederant regi Franciæ, et comiti Johanni, contra eum.

Narrow escape of Philip.

In fuga vero illa rex Franciæ declinavit se a turba, et intravit quandam ecclesiam, ut Missam audiret, longe a recta via. Rex vero Angliæ, nesciens quod rex Franciæ se absconderet, ibat adhuc spirans minarum et cædis in homines regis Franciæ, et quærebat eum, ut morti traderet, vel vivum caperet; et dictum est ei a quodam Flandrensi, quod rex Franciæ jam longe processerat: et ita rex Angliæ deceptus processit in equo velocissimo modicum ultra fines Franciæ et Normanniæ; et deficiente ei equo illo, Marcades princeps Braibancenorum tradidit illi alium equum: et sic rex Angliæ, non invento rege Franciæ, rediit Vendomiam, cum præda magna hominum et equorum, et pecunia magna.

Richard reduces Poictou.

Deinde perrexit rex in Pictaviam, ad debellandum Gaufridum de Rancune, et vicecomitem[2] de Engolismo, qui dederant se regi Franciæ et comiti Johanni contra eum; et ipse expugnavit eos. Unde et ipse in hac forma scripsit Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo;

Epistola Ricardi regis Angliæ ad Hubertum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum de castellis captis.

July 22. Letter to the archbishop of Canterbury.

"Ricardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, et dux Normanniæ et
"Aquitanniæ, et[3] comes Andegaviæ, venerabili in Christo patri
"Huberto, eadem gratia Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, totius
"Angliæ primati, salutem.

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[1] *regis Angliæ*] om. I.; ejus, D.

[2] *vicecomitem*] Probably a mistake for *comitem*, as would appear from the letter that follows; or possibly it may refer to the viscount of *Limoges*.

[3] *et*] om. B. D. G. I.

"Sciatis quod nos, Dei gratia, Qui in omnibus rectum con-
"siderat, Tailburgum,[1] et Marciliacum,[2] et omnia castella, et
"totam terram Gaufridi de Rancona cepimus; et civitatem
"Engolismi, et Castellum Novum, et Muntiniacum, et La
"Chese, et omnia alia castella, et totam terram comitis En-
"golismi, cum omni integritate cepimus; civitatem autem
"Engolismi et Burgum in una vesperata cepimus; in terris
"vero, quas in partibus illis cepimus, bene usque[3] ad tre-
"centos milites, et quadraginta millia armatorum cepimus.
"Teste meipso apud Engolismum, vicesimo secundo die Julii."

A.D. 1194. July 22. The king has taken the castles of Geoffrey of Rancon and the count of Angoulême.

Interim familiares regis Franciæ, et familiares regis Angliæ, ex consensu utriusque regis, convenerunt inter Vernolium et Tileres ad colloquium, ad tractandum de treugis inter illos; et convenit inter eos, sicut inferius notatum est;

A truce between the kings agreed on.

Litteræ Drogonis de Merloto, et Anselmi Turonis decani, de treugis factis inter reges Franciæ et Angliæ.

"Drogo de Merloto constabularius Franciæ, et Anselmus
"beati Martini Turonis decanus, et Ursio domini regis
"Franciæ camerarius, omnibus ad quos litteræ præsentes per-
"venerint, salutem. Noveritis, quod nos de mandato domini
"nostri Philippi regis Franciæ juravimus, et fidem manu
"legati dedimus, quod dominus noster rex Franciæ treugas,
"sicut inferius scriptæ sunt, et conventiones treugarum
"observabit. Treugæ autem in hunc modum datæ sunt.
"Dominus noster rex Franciæ, intuitu Dei, ad preces cardi-
"nalis[4] et abbatis Cisterciensis, concedit regi Angliæ et suis
"treugas: et concedit, quod firmare possit, si firmare volu-
"erit, Novum Burgum, et Driencurt, et Concas, et Britol-
"lium. Aliæ munitiones, quæ dirutæ sunt per guerram per
"regem Franciæ, aut per suos, non firmabuntur in his
"treugis, nisi eas contigerit firmari per pacem quæ fiet
"inter regem Franciæ et regem Angliæ. Rex Franciæ et
"sui erunt de omnibus in ea teneatura, in qua erant die qua
"treugæ datæ fuerunt. De valle Rodoli in hunc modum
"erit; rex Franciæ tenens erit de valle Rodoli, sicut erat
"prius: scilicet, de ipso Rodoleo et de ipsa tota villa cum

July 23. Dreux de Merlo and dean Anselm declare the conclusion of a truce.

Richard is to fortify four places.

Philip is to hold Vaudreuil.

[1] *Tailburgum*] Taleburgum, B.; Calleburgum, D.; Talleburgum, I.

[2] *Marciliacum*] Marceliacum, D. I.

[3] *usque*] om. B. D. I.

[4] *cardinalis*] Melior, cardinal priest of S. John and S. Paul: see above, p. 228. The abbot of Cîteaux was Guy Paré.

A.D. 1194. July 23. Frontier drawn.

"ecclesiis: et de Lovers, et de Aquigeniaco,[1] et de Laire, et "de aliis usque ad Hayam Malherbe, et usque ad pontem "Archiæ. De Haya vero Malherbe, et de ultra, et de ponte "Archiæ, et de ultra, erit tenens rex Angliæ.

The kings may do what they please with fortresses in their hands on the day of the truce.

"De omnibus fortellescis,[2] et de quibus rex Franciæ est "saisitus die treugarum, sic erit: quod rex Franciæ eas "infra treugas poterit infortiare, vel diruere, vel comburere "si voluerit, et de tota terra, quam tenet, voluntatem suam "facere. Et rex Angliæ similiter illas fortellesces,[3] de quibus "est tenens die treugarum, poterit infortiare, vel diruere, "vel comburere: sed rex Angliæ de dirutis fortellescis per "regem Franciæ aut per suos nullam poterit firmare, nisi "illas quatuor quæ superius dictæ sunt. Præterea rex Franciæ "ponit in treuga sua omnes illos, qui melius erant homines "sui ante guerram, quam regis Angliæ. Præterea illos, qui

Persons and places to be included in the truce.

"fuerunt homines regis Angliæ, quos infra nominabimus:[4] "videlicet, Archas et Driencurt, sicut inde est tenens ipse "et suæ gentes; comitatum Augi,[5] sicut inde est tenens "ipse et gentes suæ: Mortuum Mare et terram, unde Wil-"lelmus de Cahou[6] est tenens: terram comitis Boloniæ,[7] de "qua erat tenens die qua treugæ datæ fuerunt: Hugonem "de Gornaco,[8] et Albamarle,[9] et officium de Bauvair[10] et "terram suam, sicut inde est tenens: Novum Mercatum et "terram, sicut Willelmus de Garlande et sui inde sunt "tenentes: Gysortium, et Vogesin Normanniæ, sicut rex "Franciæ et sui inde sunt tenentes: Vernonem et Gallonem, "et terram, sicut rex Franciæ et sui sunt tenentes: Pascia-"cum et terram, sicut rex et sui sunt tenentes: Ileres et "terram, sicut rex et sui inde sunt tenentes: Marceliacum "et terram, sicut rex et sui inde sunt tenentes: Loiam et "terram, sicut rex et sui inde sunt tenentes: Nonancurt et "terram, sicut rex et comes Robertus[11] et sui sunt tenentes: "Thiellerias,[12] et terram, sicut rex et Gervasius et sui sunt

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[1] *Aquigeniaco*] Aquigeñ, B. I.; Aquineḡ, A. The names are omitted in D.

[2] *fortellescis*] fortelescis, B. I.

[3] *fortellesces*] fortelesces, B. I.

[4] *nominabimus*] nominavimus, B. I.

[5] *comitatum Augi*] Ralph II., of Issoudun, count of Eu by marriage.

[6] *Willelmus de Cahou*] William of Kaeu or Cayeux.

[7] *comitis Boloniæ*] Reginald of Dammartin, husband of the countess Ida.

[8] *Gornaco*] Gurnaco, I.

[9] *Albamarle*] Albemarle, I.

[10] *officium de Bauvair*] Bauveu, B.; Bauvew, I. The administration of that part of the forest of Lions in which the castle of Beauvoir was; see Stapleton, *Norman Rolls*, i. cxiv.

[11] *comes Robertus*] of Dreux.

[12] *Thiellerias*] Thillers, B.; Tillers, I.

"tenentes: Nevelonem et suos homines, et Fractam Vallem "et terram suam, sicut inde sunt tenentes. Comitem Bruciæ[1] "et homines suos, et terram suam, si quam habet, unde sit "tenens: comitem Engolismi[2] et homines suos, et terram "suam et feodum suum, sicut inde est tenens: Johannem "de Ruvereio,[3] et Baldewinum de Aquinni, et comitem Mel- "lenti et terram suam, sicut inde est tenens: et tam præ- "dictas terras, quam homines qui in eis sunt. Et treugæ "durabunt ab instanti festo Omnium Sanctorum in unum "annum. Ideo autem rex Franciæ omnes prædictos nomi- "navit, quia vult quod rex Angliæ illos magnos homines, "quos voluerit in treugam esse, nominet infra quindenam "supradictæ treugæ; quoniam si post quindenam a die supra- "dictæ treugæ vellet nominare, rex Franciæ illos non reci- "peret; et si se cognoverint coadjutores regis Angliæ, in "treuga erunt. Minuti[4] autem coadjutores in facta treuga "erunt utrinque.

A.D. 1194. July 23. Places and persons to be included in the truce on the side of the king of France.

"Rex autem Franciæ duos elegit dictatores, et rex Angliæ "similiter duos: quorum arbitrio, vel majoris partis, si alter "regum adversus alterum, vel aliquis hominum suorum inter "se interciperet, emendatio hinc inde fieret infra quadraginta "dies. Isti autem dictatores jurabunt super sancta Evangelia, "quod nec amore, nec odio, nec timore, nec pretio omittent, "quin bona fide arbitrentur. Si autem contigerit intercep- "tionem fieri ultra Ligerim versus Bituricam, dictatores "convenient inter Exodunum et castellum Radulfi, propter "emendationem faciendam. Arbitri de terra, in qua inter- "ceptio facta fuerit, summonebunt alios dictatores; et ipsi "bona fide audita summonitione, convenient per convenientes "dietas ad alterutrum locorum dictorum; et si interceptio "fieret citra Ligerim versus Normanniam, dictatores con- "venient inter Vernolium et Tielerias propter emendationem "faciendam. Si autem contentio esset inter dictatores, le- "gatus, magister Melior, bona fide sub periculo animæ suæ "inde veritatem inquireret, et super illum qui intercep- "tionem et delictum emendare non vellet, omni appellatione "remota, excommunicationis sententiam promulgaret, et terram "suam interdicto subponeret. Si autem malefactor esset de "terra regis Franciæ, rex Franciæ juvaret bona fide ad hoc

Arbitrators chosen, and provisions made concerning them.

If there is a division of opinion amongthem, cardinal Melior is to decide.

[1] *comitem Bruciæ*] Apparently Bernard III., viscount of Brosse.

[2] *comitem Engolismi*] Aimar, count of Angoulême, in opposition to Hugh of Lusignan, who had married the heiress Matilda.

[3] *Ruvereio*] Auvereio, I.

[4] *minuti autem*] Muniti, B.; autem, om. B. I.

A.D. 1194. July 23. The cardinal shall have power to enforce obedience by interdict.

" emendandum sine suo mittendo: et rex Angliæ similiter " faceret de suis hominibus bona fide. Si rex Franciæ contra " regem Angliæ, aut rex Angliæ contra regem Franciæ inter- " ciperet, cardinalis terram interdiceret intercipientis, si in- " terceptionem nollet emendare ad arbitrium dictatorum, vel " majoris partis. Ricardus rex Angliæ et sui erunt in ea " teneatura, citra[1] Ligerim versus Normanniam, in qua erant " die qua treugæ captæ fuerunt; et ultra Ligerim erunt in " ea teneatura, in qua erant die qua ipse et sui poterunt " scire per legales dietas treugas esse datas. Et rex Angliæ " mittit omnes illos in treuga sua, qui melius erant homines " sui quam regis Franciæ ante treugam. De prisonis ita erit " utrobique, quod illi prisones quos rex Franciæ habet, osti- " gabuntur per securitatem quam obtulerint, si prædicto regi " placuerit; si autem non placet, dictatores sui sub adjuratione " sacramenti sui dicent quæ securitas facienda esset ad hoc, " quod rex Franciæ securus esset, quod priso reveniret in " prisonam regis Franciæ quindecim diebus ante terminum, " si vivus esset priso: et de prisonibus regis Angliæ erit " similiter per suos dictatores. Hæc autem omnia bona fide " servanda ambo reges[2] jurabunt et affidabunt in manu cardi- " nalis, et litteras suas patentes inde facient de treugis et " conventionibus prædictis servandis. Nobiscum autem treugas " juravit et affidavit ex parte regis Franciæ Gervasius de " Castello tenendas: jurabunt etiam illi quos rex Angliæ " requiret, tam clerici quam laici, arbitrio dictatorum. Ad " hoc sciatis, quod nos, qui juravimus hanc treugarum con- " ventionem, super hoc habuimus regis Franciæ litteras pa- " tentes de ratihabitione: videlicet, quod quicquid de treugis " servandis ordinaremus, ratum haberet et firmum. Et nos, " ut omnia prædicta firma sint et stabilia, universa prædicta " sigillis nostris roboravimus. Actum inter Vernolium et " Thileres,[3] anno Incarnati Verbi millesimo centesimo nona- " gesimo quarto, vicesima tertia die Julii."

Arrangement about prisoners.

Oaths to be taken by both kings.

Hugh Bardulf requires the bishop of Durham to resign Northumberland.

Post transfretationem autem regis, cum Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus domum rediret, Hugo Bardulfus[4] petiit ab eo comitatum Northimbriæ, et Novum Castellum supra Tinam,[5] et castellum de Bamburc, sicut

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[1] *citra*] contra, B. I.

[2] *reges*] servabunt, ins. I.

[3] *Thileres*] Tilers, B. I. The document is much abridged in D.; and G. transfers the day and month to the beginning of the following paragraph.

[4] *Bardulfus*] Bardolphus, D.; Bardolfus, I.

[5] *Tinam*] Thinam, I.

idem episcopus promiserat regi, se traditurum. Sed episcopus id facere distulit, quia nuncius suus, per quem ipse obtulerat regi duo millia marcarum argenti pro comitatu illo cum supradictis castellis sibi retinendo, nondum redierat. Qui cum rediret, attulit secum litteras regis, per quas rex mandavit Hugoni Bardulfi, quod, si prædictus Dunelmensis episcopus fecisset eum securum de illis duabus millibus marcis reddendis, traderet prædicto episcopo prænominatum comitatum cum castellis. Cum igitur litteræ regis traderentur Hugoni Bardulfi, respondit ipse Hugo episcopo Dunelmensi, dicens: "Si vultis ut ego præceptum regis faciam, "tradite mihi castella et comitatum,[1] et ego retradam "ea vobis, sicut rex præcepit; si feceritis me securum "de illis duabus millibus marcis habendis ad opus "regis." Cui episcopus Dunelmensis respondit: "Non "est opus ut ego vobis ea tradam ad retradendum "mihi, quia ego habeo illa et teneo." His auditis, Hugo Bardulfus statim mandavit domino regi responsum episcopi; unde rex iratus præcepit episcopum Dunelmensem dissaisiari de castellis et de comitatu supradictis, et ut duo millia marcarum ab eo exigerentur; præcepit etiam rex in furore iræ suæ, ut ipse Dunelmensis episcopus dissaisiaretur de manerio de Sadberhe,[2] cum feodis militum et wapentacco, quæ idem rex beato Cutberto, et ecclesiæ Dunelmensi, et præfato episcopo et successoribus ejus dederat in puram et perpetuam eleemosynam, et carta sua confirmaverat, sicut superius notatum est: et factum est ita.

A.D. 1194. July.

The bishop has offered 2000 marks to have the grant continued, and declines to surrender the county.

Hugh Bardulf, by the king's order, seizes the county and demands 2000 marks and the manor of Sadberge.

Interim conquerentibus canonicis Eboracensis ecclesiæ Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, regis justitiario, de injuriis quas Eboracensis archiepiscopus eis faciebat; Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, auctoritate regia, qua fungebatur, misit Eboracum comitem Rogerum Bigot, et Willelmum de Gwarenna, et Willelmum de Stutevilla, et Hugonem

The archbishop of Canterbury sends a commission of judges to York.

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[1] *et comitatum*] om. B. D. I. | [2] *Sadberhe*] Sandberhe, B. D. I.

A.D. 1194. July or August. Judges sent to York to settle the quarrel between Geoffrey and the canons.

Bardulfum, et Willelmum Briwere,[1] et Gaufridum Haget,[2] et Willelmum filium Ricardi clericum, ad audiendam controversiam inter archiepiscopum Eboracensem et canonicos suos, et, secundum quod jus dictaverit, terminandam. Qui cum venirent, et audirent appellationem canonicorum, et responsa archiepiscopi et suorum, præceperunt homines archiepiscopi, qui calumniati fuerant de roberia, capi et incarcerari. Et quamvis archiepiscopus opera eorum warentizaret, non tamen potuit eos archiepiscopus plegiare. Deinde summonuerunt archiepiscopum ut veniret judicio pariturus, et quia noluit, dissaisiaverunt eum de omnibus maneriis suis, excepto uno solo manerio de Ripun, in quo archiepiscopus se receperat. Deinde fecerunt canonicos introduci in stallos suos, de quibus archiepiscopus eos dissaisierat. Et sic recedentes statuerunt Willelmum de Stutevilla et Gaufridum Haget custodes in Eboracensi siria[3] super archiepiscopum, et super vicecomitatum suum.

They summon archbishop Geoffrey, and seize his lands.

William Stuteville and Geoffrey Haget, keepers of the county.

September. Itinerant judges sent through the country.

Paulo post, in mense Septembris, missi sunt ex parte regis per singulos comitatus Angliæ justitiæ errantes, et secundum subscriptorum formam capitulorum processerunt in justitiis exsequendis;

Forma qualiter procedendum est in placitis coronæ regis.

Way of electing the jury for the hundred or wapentake.

"In primis eligendi sunt quatuor milites de toto comitatu, "qui per sacramentum suum eligant duos legales milites de "quolibet hundredo vel wapentacco, et illi duo eligant, super "sacramentum suum, decem milites de singulis hundredis vel "wapentackis, vel, si milites defuerint, legales et liberos "homines, ita quod illi xii. in simul respondeant de omnibus "capitulis de toto hundredo vel wapentacco."

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[1] *Briwere*] Bruere, B. I. The names are omitted in D.

[2] *Haget*] om. I.

[3] *siria*] syria, I.; syra, B.

Capitula placitorum coronæ regis.

A.D, 1194. September.

"(I.) De placitis coronæ novis et veteribus, et omnibus " quæ nondum sunt finita coram justitiariis domini regis. Questions to be entertained by the itinerant judges.

"(II.) Item de omnibus recognitionibus, et omnibus placitis, " quæ summonita sunt coram justitiariis per breve regis, vel " capitalis justitiæ, vel a capitali curia regis coram eis missa.

"(III.) Item de eschaetis, quæ sint, et quæ fuerint post- " quam rex arripuit iter versus Jerusalem, et quæ fuerunt " tunc in manu regis, et utrum sint modo in manu ejus, " vel non, et de omnibus eschaetis domini regis, si a manu " sua sint remotæ, quomodo, et per quem, et in cujus manus " devenerint, et qualiter, et quis exitus inde[1] habuerit, et " quos, et quid valuerint, et quid modo valeant; et si aliqua " exchaeta sit, quæ ad dominum regem pertineat, quæ in manu " ejus non sit. Escheats.

"(IV.) Item de ecclesiis quæ sunt de donatione domini " regis. Churches.

"(V.) Item de custodiis puerorum quæ ad dominum regem " pertinent. Wardships.

"(VI.) Item de maritagiis puellarum vel viduarum, quæ ad " dominum regem pertinent. Marriages.

"(VII.) Item de malefactoribus, et eorum receptoribus, et " eis consentientibus. Malefactors.

"(VIII.) Item de falsonariis. Forgers.

"(IX.) Item de interfectoribus Judæorum, qui sint; et de " vadiis Judæorum interfectorum, et catallis, et terris, et de- " bitis, et cartis, et quis ea habuerit, et quis quantum eis " debuerit, et quæ vadia habuerint, et quis ea teneat, et quan- " tum valeant, et quis exitus inde habuerit, et quos; et omnia " vadia et debita Judæorum interfectorum capiantur in manu " regis; et qui ad occisionem Judæorum fuerunt, et non fece- " runt finem cum domino rege vel justitiis suis, capiantur, " et non deliberentur nisi per dominum regem vel justitiarios " suos. Murderers of Jews.

"(X.) Item de omnibus auxiliis datis ad redemptionem do- " mini regis, quis quantum promiserit, et quantum reddiderit, " et quantum a retro sit. Aids for the king's ransom.

"(XI.) Item de fautoribus comitis Johannis, qui finem cum " domino rege fecerunt, et qui non. Favourers of John.

"(XII.) Item de catallis comitis Johannis, vel fautorum " ejus, quæ ad usum domini regis non sunt conversa, et quan- Chattels of John.

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[1] *inde*] om. B. D. I.

A.D. 1194. September. "tum vicecomites receperunt, vel ballivi sui, et quis aliquid "contra antiquas consuetudines regni dederit.

John's possessions. "(XIII.) Item de omnibus terris comitis Johannis, de dominicis et wardis et exchaetis, et de donis suis, et qua de "causa data sunt ei illa dona; et omnia dona comitis Johannis "capiantur in manu domini regis, præterquam illa quæ per "regem confirmata sunt.

His debts. "(XIV.) Item de debitis et finibus quæ debentur comiti "Johanni, et qua de causa; et omnia exigantur ad opus domini regis.

Usurers. "(XV.) Item de fœneratoribus, et eorum catallis, qui mortui "sunt.

Wines. "(XVI.) Item de vinis venditis contra assisam, et de falsis "mensuris tam vini quam aliarum rerum.

Crusaders dead. "(XVII.) Item de cruciatis mortuis ante iter suum arreptum "versus Jerusalem, et quis eorum catalla habuerit, et quæ, "et quanta.

Great assize. "(XVIII.) Item de magnis assisis, quæ sunt de centum "solidatis terræ, et infra.

"(XIX.) Item de defaltis.

Coroners. "(XX.) Præterea in quolibet comitatu eligantur tres milites "et unus clericus custodes placitorum coronæ.

Sheriff not to be a justice in his county. "(XXI.) Et nullus vicecomes sit justitiarius in vicecomitatu[1] "suo, nec in comitatu quam tenuerit post primam coronationem "domini regis.

Talliage to be levied. "(XXII.) Præterea tailleantur omnes civitates, et burgi, et "dominica domini regis.

(XXIII.) *De maneriis regis instaurandis.*

Provision for restocking the king's demesne lands. "(1.) Justitiarii vero nominati una cum baillivis Willelmi "de Sanctæ Mariæ Ecclesia, et Gaufridi filii Petri, et Willelmi "de Chimelli, et Willelmi Bruere, et Hugonis Bardulfi,[2] et "vicecomitum locorum, summoneri faciant milites in comitatu in rotulo nominatos; ut ad diem et locum, quem eis scire "facient, veniant, et coram eis jurare faciant illos, quod legale posse suum ponent ad wardas et exchaetas domini "regis instaurandas, et adpretiandas ad commodum domini "regis, nec alicujus odio, favore, vel gratia illud omittent; "et quod prædicti milites nominati super sacramentum suum "eligent duodecim legales milites, vel liberos et legales homines, si milites ad hoc inventi non fuerint, per diversas partes

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[1] *vicecomitatu*] comitatu, D. I.

[2] *Bardulfi*] Bardolfi, B. I. The names are omitted in D., which reads after the first "et aliorum magnatum."

" singulorum comitatuum in itinere prædictorum justitiarum, " sicut expedire viderint; qui similiter jurent, quod ad wardas " et excaetas de partibus illis instaurandas et appretiandas " et affirmandas suum legale posse, et consilium, et auxilium " apponent ad commodum regis, ut prædictum est; et prædicti " jurati supra sacramentum suum eligent de liberioribus ho-" minibus excaetarum et wardarum quot et quales noverint " esse sibi necessarios, ad prædicta domini regis negotia, " sicut melius fieri potest ad commodum domini regis exse-" quenda. (2.) Et sciendum est, quod prædictæ wardæ et " exchaetæ instaurabuntur de exitibus ex eis provenientibus, " usque ad festum Michaelis; et etiam de exitibus ejusdem " termini. Et si hæc non sufficiunt, supplebitur deficiens de " toloneo[1] domini regis, ita quod illi qui tenebunt wardas et " exchaetas illas ad firmam, respondebunt inde a festo Sancti " Michaelis et deinceps tanquam de stauratis. (3.) Dominus " autem rex illis, qui wardas illas et excaetas ad firmam " tenebunt, eas usque ad terminum suum de anno in annum " warentizabit; ita quod licet dominus rex aliquam illarum " alicui dedisset, firmarius firmam suam tenebit usque ad " finem anni, per firmam ei reddendam, cui rex eam dederit, " quam dominus rex inde perceperit. Justitia vero excaetæ, " quam dederit, remaneat domino regi, nisi dominus rex illud " nominatim dederit. (4.) Firmarius etiam, cum firmam suam " dimiserit, instauramentum suum, et omnia sua quæ in fir-" mis posuerit ultra instauramentum regis, libere et sine dimi-" nutione habebit, et inde habebunt litteras domini archiepi-" scopi patentes, continentes tenorem cartæ domini regis super " hoc factæ. (5.) Inquiretur etiam diligentissime quantus sit " assisus redditus per singula maneria in demenio, et quantum " valeant omnia alia in prædictis maneriis assisa, et quot sunt " carucæ, et quantum singulæ valeant, non æstimantes eas ad " pretium viginti solidorum tantum; sed secundum quod terra " fuerit vel bona vel mala, crescat vel decrescat pretium. " Illi vero qui firmas suscipient,[2] firmas suas instaurabunt, ut " prædictum est, secundum pretium supradictum de exitibus " excaetarum et wardarum. (6.) Inquiratur etiam de quot " bobus et averis singulæ carucæ valeant instaurari, et quot " et quantum instauramentum singula maneria possint sus-" tinere. Et tunc aperte et distincte in scriptum redigantur. " (7.) Erit autem pretium bovis quatuor solidi, et vaccæ simi-" liter, et averi similiter, et ovis crispæ decem denarii, et

A.D. 1194. September. Inquest to be made by jury into the king's rights.

Lands in ward and escheat to be re-stocked.

Fermers to hold their wardships and escheats to the end of the term;

and then to render account of stock.

Assized rents.

Cows and horses.

Values regulated.

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[1] *toloneo*] tolneto, D.; theloneo, B.; teloneo, I.

[2] *suscipient*] suscipiant, D. I.

A.D. 1194. September.

" ovis lanæ grossioris sex denarii, et suis duodecim denarii, " et verris duodecim denarii; et cum firmarii firmas suas " dimiserint de prædicto pretio respondebunt, vel de animali- " bus pacabilibus in optione firmariorum; et cum omnia præ- " dicta instaurata fuerint et appretiata, omnia imbrevientur " aperte et distincte, et deferantur ad scaccarium. (8.) Ex- " cipiuntur autem de hac assisa episcopatus et abbatiæ, et " terræ baronum qui proximi sunt ætati. (9.) Inquiratur " etiam per sacramentum prædictorum de omnibus wardis et " excaetis, quæ non sunt in manu domini regis, et capiantur " in manu domini regis, et de illis fiat, sicut de aliis excaetis " et wardis.

Exceptions from the assize.

Wards and escheats to be taken into the king's hands.

(XXIV.) *Capitula Judæorum.*

Possessions of the Jews to be registered.

" (1.) Omnia debita et vadia Judæorum imbrevientur, terræ, " domus, reddditus, et possessiones. Judæus vero qui aliquid " horum celaverit, sit in forisfactura domini regis de corpore " suo,[1] et concelamento, et de omnibus possessionibus suis, et " omnibus catallis suis,[2] nec unquam concelamentum Judæo " recuperare licebit. (2.) Item provideantur sex vel septem " loca in quibus facient præstita sua, et provideantur duo " legales Christiani, et duo legales Judæi, et duo legales scrip- " tores, et coram illis, et clerico Willelmi de Sanctæ Mariæ " Ecclesia, et Willelmi de Chimilli fiant præstita, et cartæ " præstitorum fiant in modum cirografi. Et altera pars rema- " neat Judæo, sigillata sigillo illius cui pecunia traditur; et " altera pars remaneat in arca communi, in qua sunt tres " serruræ,[3] unde duo Christiani habeant unam clavem, et duo " Judæi unam, et clericus Willelmi de Sanctæ Mariæ Ecclesia " et magistri Willelmi de Chimilli habeant[4] tertiam; et præ- " terea tria sigilla, et qui claves habuerint sigilla apponent; " clerici autem prædictorum Willelmi et Willelmi habeant " rotulum de transcriptis omnium cartarum, et sicut cartæ " mutabuntur, mutetur et rotulus: de singulis cartis dentur " tres denarii, medietas a Judæo, et medietas ab eo cui pe- " cunia creditur; unde duo scriptores habeant duos denarios, " et custos rotuli tertium. Et de cætero nullum fiet præstitum, " nulla Judæis fiet solutio, nulla fiet cartarum mutatio, nisi " coram prædictis vel majori parte, si omnes interesse nequi-

How the payments of the Jews are to be made, and the deeds kept.

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[1] *suo*] om. I. MS. D. omits these *capitula*, and all that follows down to p. 273.

[2] *suis*] om. I.

[3] *serruræ*] seruræ, I.

[4] *habeant*] habeat, B. I.

"verint. Et prædicti duo Christiani habeant unum rotulum "de recepta Judæorum solutionis eis de cætero faciendæ, et "duo Judæi unum, et custos rotuli unum. (3.) Item quilibet "Judæus jurabit super rotulum suum, quod omnia debita sua, "et vadia, et redditus, et omnes res, et possessiones suas "inbreviari faciet, et quod nihil celabit, ut prædictum est; "et si scire poterit quod aliquis aliquid celaverit, illud jus- "titiis ad eos missis secreto revelabit, et quod falsonarios "cartarum, et retonsores denariorum, ubi eos scient, detegent "et monstrabunt, et de falsis cartis similiter. A.D. 1194. September. The Jews are to swear to conceal nothing.

"(XXV.) Præterea inquisitio, quæ quærenda erat de prisis "et tenseriis omnium ballivorum domini regis, tam justiti- "arum quam vicecomitum, et constabulariorum et forestario- "rum, et eorum servientium, post coronationem domini regis "Ricardi primam, et quare prisæ illæ captæ fuerunt, et[1] per "quem, et de omnibus catallis, donis, et promissis factis oc- "casione saisinæ factæ de terris comitis Johannis, et fautorum "suorum, et quis ea receperit, et quæ, et quantum,—dilationem "cepit per mandatum Huberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, "tunc temporis capitalis justitiarii regis." The inquest into the exactions of the king's officers is postponed.

Interim Ricardus rex Angliæ, peractis negotiis suis in Pictavia pro voluntate sua, rediit in Andegaviam, et redemit omnes baillivos suos, id est, ad redemptionem coegit. Similiter fecit[2] in Cenomannia. Richard puts his officers in Anjou and Maine to ransom.

Deinde veniens in Normanniam moleste tulit quicquid factum fuerat de supradictis treugis, et imputans cancellario suo hoc per eum fuisse factum, abstulit ab eo sigillum suum, et fecit sibi novum sigillum fieri, et mandavit per singulas terras suas, quod nihil ratum foret, quod fuerat per vetus sigillum suum; tum quia cancellarius ille[3] operatus fuerat inde minus discrete quam esset necesse, tum quia sigillum illud perditum erat, quando Rogerus Malus Catulus, vicecancellarius suus, submersus erat in mari ante insulam de Cipro. Et præcepit rex, quod omnes, qui cartas habebant, venirent ad novum sigillum suum ad cartas suas renovandas. He annuls the truce and all the acts of the chancellor passed under the old seal, and requires charters to be confirmed by the new one.

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[1] *et*] om. I.
[2] *fecit*] om. B. I.
[3] *ille*] om. B. I.

A.D. 1194 August.

De torniamentis statutis in Anglia per Ricardum regem Angliæ.

Tournaments allowed in England, on purchase of licence.

Præterea rex statuit torniamenta fieri in Anglia, et carta sua confirmavit; ita quod quicunque torniare vellet, daret ei pecuniam secundum formam subscriptam :[1] videlicet, comes daret pro licentia torniandi xx. marcas argenti, et barones x. marcas argenti, et miles terram habens iiii. marcas argenti, et miles non habens terram ii. marcas argenti. Et præcepit rex ne aliquis miles accederet ad loca torniamentorum, nisi prius tradidisset ei memoratam pecuniam. Cartam autem hujus concessionis tradidit rex Willelmo comiti Salebiriensi custodiendam.[2] Sed et Hubertus Walteri, summus justitiarius regis, constituit Teodbaldum Walteri, fratrem suum, hujus pecuniæ collectorem.

The money to be collected by Theobald Walter.

Henricus Romanorum imperator iterum intravit Apuliam cum exercitu.

Roger, son of Tancred, king of Sicily, dies.

Eodem anno Rogerus, filius Tankredi regis Siciliæ, quem pater suus coronari fecerat in regem Siciliæ, qui etiam filiam Chursac imperatoris Constantinopolitani in uxorem duxerat, obiit ; quo defuncto, Tankredus rex fecit Willelmum filium suum, fratrem prædicti regis Rogeri in regem Siciliæ coronari, et paulo post prædictus Tankredus obiit ;[3] quo audito, Henricus Romanorum imperator, magno congregato exercitu, intravit Apuliam in principio mensis Augusti, et eam sibi subjugavit ; et xv. diebus ante festum Sancti Michaelis cepit Salernum per vim. Et quia Salernitani proditiose egerant adversus eum, ut supra dictum est, tra-

Death of Tancred.

Henry VI. takes Salerno, Sept. 15.

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[1] *subscriptam*] suprascriptam, B. I.

[2] *custodiendam*] The act is given in full in the *Fœdera*, i. 65 ; from MS. Cotton Claudius C. iv., fol. 233, with the date " Teste me ipso " apud villam episcopi, xx. die Au- " gusti."

[3] *obiit*] Feb. 26, 1194 : *Art de V. les dates.* MS. G. proceeds, " Audita " itaque morte Tancredi regis Si- " ciliæ."

dentes Constantiam imperatricem in manu regis Tankredi, in vindictam illius proditionis, omnes illius civitatis potentiores aut morti tradidit, aut in exilium damnatos relegavit, et uxores et filias eorum exposuit exercitui. Et invenit in turre majori magnum thesaurum valentem ducenta millia unciarum auri; et exercitus ejus factus est dives ex spoliis Salernitanorum. Deinde perrexit[1] imperator ad civitatem Melfe, quæ statim reddita est ei; et dum ipse ibi moram fecit, redditæ sunt ei omnes civitates Apuliæ; ex quibus ipse tres subvertit, scilicet Salernum, et Spinchole, et Policor. Deinde ante festum Omnium Sanctorum venit in Siciliam usque Messanam civitatem, cum tanta gloria et honore, quod non est auditum quod aliquis unquam antea gloriosius vel honorificentius terram illam intraret. Et ipse ibi honorifice susceptus est ab archiepiscopis et episcopis, et comitibus et baronibus regni Siciliæ; et recedens inde perrexit Panormum.

A.D. 1194. September. Cruel revenge of the emperor.

He takes Amalfi, and destroys Salerno and other places.

His reception in Sicily.

Quo cum venisset, regina[2] Siciliæ, quondam uxor Tankredi regis, et Ricardus de Therne,[3] frater ejus, tradiderunt ei palatium regis Siciliæ, et Willelmum regem, filium regis Tankredi, et uxorem[4] Rogeri regis, filiam Chursac[5] imperatoris Constantinopolitani, et thesaurum auri et argenti inæstimabilem, quem reges Siciliæ thesaurizaverant sibi. Deinde traditæ sunt ei omnes civitates et munitiones regni Siciliæ: et Margaritus admiralis tradidit ei castrum de portu Panormi; et imperator dedit ei ducatum de Duraz et principatum de Tarenta, et principatum maris. Venerunt etiam ad prædictum Romanorum imperatorem omnes pagani et Judæi qui erant in regno Siciliæ, et satisfacientes illi

The treasures of Tancred surrendered to him.

He occupies Sicily and gives Durazzo to Margarit.

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[1] *perrexit*] rex, ins. I.

[2] *regina*] Sibylla.

[3] *Therne*] Richard, count of Acerra: R. de S. Germ. ed. Pertz., p. 15.

[4] *uxorem*] Irene, daughter of Isaac Angelus; blank in A.

[5] *Chursac*] Isaac Angelus, Kyr Isaac; as in the Saga of king Swerre, the emperor Alexius is called Kyrialax, p. 222.

A.D. 1194. remanserunt in regno, unusquisque in locum suum, sub ea conditione qua ante fuerat.

Coronation of Henry and Constantia at Palermo.

Deinde imperator fecit se, et Constantiam imperatricem, uxorem suam, coronari[1] in civitate Panormi, præsentibus et consentientibus archiepiscopis, et episcopis, et principibus regni. Deinde imperator fecit effodi a terra corpora Tankredi regis, et Rogeri filii ejus regis, et spoliavit eos coronis et sceptris et cæteris regalibus ornamentis; dicens quod ipsi non erant de jure reges, immo regni invasores, et violenti detentores. Deinde imperator dedit Philippo fratri suo, duci de Suave, præfatam filiam Chursac imperatoris Constantinopolitani in uxorem; et Willelmum regem, filium Tankredi regis, excæcavit et ementulavit.

He disinters Tancred.

He gives the widow of Roger to Philip of Swabia; and mutilates the son of Tancred.

Change in the municipal government at Rome.

Eodem anno[2] cives Romani elegerunt lvi. senatores, et constituerunt eos supra se; prius enim habebant unum solum senatorem, qui cognominatus erat Benedictus[3] carus homo, qui regnavit super eos duobus annis, et deinde habuerunt alium senatorem, qui vocatus est Johannes Capuche, qui similiter regnavit super eos aliis duobus annis: in quorum temporibus melius regebatur Roma, quam nunc temporibus lvi. senatorum.

Swerre, king of Norway, crowned.

Eodem anno Swerus[4] princeps Norweiæ, contra prohibitionem domini papæ, fecit se coronari in regem Norweiæ. Quo audito, Eustachius[5] archiepiscopus de

[1] *coronari*] The day is variously stated; Oct. 23, R. de Dic. 678.

[2] *eodem anno*] This is a classical passage for the History of Medieval Rome, and is so used by Du Cange, s. v. *Senator;* whence it is quoted by Gibbon and others. See also Gregorovius, *Gesch. der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, v. 590.

[3] *Benedictus*] Du Cange mentions an inscription bearing the name of this senator as repairer of the Pons Cestius.

[4] *Swerus*] See above, vol. ii., p. 214. He was crowned June 29: *Saga Sverr. Kon.* 218.

[5] *Eustachius*] The archbishop who was driven into exile in England by Swerre was Eystein or Augustin, who died in 1188 (*Ann. Isl.* ap. Langebek, iii. 68). His successor was Eric, bishop of Stavangr, who held the see until 1205, when Thorer was consecrated in his place (*Ib.* 74). Eric was driven out of Norway in 1191, and took refuge in Denmark.

Nidros maluit exulari, quam interesse illius coronationi; abiit; et prædictus Swerus, filius Siwardi quondam regis Norweiæ, præcepit ut omnes episcopi Norweiæ convenissent apud Berghes in festo apostolorum Petri et Pauli, ad coronandum eum. Erat autem inter eos quidam episcopus de Wic, qui vocabatur Nicolaus.[1] Hic dicebat quod ipse interesse noluit illius coronationi propter absentiam archiepiscopi sui; quo audito, Swerus fecit episcopum illum comprehendi, et in mari supra monticulum ligari, ita quod unda maris fluens fere intravit in os ejus; et sic episcopus ille perterritus assensum præbuit voluntati Sweri Birkebain,[2] et coronavit eum, et in regem consecravit, apud Berghes in festo apostolorum Petri et Pauli, præsentibus et consentientibus Martino[3] de Berghes, et Airico[4] de Stavangre, et Thore[5] de Burgunde, et Absalon,[6] episcopis. Eodem die, cum idem Swerus, rex et sacerdos, pranderet more regio cum episcopis et principibus regni, fecit amputari caput Siwardi, filii Adestan[7] quondam regis Norweiæ, et coram se et convivantibus fecit caput illud deferri.

A.D. 1194. June 29. He compels an unwilling bishop to crown him.

On the day of coronation he orders the execution of one of his competitors.

Est autem notandum, quod iste Swerus Birkebain quindecim reges in quindecim navalibus præliis devicit, et interfecit cum omni sequela eorum, antequam ipse coronam regni potuisset adipisci, quorum nomina hæc

This Swerre conquered and slew fifteen kings.

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[1] *Nicolaus*] See the story in the *Saga Sverris*, p. 218 (ed. Thorlac and Werlauff, *Hist. Norw.*, iv., p. 218).

[2] *Birkebain*] Berkebain, B. I.

[3] *Martino*] Made bishop of Bergen at this time. An Englishman, according to the Saga of Swerre, p. 218.

[4] *Airico*] called Nial in the Saga; his predecessor was Eric, who had become archbishop of Nidros.

[5] *Thore*] bishop of Hammar.

[6] He was the archbishop of Lund in Denmark, and does not appear to have been present.

[7] *Adestan*] Eystein, called before *Augustinus*, vol. ii., p. 214. This is Eystein Birkbain, who was set up against Magnus Erlingson, and slain in 1177 (*Ann. Island*). But the Sigurd in question was a son of Magnus Erlingson.

A.D. 1194. Kings slain by Swerre.

sunt: Magnus [1] rex, Borgher [2] rex, Siwardus [3] rex, Orde [4] rex, Guthorn [5] rex, Johannes Cuvelung [6] rex, Belue [7] rex, Zether [8] rex, et alii sex, et iste Siwardus [9] filius Adestani. Est etiam sciendum, quod consuetudo regni Norweiæ est usque in hodiernum diem, quod omnis qui alicujus regis Norweiæ dinoscitur esse filius, licet sit spurius, et de ancilla genitus, tantum sibi jus vendicat in regnum Norweiæ, quantum filius regis conjugati, et de libera genitus. Et ideo fiunt inter eos prælia indesinenter, donec unus illorum vincatur et interficiatur.

Rule of succession among the kings of Norway.

September. Arrival from Rome of the envoys sent on behalf of the chapter against the archbishop of York; with letters of absolution.

Eodem anno, paulo ante festum Sancti Michaelis, venerunt Eboracum Hamo præcentor Eboracensis ecclesiæ, et Gaufridus de Muschamp archidiaconus de Clivelande, et magister Willelmus Testard archidiaconus de Notingham, qui Romam profecti fuerant cum magistro Simone Apuliensi, et cum Radulfo archidiacono de Westrithing, propter injurias quas Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus illis et concanonicis suis fecerat, qui eos et omnes illis communicantes excommunicaverat, et ecclesias eorum interdixerat, super appellationem ad summum pontificem factam. Et attulerunt secum litteras absolutionis tam de excommunicatione quam de interdicto; et litteras de restitutione ablatorum, quarum executionem faciendam Hugo Dunel-

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[1] *Magnus*] His fall in 1184 has been already related, vol. ii., p. 214.

[2] *Borgher*] Several of these names are not assignable to any known kings. The editors of the Saga suggest that this is Vikar, son of Magnus Erlingson.

[3] *Siwardus*] Sigurd the Burner, son of king Hingo, and a claimant of the crown against Swerre; killed in 1189. *Saga Sverris Konungs*, 195.

[4] *Orde*] Order, G. "Forsan "Ormus Kungsbroder:" *Saga* "*Sverr.*, note, p. 433.

[5] *Guthorn*] Guttorun, G.

[6] *Johannes Cuvelung*] He is called John Kuflung in the *Annales Islandorum*, which place his fall in 1188. Langebek, iii. 68.

[7] *Belue*] Unknown.

[8] *Zether*] Unknown.

[9] *Siwardus*] The Sigurd who was put to death in 1194 was the son of Magnus Erlingson. *Saga Sverr.*, p. 64.

mensis episcopus ex mandato Cœlestini papæ suscipiens, Eboracum venit: et in die Sancti Michaelis celebravit Missam in matrice ecclesia; denuncians clero et populo, sententiam, quam Gaufridus archiepiscopus Eboracensis in canonicos suos et eis communicantes dederat, nullam fuisse. Radulfus vero archidiaconus de Westrithing in redeundo a Roma obiit: cujus archidiaconatum Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus dedit primum Petro fratri suo, deinde Petro de Dinant. Præfatus vero archiepiscopus facta appellatione contra canonicos suos, et eorum adquisita, transfretavit de Anglia in Normanniam ad Ricardum regem Angliæ fratrem suum, et ab eo litteras in hac forma impetravit;

A.D. 1194. Sept. 29. Hugh of Durham declares the archbishop's sentence null.

The archbishop goes to see the king in Normandy.

Epistola Ricardi regis Angliæ.

"Ricardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et "Aquitanniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, Willelmo de Sanctæ "Mariæ Ecclesia et Hugoni Bardulfo,[1] dilectis et fidelibus "suis, salutem. Notum facimus vobis, quod Gaufridus Ebora-"censis archiepiscopus, frater noster, venit ad nos, et præter "illas mille marcas quas reddidit in Anglia, fecit nobis volun-"tatem nostram de aliis mille marcis; ipse autem, ut nobis per "quendam innotuit, libenter, si posset, ante de debito suo "satisfecisset, et moleste diu tulit quod tam diu distulit. "Inde est quod eum in gratiam et protectionem nostram "recepimus, et benivolentiam nostram ei plenarie concessi-"mus. Nos autem nuncium nostrum mittimus in Angliam "cum nuncio suo, ut videat qualiter de residuis mille marcis "nobis satisfecerit. Promisit enim nobis, ut inde nobis satis-"faciet, quam citius poterit. Unde vobis mandamus, ut ei "terras suas et omnia sua integra restitui faciatis sine "dilatione; quod autem de redditibus suis vel de rebus suis "venditum fuerit nomine hujus debiti, quod inde habuimus, "rationabili compoto computari faciatis in residuo debiti sui; "et si aliquid inde venditum fuerit minus justo pretio quam "debuerat, vel amore vel odio alicujus, id faciatis emendari "ab illis qui hoc fecerunt, et archiepiscopo in debito suo "computari: homines autem ejus captos vel retentos, tam "clericos quam laicos, secundum consuetudinem Angliæ fa-

Nov. 3. The king writes that his brother Geoffrey has made his peace by a gift of 2000 marks.

He orders that his lands shall be restored to him.

[1] *Bardulfo*] Bardulf, B. D. I.

A.D. 1194. Nov. 3.

He is to have all his archiepiscopal rights.

" ciatis sine dilatione replegiari et deliberari. Non patiamini " autem quod laica potestas eum disturbet, quin ecclesiasticam " censuram per totum archiepiscopatum suum possit[1] exercere, " sicut de ratione debet. Distringatis etiam homines de Bever- " laco, quod damna ab eis illata ei restituant, et ei faciant quod " ei facere debent, et quæ facere consueverunt antecessoribus " suis. Teste meipso, iii^tio die Novembris, apud Mamerz."

Another letter.

Item prædictus archiepiscopus Eboracensis impetravit alias litteras a domino rege in hac forma;

The king annuls presentations made under his father's seal at the time of his death.

" Ricardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ et Aqui- " tanniæ, comes Andegaviæ, Willelmo de Sanctæ Mariæ " Ecclesia, et Hugoni Bardulfo, salutem. Sciatis quod didi- " cimus, quod in morte patris nostri, sine præcepto suo et " conscientia, habuerunt litteras de sigillo suo Gaufridus de " Muscamp de habendo archidiaconatu de Cliveland, et Wil- " lelmus de Stigandebi[2] et magister Erardus de præbendis " habendis in ecclesia Eboracensi, quæ tunc vacabat, et erat " in manu nostra; et ideo præcipimus, quod præfatos ab archi- " diaconatu et præbendis dictis sine mora dissaisietis, repe- " tentes ab eis quicquid exinde perceperunt, postquam illos " redditus ita fraudulenter et per surreptionem sunt adepti. " Teste meipso, iii^tio die Novembris, apud Mamerz."

Proh pudor!

Turpe est doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipsum.

These had been sealed by Geoffrey himself as chancellor.

Idem enim archiepiscopus, dum adhuc esset cancellarius regis patris sui, sigillum illud in custodia habuit: per quod præfatus archidiaconatus et præbendæ illæ datæ fuerant prænominatis personis.

John, archbishop of Lyons, resigns and retires to Clairvaux.

Eodem anno Johannes Belesmeins,[3] archiepiscopus de Liuns supra Rodanum, deposuit se de archiepiscopatu suo; et contentus reditibus centum librarum esterlingorum pertinentibus ad archiepiscopatum de Liuns, in domo Clarevallensi vitam immaculatam, Deo et hominibus placentem, usque ad consummationem vitæ suæ duxit.

Eodem anno, cum Limpoldus dux Austriæ adhuc permaneret in sententia excommunicationis, quam do-

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[1] *possit*] posset, B. D. I.; possint, A.

[2] *Stigandebi*] Stingandebi, I.; Stigandeby, B. om. D.

[3] *Johannes Belesmeins*] Belesmains, G. John of Poictiers, treasurer of York, 1154; bishop of Poictiers, 1162–1181; archbishop of Lyons, 1181–1194.

minus papa in eum tulerat propter captionem Ricardi regis Angliæ, nec pœniteret, flagellavit Dominus terram suam in hunc modum. In primum[1] quidem incensæ sunt omnes civitates terræ suæ, nec alicui nota fuit causa incendii. Secundo, ex inundatione Danubii fluvii submersa est quædam terra adjacens, in qua decem millia hominum, vel eo amplius, perierunt. Tertio, cum in media æstate soleat et debeat omnis terra virere, tota terra ejus tunc temporis, contra solitum cursum et debitum, exaruit. Quarto, cum semina frugum deberent in herbam processisse, in vermes conversa sunt. Quinto, nobiliores terræ suæ mortalitate percussi sunt. Et quamvis tot et tantis flagellasset Dominus terram suam plagis, noluit tamen pœnitere; sed induratum est cor ejus, adeo quod ipse juravit, quod omnes obsides regis Angliæ, quos ipse habebat, capitalem subirent sententiam, nisi in proximo perficerentur ei a rege Angliæ omnes conventiones quas cum illo fecerat. Unde factum est quod Baldewinus de Betun, qui unus erat ex illis qui dati fuerant duci Austriæ pro redemptione regis Angliæ obsides, ex communi obsidum consilio missus est ad regem Angliæ ad indicandum ei ducis propositum; qui cum venisset, misertus illorum rex, tradidit ei rex sororem Arturi ducis Britanniæ, et filiam imperatoris Cypri, ad ducendum eas usque ad ducem Austriæ; sororem scilicet Arturi ad maritandam filio ducis Austriæ, et filiam imperatoris de Cypro tradendam in manu ducis Austriæ quietam.

A.D. 1194.

Chastisements that fell on duke Leopold of Austria; conflagrations, floods, blight, bad harvest, pestilence.

He threatens to put Richard's hostages to death.

Baldwin of Bethune sent home to Richard, who sends to the duke his niece Eleanor and the princess of Cyprus.

Sextus annus Ricardi regis Angliæ.

Anno gratiæ millesimo centesimo nonagesimo quinto, qui est annus sextus regni Ricardi regis Angliæ, idem

[1] *In primum*] In primis, D. G. These details are given by William of Newburgh, v. 8, in almost the same words. They were probably derived by the two historians from a common source, a letter perhaps on the occasion of the duke's death. The same source doubtless furnished Ralph of Coggeshall with his very similar account.

A.D. 1194. Dec. 25. Richard keeps Christmas at Rouen. The truce with Philip was not kept.

rex Ricardus fuit in Normannia apud Rothomagum die Nativitatis Dominicæ, quæ die Dominica evenit, sollicitus providere sibi necessaria in pecunia, et hominibus adquirendis contra Philippum regem Franciæ. Treuga enim, quæ inter eos statuta fuerat duratura usque ad festum Omnium Sanctorum, minime tenebatur, quia homines utriusque regni rapinas faciebant iniquas.

Henry VI. at Palermo.

Eodem anno, die Natalis Domini, Henricus Romanorum imperator fuit in Sicilia apud Panormum, coronatus corona regni Siciliæ.[1]

De ultima plaga quam Dominus fecit Limpoldo duci Austriæ.

Dec. 26. The duke of Austria breaks his leg.

Eodem anno, die Sancti Stephani prothomartyris infra Natale Domini, cum induratum esset cor Limpoldi ducis Austriæ, nec propter prædictas plagas, quas Dominus fecit terræ suæ, posset adhuc emolliri, flagellavit Dominus corpus suum in hunc modum: convocatis majoribus terræ suæ ad celebrandum festum Natalis Domini, dum idem dux die Beati Stephani exiret, ut cum militibus suis luderet, cecidit equus suus super eum, et confregit pedem ejus; adeo quod ossa hinc inde confracta per mediam cutem exeuntia ad latitudinem palmæ exterius comparuerunt; et accedentes medici, quæ credebant ei expedire,[2] pedi apposuerunt. In crastino pes ejus denigratus inventus est, et in eum statum conversus, quod oportuit eum, assentientibus medicis, obtruncari: quod cum ipse fieri postularet, non est inventus qui voluntati ejus adquiesceret. Non enim ausus est aliquis, vel potuit pro dolore in dominum suum manum imponere. Tandem filium et hæredem suum convenit, rogans et præcipiens quod pedem suum

Dec. 27. He can find no one to amputate it.

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[1] *Treuga . . . Siciliæ*] om. D. The second paragraph is omitted also in G.

[2] *expedire*] expediri, I.

amputando dolori suo finem imponeret: quod cum nec ipse facere vellet, accito camerario suo, et ad hoc coacto, dux ipse dolarium manu propria tibiæ apposuit, et ipse camerarius malleo vibrato vix trina percussione pedem obtruncavit: medici vero, appositis medicaminibus, cum eum in crastino visitarent, non invenerunt in eo spem vitæ. Dux igitur desperatus, archiepiscopos et episcopos, et terræ suæ magnates, qui solemniis illis interant, convocari fecit; et cum petiit absolvi a sententia quam dominus papa in eum tulerat, pro injuriis quas ipse regi Angliæ fecerat, responsum est ei ab universo clero, quod nullatenus absolveretur, nisi jurando caveret quod super memoratis injuriis judicio ecclesiæ staret, et nisi alii majores de ducatu suo idem cum eo jurarent: et si de eo humanitus contingeret, quo minus judicium ecclesiasticum per eum procederet, ipsi omnimodis procurarent, quod sanctæ ecclesiæ satisfieret; qui absolutus, mediante judicio, omnes obsides regis Angliæ, quos habuit, liberari præcepit, et pecuniam sibi debitam regi Angliæ remisit; quo facto cum ipse decederet,[1] et hæres ipsius cum quibusdam magnatibus resisteret, quo minus prædicta fierent, clerus ejusdem ducis corpus nullo modo sepeliri permisit: immo per octo dies detentum est super terram corpus illius, donec omnes obsides regis Angliæ liberarentur; quorum quidam in Angliam venientes narraverunt hæc omnia, sicut ea quæ viderant et audierant; qui etiam asserebant, quod in recessu suo exposita eis erant et oblata quatuor millia marcarum et amplius, reportanda, de pecunia regis Angliæ recepta; quæ propter viarum pericula nullatenus ausi fuerant recipere. Hæc omnia fecit Dominus,[2] ut superbos contereret, et ut potentiam Suam mortalibus manifestaret; et cum injurias Sibi et

A.D. 1194. Dec. 27. He compels his chamberlain to hew off his foot.

Dec. 28. He despairs of life and desires absolution.

His bishops bid him release the English hostages.

The clergy refuse to bury him until this is done.

[1] *decederet*] Duke Leopold died at Gratz, on the 30th of December 1194. Ansbert (ed. Dobrowsky), p. 125. The story is given by William of Newburgh in nearly the same words. See above, p. 275.

[2] *Dominus*] Deus, Savile.

A.D. 1194. December.

Suis illatas digna prosequitur ultione, illud non propter nos tantum, sed etiam propter Se credamus advenisse; nec nobis jactanter ascribamus, quod ex sola benignitate Sua operatus est Dominus.

Baldwin of Bethune brings back the ladies.

Interim cum Baldewinus de Betun appropinquasset terræ prædicti ducis Austriæ, et audisset mortem illius, non processit ulterius, sed ad regem Angliæ rediit, et reduxit præfatas puellas, et tradidit eas regi.

The archbishop of Rouen ransoms his lands from Philip.

Eodem anno Walterus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus dedit Philippo regi Franciæ mille libras Andegavensis monetæ, pro redemptione terrarum suarum quas idem rex Franciæ per werram suam occupaverat.

Robert, earl of Leicester, sacrifices his castle of Pasci and 1000*l*. for his liberty.

Eodem tempore Robertus comes Leircestriæ obtulit Philippo regi Franciæ pro redemptione sua mille libras Esterlingorum, et clamare ei quietum in perpetuum ab ipso et hæredibus suis castellum de Pasci cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et perquirere ei inde confirmationem domini papæ, et confirmationem regis Angliæ. Sed quia nondum finis erat gwerræ [1] inter ipsum et regem Angliæ, in respectum posuit ea quæ comes Leircestriæ obtulerat ei.

A.D. 1195. Jan. 15.

Arrival of the papal commission to inquire into the misdeeds of archbishop Geoffrey.

Eodem [2] anno mense Januarii, die Dominica proxima post octavas Epiphaniæ, venerunt Eboracum Hugo Lincolniensis episcopus, et magister Winemerus archidiaconus de Norhamtun, et Hugo prior de Pontefracto; [3] quibus dominus papa Cœlestinus commiserat inquisitionem faciendam de excessibus Gaufridi Eboracensis archiepiscopi, in quibus accusabatur a canonicis suis Eboracensibus coram domino papa et cardinalibus; et processerunt secundum domini papæ mandatum, quod ipsi susceperunt in hac forma;

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[1] *gwerræ*] werræ, B. D. I.

[2] *Eodem . . . forma*] omitted in MSS. B. D. I. with the letter, and the narrative that follows it down to p. 283.

[3] *Pontefracto*] Ponte sacro, Savile, who also has *Pontesancto* below. The details of this suit have been anticipated by our author above, pp. 230, 231.

Epistola Cœlestini papæ contra Gaufridum Eboracensem archiepiscopum.

A.D. 1194. June 8.

"Cœlestinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri "Lincolniensi episcopo, et dilectis filiis archidiaconis de Nor-"hamtun, et priori de Pontefracto,[1] salutem. Mediator Dei et "hominum, Dominus Jesus Christus, Cujus providentia in Sui "dispositione non fallitur, totius ecclesiæ disciplinæ caput et "magisterium sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ voluit reservari, "et omnes alias ipsius ordinationi et correctioni subesse: ita "quod concessa ei specialiter plenitudine potestatis, ejus etiam "proprium cæterarum excessus corrigere, et quod laudabiliter[2] "agitur auctoritate apostolici culminis approbare. Unde nos, "quia ad ejus regimen Divina sumus dispositione assumpti, ea "volumus fratres et coepiscopos nostros cautela et discretione "diligere, ne videamur affectum et familiaritatem eorum "vocationis nostræ officio anteferre; præsertim cum habeat "suos fines dilectio qua quisque tenetur ad hominem, non ad "hominis errorem diligendum. Sane ad audientiam nostram "ex personarum et capituli Eboracensis ecclesiæ insinuatione "pervenit, et id ipsum dilectorum filiorum nostrorum Ro-"berti[3] Eboracensis, et Rogeri de Selebi, et aliorum XI. "abbatum Præmonstratensis ordinis testimonia manifeste de-"clarare videntur, quod venerabilis frater noster Gaufridus, "Eboracensis archiepiscopus, sacramenta injuncti sibi officii "vilipendens, venatione, aucupitio, et aliis militaribus curis "inutiliter occupatus, ordinationi clericorum, ecclesiarum de-"dicationibus, aut synodis celebrandis nec manum nec operam "post sui promotionem adhibuit, nec abbatem aliquem bene-"dixit; licet tam contra clericos quam abbates, ad maledicen-"dum et excommunicandum, linguam consueverit juxta motum "proprium indiscrete relaxare: libertates ecclesiæ suæ ac con-"suetudines approbatas evacuat et subvertit; appellationes, quæ "solent esse ad remedium oppressorum, ad Romanæ sedis in-"juriam reduxit in contemptum; plures, pro eo quod ad nos "appellationes emiserant, vinculis fecit vehementer carceribus-

The pope writes to the bishop of Lincoln, the archdeacon of Northampton, and the prior of Pontefract.

He has heard the complaints of the abbots against Geoffrey.

Charges made against him

[1] *Pontefracto*] Ponte sancto, Savile. Hugh, prior of Pontefract, had a bull confirming the grants to his priory, from a pope Celestine, probably Celestine III: *Mon. Angl.*, v. 122. An extract from a letter of Celestine III. to the bishop of Lincoln and the prior of Pontefract, on the same business as that in the text, has a place in the Decretals of Gregory IX., lib. x., tit. 3, c. 28.

[2] *quod laudabiliter*] collaudabiliter, A. G.

[3] *Roberti*] Abbot of S. Mary's, York.

A.D. 1194. June 8. Charges against archbishop Geoffrey.

"que[1] astringi; personas ecclesiæ suæ, post appellationem ad "nos factam, honoribus et beneficiis spoliavit: quosdam, cano- "nicorum appellatione contempta, excommunicationi subjecit; "privilegia Romanorum pontificum in ejus præsentia omnino "auctoritate frustrantur; et qui forte alias tutus esset in "ostensione privilegii nostri, optati coram eo beneficium præ- "sidii demeretur. Cum contingit aliquem ad subtractam sibi "ecclesiam aut possessionem per judices delegatos auctoritate "nostra restitui, eum per quem debuerat judicium execu- "tioni mandari statim sentiet inimicum. Plures enim taliter "restitutos destituit, et ecclesias per ministros suos violenter "aggrediens, fores ecclesiarum fregisse, et eos proponitur per "violentiam expulisse. Quamplures etiam reatum perjurii "fecit perniciose incurrere, ipsos ab obedientia, quam archi- "diaconis suis canonice servandam juramento promiserant, "quadam necessitatis violentia retrahendo. Præterea majorem "ecclesiam cum multitudine armatorum aggrediens, fores "capituli per violentiam confringi et asportari fecit, et bona "canonicorum et aliorum plurium, qui res suas tam in "ecclesia quam in thesauraria deposuerant, fecit per violen- "tiam detineri; pro quibus omnibus Eboracense capitulum ad "nostram audientiam appellavit. Comperimus etiam ex testi- "monio prædictorum quod ecclesiis quandoque vacantibus, "præsentatas sibi ab his ad quos præsentatio pertinet, per- "sonas idoneas non admittit; sed eas aut pueris et minus "honestis personis assignat, usus pariter præsentantis et "instituentis officio; aut facit eas de sola voluntate vacare, "ut earum fructus ipsius usibus applicentur, et quod susten- "tationi alicujus clerici honesti debebatur, sibi non metuit "retinere. Adjecerunt etiam, quod cum spiritualia dona gra- "tis debeant et sine pravitate distribui, frequenter cum donat "ecclesiam, aut eam scindit per partes contra statuta ecclesiæ "canonica, aut in ea novam et indebitam retinet pensionem, et "quamplures excommunicatos vel suspensos non, nisi pecunia "interveniente, absolvit. Religiosi vero viri et honesti in con- "spectu ejus despecti et contemptibiles fiunt; viles et suspectæ "personæ de facili familiaritatem ejus et gratiam assequuntur. "Unde si sic vivitur, et in talibus diutius fuerit conversatio "sua, timendum est ne gregi sibi commisso potius sit lapis "offensionis, et scandali petra, quam eruditionis exemplum, vel "contra spirituales nequitias solatium aut tutela. Quia igi- "tur, quæ præmissa sunt, sollicitudinem inquisitionis expos- "cunt, discretioni vestræ, de qua plene confidimus, inquisi-

The pope has heard evidence on these points and others.

He commits to the recipients the task of inquiring.

[1] *carceribusque*] et carceribus, G.; carceralibus, Savile.

"tionem horum duximus committendam; per apostolica scripta "præcipiendo mandantes, quatenus ad Eboracensem ecclesiam "accedatis, et convocatis abbatibus et prioribus, et aliis eccle-"siasticis personis Eboracensis diocesis, diligentius inquiratis, "utrum Eboracensem ecclesiam et provinciam tam inutiliter "et perniciose tractaverit; et si super præmissis legitimi accu-"satores apparuerint, audiatis quæ contra præfatum archiepi-"scopum duxerint proponenda; et eis diligenter auditis et "cognitis, attestationes sub sigillis vestris inclusas nobis "transmittere procuretis, assignantes partibus terminum com-"petentem, quo sufficienter instructæ ad apostolicam sedem ac-"cedant, quod canonicum fuerit ibi, dante Domino, recepturæ. "Si vero accusatores defecerint, et fama publica fuerit contra "ipsum, ei purgationem cum tribus episcopis et totidem ab-"batibus, auctoritate nostra, sublato appellationis obstaculo, "indicetis. In qua si forte defecerit, ipsum ab archiepiscopali "officio et administratione suspensum, apostolico conspectui "faciatis præsentari, ut auctore Domino ibi plenius doceatur, "qualiter eum et sibi consimiles in domo Dei oporteat mini-"strare. Si vero idem archiepiscopus aliquid contra eos "duxerit proponendum, illud nihilominus audiatis, et ad nos "sub sigillis vestris transmittatis inclusum; ut super his "quod canonicum fuerit statuatur. Sane si dictus archiepi-"scopus, in elusionem mandati nostri, antequam citatio vestra "ad eum perveniat, appellationem interposuerit, vel iter arri-"puerit ad sedem apostolicam veniendi, vos ei terminum trium "mensium statuatis, infra quem se debeat in propria persona "nostro conspectui præsentare. Quod si non fecerit, vos eum "ex tunc ab omni pontificali officio, et archiepiscopatus admi-"nistratione, denuncietis, auctoritate nostra, remota appella-"tione, suspensum. Quod si omnes his exsequendis interesse "nequiveritis, duo vestrum nihilominus ea exsequantur. Datum "Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, vi^{to}. idus Junii, pontificatus "nostri anno quarto."

A.D. 1194. June 8. They are to go to York and hear the charges, receive the evidence and send it sealed to Rome.

If evidence fails, but the archbishop cannot produce compurgators, he is to be suspended.

The delegates are to fix a day for him to appear at Rome.

Harum igitur auctoritate litterarum, prædictus Lincolniensis episcopus et collegæ sui venerunt Eboracum ad inquisitionem illam faciendam; et congregatis coram eis in cathedrali ecclesia abbatibus et prioribus, et aliis ecclesiasticis personis Eboracensis diocesis, processerunt secundum formam apostolici mandati, diligenter inquirentes de universis capitulis quæ continebantur in scripto illo. Et multi abbates et priores, et aliæ honestæ personæ, constanter accusabant præfatum archi-

A.D. 1195. Jan. 15. The delegates sit to hear the charges at York.

A.D. 1195. Jan. 15. They fix for the archbishop a day to appear at Rome, in four months and a fortnight;

episcopum in universis prædictis capitulis, præsentibus clericis et familiaribus ejusdem archiepiscopi excusantibus eum, in quantum poterant, et dicentibus quod ipse ante illorum citationem prædictus archiepiscopus appellaverat, et iter veniendi ad summum pontificem arripuerat. Quibus auditis, prædictus Lincolniensis episcopus et collegæ sui, diligenter audientes accusationes adversariorum Eboracensis archiepiscopi, et scripto eas commendantes, sub sigillorum suorum testimonio inclusas procuraverunt transmittere summo pontifici, assignantes archiepiscopo Eboracensi spatium trium mensium ex præcepto summi pontificis; et ex proprio beneficio superaddiderunt ei spatium sex hebdomadarum, infra quod se debeat in propria persona apostolico præsentare conspectui; adjungentes quod si ipse hoc non fecerit, sciret se ex tunc ab omni pontificali officio, et archiepiscopatus administratione, auctoritate apostolica suspensum. Et ipsi assignaverunt adversariis archiepiscopi terminum in capite kalendarum Junii, quo sufficienter instructi ad apostolicam sedem accedere debeant, ibi, dante Domino, quod canonicum fuerit accepturi.

and for the complainants, June 1st.

June. The archbishop fails to present himself at Rome, and the pope fixes Nov. 18, and afterwards suspends him, Dec. 25.

Constituti igitur prædicti adversarii archiepiscopi Romæ in præsentia domini papæ ad terminum eis præfixum, instanter accusabant suum archiepiscopum; sed archiepiscopus ad terminum illum non venit, tum propter regis prohibitionem, tum propter aeris corruptionem quæ tunc temporis Romæ est. Clerici vero ejus eodem tempore in curia Romana consistentes, et has causas absentiæ suæ prætendentes, impetraverunt, ut quicquid contra archiepiscopum post appellationem medio tempore factum fuerat, in irritum revocaretur; et dominus papa præfixit ei terminum veniendi Romam infra octavas Sancti Martini proximo sequentis. Sed quia nec tunc in curia Romana per se vel per sufficientem responsalem comparuit, ad Natale Domini proximo sequens ab omni administratione episcopali suspensus fuit.

In supradicta vero congregatione abbatum facta apud

Eboracum contra archiepiscopum, obiit Rogerus abbas de Selebi, et apud Selebi sepultus est; cui successit Ricardus prior ejusdem domus, dono regis Ricardi, qui benedictionem suam recepit a Huberto Walteri Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, tunc temporis totius Angliæ legato.

A.D. 1195. January. The abbot of Selby dies.

Eodem anno,[1] dum rex Angliæ moram faceret apud Chinun in Andegavia, accesserunt ad curiam regis quidam Accini numero xv. Et cum vellent ad regem [2] accedere, ut eum interficerent, quidam illorum capti sunt et retenti, dicentes quod rex Franciæ eos miserat ad regem Angliæ interficiendum; sed rex Angliæ dissimulans regem Franciæ hoc velle, distulit judicium facere de illis, donec socii illorum comprehenderentur.

Richard captures a band of Assassins, who declare that they are sent by Philip.

Eodem anno mense Februarii, cum magister Simon Apuliensis, Eboracensis ecclesiæ decanus, rediret a transmarinis partibus, cum plenitudine gratiæ regis, et ejus confirmatione super decanatu Eboracensis ecclesiæ, et cum appropinquaret civitati Eboracensi, exierunt obviam ei clerus et populus civitatis in multitudine magna; inter quos erant quidam familiares Gaufridi archiepiscopi, videlicet magister Johannes Otui, et Willelmus de Bonavilla, et duo alii, et[3] prohibuerunt eidem decano, ex parte domini papæ et Eboracensis archiepiscopi, ne ipse tanquam decanus accederet ad matricem ecclesiam, donec controversia, quæ vertebatur inter archiepiscopum et illum de decanatu illo, terminaretur fine debito per Romanum pontificem: et super hoc appellaverunt ad dominum papam.

February. Simon of Apulia, returning to York with letters from Rome, is forbidden by the archbishop's people to act as dean or to enter the church.

They appeal to Rome.

Et quia præfatus decanus a proposito suo desistere noluit, ipsi injecerunt in eum manus violentas; sed statim ipsi propter violentiam illam excommunicati permiserunt eum abire; et ipse procedens pervenit ad matricem ecclesiam; et canonici ecclesiæ receperunt eum cum solemni processione, die Dominica proxima ante

He perseveres however and is received by the canons, Feb. 12.

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[1] *Eodem anno*] Here MSS. B. D. I. resume.

[2] *regem*] Angliæ, ins. Savile.

[3] *et*] om. I. The names are omitted in D.

A.D. 1195. Feb. 15. Hugh of Durham excommunicates the dean's assailants.

caput Jejunii; et in capite Jejunii venit Eboracum Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus, et sententiam excommunicationis, quæ data erat in illos qui manus violentas injecerunt in decanum, confirmavit.

Hugh falls sick at Doncaster, and is carried to Howden.

Et cum idem Dunelmensis episcopus inde procederet versus Lundoniam, et veniret Donecastre,[1] ægrotavit; et ulterius procedere non valens, delatus est per navem ad villam suam de Hovedene.

Death of the bishop of Ross in Scotland.

Eodem mense Februarii, in terra regis Scottorum, obiit Gregorius[2] Rosensis episcopus; cui successit Reginaldus[3] dictus Macer, monachus de Malros. Dicitur autem, quod in cathedrali ecclesia episcopatus Rosensis, quæ dicitur Rosmarcin, Beatus Bonefacius,[4] papa, qui fuit quartus a Beato Gregorio, sepultus est. De quo Bonefacio legitur in ecclesiasticis historiis, quod ipse a Phoca Cæsare, Romanorum imperatore, impetravit donari ecclesiæ Dei templum Romæ, quod Panteon antea vocabatur; quod et ipse, eliminatis dæmoniorum spurcitiis, dedicavit in honore Beatæ Dei genitricis, et semper virginis Mariæ, et Omnium Sanctorum, statuens illud festum celebrari singulis annis in capite kalendarum Novembris.[5]

Legend of Ross.

Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus obiit.

March 3. Hugh de Puiset dies at Howden.

Eodem anno mense Martii, tertia die ejusdem mensis, feria sexta, obiit Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus in villa

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[1] *Donecastre*] Denecastre, B. D. I.

[2] *Gregorius*] Bishop of Ross, 1161–1195.

[3] *Reginaldus*] Bishop of Ross, 1195–1213.

[4] *Bonefacius*] This Boniface who was commemorated as a saint on the 16th of March, was not pope Boniface IV., with whom he is here confounded. The *Acta Sanctorum*, Boll. Mart., ii. 449, contain several extracts from a Utrecht MS. of little authority about him. His death is placed in A.D. 620. He is also called Kiritinus and Abbanus, and regarded as the first bishop of Ross. If he ever existed at all he was probably an early Roman missionary, but Dempster states the tradition that he had come to Scotland "pon-" tificatu maximo deposito." The Aberdeen Breviary contains lessons, &c. for his day.

[5] *Novembris*] Novembrium, D. I. The whole of the last sentence of this paragraph is omitted in G.

sua de Hovedene, et sepultus Dunelmi in capitulo monachorum: sed antequam corpus ejus Dunelmum intraret, Walterus de Ferlingtun tradidit Hugoni Bardulfo castellum Dunelmense, et claves castelli suspendit super feretrum Sancti Cuthberti; ad quas cum Radulfus de Stavebi capiendas inconsulte irrueret, irruit super eum pavor, et regressus suspendit claves super feretrum, ubi prius erant; sed antequam ab ecclesia exiret digno Dei judicio nimia ægritudine flagellatus, paucis post elapsis diebus obiit.

A.D. 1195. March. Hugh Bardolf takes possession of the castle of Durham.

Postea vero predictæ claves traditæ sunt per manum prioris et monachorum Hugoni Bardulfi, qui juravit, quod ipse fideliter custodiret eas ad honorem beati Cuthberti, et regis. Deinde Henricus de Ferlingtun tradidit Hugoni Bardulfi castellum de Norham, per præceptum justitiarii[1] regis.

Norham delivered to him.

Interim,[2] ad instantiam canonicorum Eboraci, Cœlestinus papa in hac forma scripsit Haime decano Lincolniensis Ecclesiæ, et Rogero de Leicestre et Winemero de Norhamtun, archdiaconis Lincolniensis ecclesiæ;

Another papal commission at York.

Epistola Cœlestini papæ contra Gaufridum Eboracensem archiepiscopum.

"Cœlestinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis "Haime[3] decano Lincolniæ, et Rogero[4] de Leicestria, et "Winemero de Norhamtun, archidiaconis in Lincolniensi "diocesi constitutis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. "Exposuerunt nobis dilectissimi filii nostri Simon decanus et "capitulum ecclesiæ Sancti Petri Eboraci, quod, post appella"tionem ad nos interpositam, clerici de capella venerabilis "fratris nostri ejusdem ecclesiæ archiepiscopi, et quidam alii "ejusdem civitatis, in cathedralem ecclesiam, in grave præjudi"cium ipsorum canonicorum intrusi, exclusis vicariis et clericis

May 31. (1194.) The pope writes to the dean of Lincoln and the archdeacons of Leicester and Northampton.

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[1] *justitiarii*] justitiarum, I.

[2] *Interim . . . ecclesiæ*] omitted in MSS. B. D. I., with the following letter and narrative down to p. 286.

[3] Haimo, dean of Lincoln, 1189–1195.

[4] Roger Rolleston, afterwards, in 1195, dean of Lincoln.

A.D. 1195. March. The pope commissions delegates to hear the complaints of the canons and assess the damages. (May 31, 1194.)

"ecclesiæ ejusdem, in ea ministrare, et contra approbatam et "antiquam consuetudinem, loca et stalla personarum in choro "et capitulo usurpantes, ordinem ecclesiæ pervertere præ-"sumpserunt. Volentes vero hujusmodi præsumptionibus, pro-"ut convenit, obviari, discretioni vestræ per apostolica scripta "præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus si vera sunt quæ præmi-"simus, præsumptores illos, ut ipsi ecclesiæ Sancti Petri, et "canonicis, super his in præsentia vestra debitam satisfactio-"nem exhibeant, per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione "postposita, compellatis. Damna etiam, quæ per eosdem "clericos prædicto capitulo constiterit irrogata, sicut justum "fuerit, resarciri faciatis: quod si omnes his exsequendis in-"teresse nequiveritis, duo vestrum ea nihilominus exsequantur. "Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, secundo kalendas Junii, "pontificatus nostri anno quarto."

The delegates sit, and the damage is fixed at 1000 marks.

Harum igitur auctoritate litterarum, prædictus Lincolniensis decanus et collegæ sui statuerunt partibus terminum et locum, primo apud Torkesie, deinde apud Anecastre, ubi in præsentia eorum personæ et canonici [1] Eboracensis ecclesiæ, probaverunt damna, quæ habuerunt per archiepiscopum Eboracensem, et per præsumptores illos, ad valentiam mille marcarum argenti.

Richard is reconciled with John, and re-endows him.

Eodem [2] anno Ricardus rex Angliæ remisit Johanni fratri suo omnem iram et malivolentiam suam; et reddidit ei comitatum de Moretonia, et honorem de Eia,[3] et comitatum Gloucestriæ, cum omni integritate eorum; exceptis castellis; et pro omnibus aliis comitatibus et terris suis dedit ei rex per annum octo millia librarum Andegavensis monetæ.

The bishop of Whithern comes to York to consecrate chrism.

Eodem anno appropinquante Cœna Domini, cum Johannes episcopus Candidæ Casæ, suffraganeus et officialis Gaufridi Eboracensis archiepiscopi, appropinquasset Eboraco, ut ibi in Cœna Domini more solito chrisma et oleum consecraret, decanus et personæ Eboracensis ecclesiæ noluerunt eum recipere. Unde factum est quod

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[1] *personæ et canonici*] Savile reads *priorum et canonicorum*, which is nonsense.

[2] *Eodem . . . . appellavit*] This follows below, immediately before the story of the hermit, in MSS. B. D. I.

[3] *Eia*] Eya, I.

ipse ad Suelle[1] accessit, et ibi in Cœna Domini chrisma et oleum consecravit, et tradidit ea officialibus archiepiscopi ad distribuendum per ecclesias archiepiscopatus. Dicitur etiam quod Gaufridus de Muschamp, archidiaconus de Cliveland, recepit chrisma et oleum, sed statim projecit ea in sterquilinio. Cæteri autem canonici ecclesiæ Sancti Petri noluerunt inde recipere; sed miserunt ad Hugonem Lincolniensem episcopum, ut ab eo reciperent oleum et chrisma; sed fraudati sunt a desiderio suo. Petrus enim archidiaconus Lincolniæ, frater Gaufridi archiepiscopi, prohibuit episcopo ne illis oleum et chrisma daret, et super hoc ad Romanum pontificem appellavit.

A.D. 1195. March 30. Not being received there, he does it at Southwell, but the clergy refuse to receive the chrism, and apply to the bishop of Lincoln for it, in vain.

Eodem anno[2] rex remisit iram et malivolentiam suam Hugoni Coventrensi episcopo, et reddidit ei episcopatum suum, pro quinque millibus marcis argenti quas ei dedit; sed Robertus frater ejusdem episcopi obiit in captione domini regis apud Doroberniam. Similiter dominus rex remisit Galfrido Eboracensi archiepiscopo, fratri suo, iram et malivolentiam suam, et recepit eum in osculo pacis; unde idem archiepiscopus supra modum elatus, regem ipsum opprobriis ita exasperavit, quod ipse præcepit illum dissaisiri de archiepiscopato suo, et de vicecomitatu Eboraci. O utinam legisset archiepiscopus ille commonitionem sapientis, qui ait: "Ignem gladio ne confodias:" et Dominus informans nos ad humilitatem per os apostoli, ait: "Servi, "subditi[3] estote in omni timore dominis vestris; non "tantum dico sapientibus et modestis, sed etiam dyscolis:" "Subditi estote regi quasi præcellenti, sive "ducibus tanquam ab eo missis ad vindictam malorum, "laudem vero bonorum." Et, "Ecce naves cum magnæ "sint, et a ventis validis minentur, circumferuntur

Richard forgives Hugh of Nunant.

He also pardons Geoffrey, but quarrels with him again.

The archbishop will not learn to be humble, or to curb his tongue.

1 S. Peter, ii. 18.

1 S. Peter ii. 13.

S. James iii. 4.

[1] *Suelle*] Suwelle, I.

Eodem anno] Here MSS. B. D. I. resume.

[3] *subditi*] om. B. D. I. MS. G. omits all from "O utinam" to the end of the paragraph.

A.D. 1195. March. The lessons that Geoffrey ought to have learned.

" tamen a modico gubernaculo, ubi impetus dirigentis " voluerit; ita et lingua modicum membrum est, et " magna exaltat." Et " Ecce quam parvus ignis, quam " magnam sylvam incendit; et certe lingua ignis est, " et omnis iniquitas ex lingua ad effectum venit, quæ " maculat totum corpus et inflammat; linguam autem " nullus domare potest," nisi sapiens et circumspectus. " Circumcidamus ergo corda nostra:" ex corde enim incircumciso procedunt fornicationes, adulteria, homicidia, furta, et falsa testimonia, blasphemiæ, contentiones, et rixæ, et cætera his similia, quæ coinquinant hominem. Et, hæc contra, ex mundo corde et circumciso exeunt caritas, gaudium, pax, patientia, longanimitas, bonitas, benignitas,[1] mansuetudo, fides, modestia, continentia, castitas, et alia his similia, quæ animæ fructus sunt, et eam ad Deum Creatorem suum perducunt. " Ex abundantia enim cordis os loquitur," sive bonum sive malum.

S. James, iii. 5.

De commonitione salutifera facta Ricardo regi Angliæ.

Solemn warning given to Richard by a hermit.

Eodem anno venit quidam heremita ad regem Ricardum, et prædicans ei verba salutis æternæ dixit: " Esto memor subversionis Sodomæ, et ab illicitis te " abstine; sin autem, veniet super te ultio digna Dei." Sed rex inhians terrenis, et non his quæ Dei sunt, non potuit tam cito animum ab illicitis revocare, nisi datum ei fuisset desuper, vel signum videret. Despiciebat enim personam monentis, non intelligens quod quandoque Dominus revelat parvulis, quæ a sapientibus absconduntur: leprosi etiam nunciaverunt salutem Samariæ, et subjugalis Balam[2] dominum suum revocavit a via illicita. Abiit ergo heremita relicto rege, et abscondit se a facie ejus. Procedente autem tempore præfatus rex, licet pauperis heremitæ commonitionem

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[1] *bonitas, benignitas*] om. B. D. I. | [2] *Balam*] Balaam, D.

respueret, tamen ex Divina inspirante gratia memoriter aliquam illius commonitionis partem retinuit, fiduciam habens in Domino, quod Ipse, Qui publicanum et Cananæam revocavit ad pœnitentiam, secundum magnam misericordiam Suam daret ei cor pœnitens. Unde factum est, quod die Martis in hebdomada Paschæ visitavit eum Dominus[1] in virga ferrea, non ut contereret, sed ut flagellatum in Sua reciperet. Flagellavit enim eum Dominus ægritudine magna in die illa, adeo quod ipse convocatis coram se viris religiosis vitæ suæ fœditatem confiteri non erubuit, et accepta pœnitentia, mulierem suam, quam a multo tempore non cognoverat, recepit; et abjecto concubitu illicito, adhæsit uxori suæ, et facti sunt duo in carne una; et dedit ei Dominus sanitatem tam corporis quam animæ. O felicem filium, quem Pater cœlestis in hac peregrinatione flagellat ad castigationem, et non ad mortem! corripit enim pater filium nunc blandis, nunc asperis, ut sic vel sic revocet eum ad bene faciendum. Et sic examinat in fornace justitiæ Dominus aurum Suum; sic probat in adversitatibus sanctum Suum, ut eum provehat ad coronam.

A.D. 1195. April 4.

Richard acknowledges his sins and takes back his wife whom he had neglected.

Ps. cxlv. 9. Vere magna et inenarrabilia sunt opera Domini, et miserationes Ejus super omnia opera Ejus. Rex enim
Ps. xxxviii. 4. iste, cujus caput supergressæ erant iniquitates suæ, a Christo adoptatur in filium, et a pravitate sua ad Dominum conversus recipitur in filium. Deus enim, in Cujus manu corda regum sunt, et quocunque voluerit
Prov. xvi. 1. vertit ea, cordi regis instillavit, quod ipse tam cito vitam et conversationem suam mutavit in bonum.
S. Matt. vi. 33. Ipse enim mane consurgens quotidie, primum quærebat regnum Dei et justitiam Ejus, et ab ecclesia non discedebat, donec more ecclesiastico omne Divinum perageretur officium. Gloriosum siquidem est in principe quotidianos actus suos et ab Eo incipere, et finire in

His repentance and amendment.

He goes daily to church.

[1] *Dominus*] om. B. D. I. The history of Richard's former penance at Messina, told above pp. 74, 75, and in Ben. Pet. ii. 146, 147, should be compared with this.

A.D. 1195. April 4. Richard's repentance. Eo, Qui est principium sine principio, et judicat fines terræ.

His works of mercy. Præterea idem rex, memor verbi illius quo dicitur, "Beatus qui intelligit super egenum et pauperem, in Ps. xli. 1. "die mala liberabit eum Dominus," fecit quotidie pascere pauperes multos, tam in curia sua, quam in civitatibus et villis suis, quos quotidie numero augebat secundum quod opus fuerat. Famine in his dominions. Fames erat magna in terra illa,[1] et confluebant ad eum pauperes ut alerentur. Exemplo siquidem talium confirmatur fides, spes erigitur, nutritur caritas, deprimitur superbia, humilitas custoditur, augetur devotio, et bene operandi desiderium excitatur.

He replaces the vessels taken from the churches for his ransom. Præterea idem rex fecit fieri calices[2] multos; quos ipse ecclesiis distribuit, a quibus calices sui abstracti erant ad redemptionem illius. "Væ homini illi, per S. Matt. xviii. 7. "quem scandalum venit." Non enim imputandum est regi, quod calices illi in redemptione sua dati fuerant; sed illis magis imputandum est, qui consilium illud[3] dederunt ei; quia prava consilia bonos corrumpunt 1 Cor. xv. 33. mores; et in Evangelio legitur, "Majus peccatum habent S. John xix. 11. "qui tradiderunt Me tibi."[4]

Hubert Walter made legate. Eodem anno Cœlestinus papa, ad petitionem Ricardi regis Angliæ, constituit Hubertum, Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, totius Angliæ legatum. Unde idem papa scripsit illi in hac forma;

Epistola Cœlestini papæ ad Hubertum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum de legatia sibi commissa.

March 18. The pope's letter. "Cœlestinus[5] episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili "fratri Huberto, Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, apostolicæ sedis

[1] This famine began in 1194, and lasted five years. See W. Newb. v. 17, 31.

[2] *calices*] aureos et argenteos, ins. Savile, from MS. D.

[3] *illud*] om. D. I.

[4] *et in ... tibi*] om. G.; which reads the preceding words "Corrumpunt mores bonas consilia "prava."

[5] *Cœlestinus*] This letter is given by *R. de Diceto*, 679; and occurs also among the Epistolæ Cantuarienses, p. 368.

"legato, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Sinceritas "devotionis, et fidei consuetæ, quam Anglicana semper ecclesia circa sacrosanctam Romanam ecclesiam conservavit, in "tua, sicut bene confidimus, providentia et virtute refloruit, "et placidi fervoris accepit acceptabile incrementum. Talis "enim ad Romanam ecclesiam tuæ fraternitatis emanavit "opinio, quæ in tuæ honestatis odore nos recreat, et con- "stantiæ quam habes vigore confortat; ita ut[1] confidentiam, "quam de tua probitate concepimus, in nostro jam apertius "opere declaremus. Supplicante itaque carissimo in Christo "filio nostro Ricardo illustri rege Anglorum, et universis suf- "fraganeis Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, ut Anglicana ecclesia le- "gatum apostolicæ sedis pro suis et regni profectibus obti- "neret; tum pro devotione quam ad Cantuariensem ecclesiam "pro meritis illius gloriosi martyris habemus, tum etiam "tuæ probitatis et honestatis intuitu, eorum precibus assen- "sum præstitimus et favorem, maxime quia multum credimus "ecclesiæ et regni utilitatibus expedire, si talem in ministerio "supradicto regio illa recipiat, qualem prædicti regis et "eorum instantia de conversationis merito et fidei devotione "commendat. Ideoque nos ad honorem Dei, et Cantuariensis "ecclesiæ salutem, et pacem per totum regnum Angliæ, non "obstante exceptione vel privilegio venerabili fratri nostro "Gaufrido Eboracensi archiepiscopo, aut ecclesiæ suæ, vel alii "facto, officium tibi legationis concedimus, per apostolica "scripta mandantes, quatenus illam cum fraternæ obedientiæ "humilitate suscipias, et secundum datam tibi cœlitus facul- "tatem, ad emendandum ea quæ necesse est emendari, et ad "statuenda quæ fuerint statuenda, debitæ diligentiæ manum "auctoritate ipsius legationis apponas; ita nimirum in omni- "bus reverentiam matris tuæ Romanæ ecclesiæ prompta "devotione custodiens, ut de profectu ministerii quod tibi "læta committit, tuis etiam facias operibus lætiorem. Datum "Laterani, xv° kalendas Aprilis, pontificatus nostri anno "quarto."

A.D. 1195. March 18. The good report which he has received of the archbishop, and the petition of the king and bishops, have induced the pope to nominate him as legate.

[2]Præterea[3] Cœlestinus papa prædictus scripsit in hac forma Gaufrido Eboracensi archiepiscopo, et universis episcopis et abbatibus et prioribus, et aliis ecclesiarum prælatis per regnum Angliæ constitutis;

The pope writes also to the archbishop of York.

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[1] *ut*] om. A. B. D. I.

[2] *Præterea . . . . . . constitutis*] omitted in MSS. B. D. I. with the following letter.

[3] *Præterea*] idem, ins. G.

Epistola Cœlestini papæ ad universum clerum Angliæ de legatia commissa Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.

A.D. 1195. March 18. The pope writes to all the clergy in England.

"Cœlestinus[1] episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus "fratribus in Christo Eboracensi archiepiscopo et universis "episcopis, et dilectis filiis, abbatibus et prioribus, et aliis "ecclesiarum prælatis per regnum Angliæ constitutis, salutem "et apostolicam benedictionem. Divinæ sapientiæ inscrutabilis altitudo sacrosanctam ecclesiam in hujus mundi latitudine stabilivit, et ita regimen et gubernationem in ipsius "immutabili provisione esse voluit, ut ad eam salubriter "gubernandam plures assumerentur in partem sollicitudinis,

The division of labour in the church.

"quamvis pro unitatis ecclesiasticæ firmamento Romana ecclesia acceperit plenitudinem potestatis. Voluit enim ut, "secundum quod eam alloquitur in propheta, 'pro patri- Ps. xlv. 17.
"'bus ejus filii' nascerentur, 'qui super omnem terram "'principes' constituti, virtutum meritis et verbo doctrinæ, "rudes ad fidem, provectos ad justitiam, erudirent. Unde

The church of Rome, with supreme power, is accustomed to provide for the wants of distant churches.

"sacrosancta Romana ecclesia, cui Dominus super cæteras con- "tulit ecclesiæ magistratum, pium ad alias [habens] materna "provisione respectum, providit ab initio, et laudabili hactenus "consuetudine custodivit, ut de diversis mundi partibus ad "earum ministerium implendum viros prudentes assumeret, "quorum auctoritas et doctrina sub Romani pontificis moderamine constituta, quod ipse non poterat, procul distantibus "ecclesiis ministraret. Unde nos, qui licet insufficientibus "meritis in sublimi sumus ejusdem specula constituti, patrum "nostrorum vestigiis inhærentes, ita intendimus cum Dei "adjutorio injunctum nobis ministerium circa proximas ecclesias gerere, ut his a quibus etiam positione distamus, opportuna debeat providentia non deesse. Specialiter autem ad "præsens Anglicanam ecclesiam paternæ considerationis acie "intuentes, ad salutem ipsius et specialis in Christo profectus, "communi consilio fratrum nostrorum decernimus, ut vene-

He has appointed Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, to be legate.

"rabilis frater noster Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, de "cujus meritis et virtute, sapientia pariter et doctrina, ecclesia "universalis congaudet, ministerio legationis accepto, vices "nostras ad honorem ecclesiæ, et totius regni salutem, et "pacem per totum regnum Angliæ, non obstante exceptione "vel privilegio tibi aut ecclesiæ tuæ, frater archiepiscope,

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[1] *Cœlestinus*] This letter is given by *Ralph de Diceto*, 679; and occurs also among the Epistolæ Cantuarienses, p. 369.

"vel alii facto, libere exequatur. Præsentium itaque auctoritate universitati vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus eidem tanquam apostolicæ sedis legato reverentiam exhibeatis debitam et honorem; atque ejus salubria monita et mandata recipiatis humiliter et servetis, quæ auctoritate legationis, qua fungitur secundum Deum, duxerit statuenda, firmiter observantes. Datum Laterani, xv. kalendas Aprilis, pontificatus nostri anno quarto."

A.D. 1195. March 18. He commends him to the clergy.

Harum[1] igitur auctoritate litterarum prædictus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, apostolicæ sedis legatus, misit Eboracum Petrum priorem de Bineham in Nortfolc et magistrum Gervasium cum litteris domini papæ, et suis, ad canonicos Eboraci, et ad officiales Eboracensis archiepiscopi, mandans eis, se illuc ex auctoritate legationis suæ in proximo venturum, ad emendandum ea quæ essent emendanda, et ad statuenda quæ secundum Deum fuerint statuenda; et præcepit eis, ut ipsi convocato clero exhiberent ei, tanquam apostolicæ sedis legato, reverentiam debitam et honorem; adjungens se jam sententiam excommunicationis dedisse in omnes qui in hac parte mandato domini papæ contradicerent. Et super hoc misit litteras suas patentes Simoni Eboracensi decano, ut si quos ipse inveniret huic domini papæ mandato rebelles, denunciaret excommunicatos. Unde factum est, quod tam canonici quam officiales archiepiscopi Eboracensis responderunt nunciis legati, quod eum reciperent tanquam apostolicæ sedis legatum, sed non tanquam archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, nec tanquam primatem.

The new legate sends two clerks to York to announce his coming; and asking to be received with due honour, under pain of excommunication.

The canons and officials consent to to receive him.

De adventu Huberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, apostolicæ sedis legati, ad Eboracum.

Venit igitur[2] legatus ille Eboracum die Dominica, festo Sancti Barnabæ apostoli, et cum solemni processione susceptus est a clero, et[3] introductus in ecclesiam

June 11. The legate arrives at York.

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[1] *Harum*] Here MSS. B. D. I. resume.

[2] *igitur*] ergo, B. D. I.

[3] *et*] om. B. D. I.

A.D. 1195. June 12. He holds both assizes and Court Christian.

sedis cathedralis, sequenti die Lunæ fecit ipse tenere assisas de omnibus placitis coronæ regis, et[1] de nova dissaisina, et de morte antecessorum, per ministros suos: ipse vero et officiales sui tenuerunt placita Christianitatis.

June 13. He visits S. Mary's abbey and deposes Robert the abbot.

In sequenti die, feria tertia, perrexit legatus ille ad abbatiam Sanctæ Mariæ Eboraci; et ibi receptus est ab ejusdem ecclesiæ monachis cum solemni processione. Deinde intravit capitulum monachorum, et conquerentibus monachis, quod Robertus abbas eorum propter debilitatem et corporis sui ægritudinem domui suæ prodesse non potuit, deposuit eum a cura pastorali, et ab administratione domus, reclamantem, et ad summum pontificem appellantem.

June 14–15. He holds a legatine council in the Minster.

In sequentibus autem duobus diebus, scilicet feria quarta et feria quinta, congregatis in ecclesia Sancti Petri Eboraci, Simone ejusdem ecclesiæ decano, et Hamone præcentore, et Willelmo Testard, et Gaufrido de Muschamp, de Nothingham et de Cliveland archidiaconis, et Johanne cancellario, et Roberto præposito Beverlaci, cum quibusdam ejusdem ecclesiæ canonicis, et fere omnibus abbatibus et prioribus, et officialibus et decanis, et personis ecclesiarum Eboracensis diocesis, ipse legatus in eminentiori loco cathedratus sedit, et concilium celeberrimum celebravit. In quo[2] hæc decreta subscripta statuit servanda.

Decrees of the council.

Decreta Huberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, apostolicæ sedis legati.

1. The Mass to be celebrated decently.

"(1.) Cum inter cætera ecclesiæ sacramenta Hostia salutaris "præemineat, tanto impensior circa eam debet existere devotio "sacerdotum, ut cum humilitate conficiatur, cum timore suma-"tur, cum reverentia dispensetur; et minister altaris sit cer-"tus quod panis et vinum et aqua in Sacrificio ponantur, "nec sine ministro litterato celebretur: provideatur etiam, ut

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[1] *et*] om. B. D. I.

[2] *In quo . . . servanda*] omitted in MSS. B. D. I. with the decrees of the council.

"in pyxide munda et honesta Hostia reservetur, singulisque "Dominicis diebus renovetur. A.D. 1195. June 14–15. Council of York.

"(II.) Quoties autem Communio exhibenda est infirmis, "sacerdos in propria persona Hostiam in habitu clericali tanto "sacramento convenienti deferat lumine præcedente, nisi aeris "intemperies, vel viarum difficultas, vel alia ratio præpediat. 2. Order for the communion of the sick.

"(III.) Quia secretum Missæ frequenter invenitur, aut scrip-"torum falsitate, aut librorum vetustate corruptum, ita ut "legi distincte non possit; archidiaconorum sollicitudo pro-"videat, ut in singulis ecclesiis ad verum et probatum ex-"emplar canon Missæ cum omni diligentia corrigatur. 3. Correct missals to be provided.

"(IV.) Prohibemus etiam ne sacerdos laico ad pœnitentiam "venienti obtentu cupiditatis injungat, ut Missas faciat cele-"brari; et illud etiam decrevimus prohibendum, ne sacerdos "aliquis pro celebratione Missarum pretio constituto pactum "ineat, sed hoc duntaxat, quod offeretur in Missa recipiat. 4. Masses for penance, fixed sums for masses, forbidden.

"(V.) Statuimus ne in baptismate plures quam tres susci-"piant puerum de sacro fonte; masculum duo mares et una "mulier; fœminam duæ fœminæ et unus mas. 5. Three sponsors only for baptism. Ubi autem "puer, cujus baptisma ignoratur, reperitur expositus, sive "cum sale sive sine sale reperiatur, baptizetur, cum non in-"telligatur iteratum, quod nescitur fuisse collatum. Foundlings to be baptized.

"(VI.) Decrevimus etiam ut non, nisi summa et gravi "urgente necessitate, diaconus baptizet, vel Corpus Christi "cuiquam eroget, vel pœnitentiam confitenti imponat, ut juxta "paternorum tenorem canonum hæc ordini sacerdotali proprie "convenire decernat antiquitas. Sub eodem tenore constitu-"tionis adjicimus, ut quoties sacerdos ad puerum baptizandum "vel infirmum communicandum invitatur, moras innectere "non præsumat. 6. Deacons not to baptize, deliver the Sacrament, or impose penance, except in cases of necessity.

"(VII.) Cum in domo orationis, quæ domus Dei nuncupatur, "nihil debeat esse indecens, nihil inordinatum, præcipimus ut "personæ et vicarii ecclesiarum studeant providere secundum "competentes eis pensiones, prout ratio dictat, et consuetudo "approbata expostulat, quatenus ecclesiæ, quæ reparatione "indigent, reparentur; et cum ornamentis ministerio con-"gruis ministretur; et cum calice argenteo, ubi facultas "suppetit, sacramentum Eucharistiæ conficiatur. Huic ordi-"nationi terminum præfiximus ab initio nostræ legationis in "annum. 7. Provision for the repairs of churches, and their furniture. Quod si hæc medio tempore executioni mandata "non fuerint, decrevimus, ut post elapsum terminum de "ecclesiarum redditibus dispositio nostra plenum sortiatur "effectum. Term for executing this article.

"(VIII.) Statuimus etiam ut clerici, qui ab episcopo coro-"nam susceperunt, tonsuram habeant et coronam; quam si 8. Of the tonsure.

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" habere contempserint, ad hoc beneficiorum, si quæ habeant, " privatione cogantur; qui vero beneficia non habent, per " archidiaconum vel decanos tondeantur inviti.

9. Of the dress of priests.

" (IX.) Præcipimus etiam ut sacerdotes non in cappis manicatis incedant, sed in vestibus suo ordini congruis: ut sicut " cæteris dignitate præeminent, sic plenius formam et exemplum exhibeant honestatis.

10. Justice in ecclesiastical suits to be gratis.

" (X.) Cum scriptura beatum eum esse testetur qui manus " suas exuit ab omni munere, diligenti studio providendum Is. xxxiii. 15. " est, ut gratis exhibeatur justitia, nec pro ea in causis ecclesiasticis facienda vel adimenda, sive acceleranda vel differenda, quicquam pretii præsumat accipere, ut ei fructum " justitiæ suæ tempore opportuno retribuat Justus Judex.

11. Tithes not to be diminished.

" (XI.) Cum decimæ sint tributa egentium animarum, et ex " præcepto Domini dari debeant, non est reddentis eas diminuere. Statuimus itaque, ut de his quæ renovantur per " annum, cum omni integritate decimæ debitæ et consuetæ " conferantur: ita ut inprimis decimæ absque ulla diminutione " ecclesiæ dentur, postmodum de novem partibus mercedes " messorum et aliorum servientum pro arbitrio solventis " tribuantur.

12. Monks and canons regular and nuns are not to farm obediences, or to go on pilgrimages, or quit the monasteries without cause; and laymen not to farm tithes.

" (XII.) Exigit professio religiosæ sanctitatis, ut monachi et " canonici regulares, et moniales, religiose et regulariter conversentur. Ut ergo eis adimatur opportunitas evagandi, " prohibemus ne redditus, quos obedientias vocant, ad firmam " teneant; nec iter peregrinationis arripiant, nec extra monasteria sine certa et rationabili causa, nec absque societate, " cujus certa sit honestas et indubitata, proficiscantur. De " monialibus autem id specialiter adjicimus, ut absque societate " abbatissæ vel priorissæ ambitum monasterii non egrediantur. " Adjicimus etiam prohibentes, ne laicus aliquis ecclesiam vel " decimas ad firmam recipiat, sive solus, sive clerico sociatus.

13. Perjurers to be excommunicated annually.

" (XIII.) Ut calumniatorum improbitas, et temere jurantium " malitia timore cœlestis judicii retundatur, præcipimus ut " quilibet sacerdos de cætero ter in anno solemniter, accensis " candelis pulsatisque campanis, eos excommunicet, qui in " recognitionibus aliisve testimoniis scienter et sponte pejerabunt; et eos qui malitiose alios facient pejerare; eosque " singulis Dominicis diebus excommunicatos denunciet, ut " crebra maledictionis iteratio eos a sua iniquitate retrahat, " quos accusatio propriæ conscientiæ non deterret. Si vero " de perjurio pœniteant, ad archiepiscopum vel episcopum, vel " generalem diocesis confessorem absente archiepiscopo vel " episcopo, transmittantur, ab eo pœnitentiam suscepturi: in " extremis vero laborantibus insinuanda non imponenda est

"poenitentia, eisque firmiter injungatur ut, si vixerint, archi- A.D. 1195. June 14–15. Council of York.
"episcopum vel episcopum, vel generalem diocesis confesso-
"rem absente archiepiscopo vel episcopo, adeant, ut eis poeni-
"tentia competens imponatur.

"(XIV.) Quia sermo Domini est, 'Sacerdos meus si deli- 14. Of the morals of the clergy.
Levit. iv. 3. "'querit, delinquere faciet populum meum; et ruina populi
Hosea ix. 8. "'sacerdos nequam,' exigit tanti ordinis excellentia, ut a
"publicis potationibus et tabernis sacerdotes abstineant, et qui
"voto continentiæ sunt astricti, nequaquam ad actus turpi-
"tudinis se relaxent. Prohibemus igitur ne focarias habeant in
"domibus suis, nec ad ejectas, in nostræ constitutionis fraudem,
"accessum in domibus alienis. Si vero in turpitudine sua
"perstiterint, et hoc decani dissimulantes ad notitiam præla-
"torum suorum non detulerint, ab officio suspendantur: qui
"vero zelo Dei accensi prælatis nunciaverint excessus eorum,
"Divinæ benedictionis gratiam consequantur. Pœna autem
"eorum qui publice focarias tenent, hæc erit, ut tanquam
"infames ab aliorum accusatione et a testimonio repellantur:
"si vero nec hujus pœnæ metu resipuerint, ab officio et bene-
"ficio se noverint suspendendos.

"(XV.) Suspectus de crimine per famam communem, vel 15. Of process against clergy of bad character.
"verisimilia indicia, per decanum loci admoneatur familiariter,
"semel, secundo, et tertio, ut se corrigat: quod si non fece-
"rit, decanus adjunctis sibi duobus vel tribus, penes quos
"ejus fama laborat, eum corripiat; si nec sic videatur corrigi,
"dicatur ecclesiæ, scilicet arguatur in capitulo, ut convictus vel
"confessus canonice puniatur; inficianti, si convinci non pote-
"rit, canonica purgatio indicatur; ita quod numerum duodena-
"rium non excedat; infra numerum plures paucioresve poterunt
"recipi secundum statum personæ et quantitatem sive quali-
"tatem infamiæ pro arbitrio judicantis; et statim primo die
"quo paratus est is, qui infamia laborat, se purgare, purgatio
"admittatur, ne metu vexationis ex dilationibus contingentis
"pecunia extorqueatur. Hoc et supradicta statuimus salva in
"omnibus sacrosanctæ Romanæ sedis auctoritate et dignitate."

In concilio[1] autem illo magister Petrus de Dinan exigebat sibi fieri plenariam restitutionem de archidiaconatu de Westrihing, quem Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus ei dederat, mandans capitulo Eboraci per litteras suas, ut eum reciperent, et in stallum mitterent; cui Symon decanus et capitulum Eboracense

Peter of Dinan demands the archdeaconry of the West Riding.

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[1] *In concilio*] Here MSS. B. D. I. resume.

A.D. 1195. June 14-15.

The dean and chapter claim the appointment on the ground of lapse.

responderunt, quod archiepiscopus non potuit archidiaconatum illum alicui dare, quia ultra terminum statutum in concilio Lateranensi dare distulit; in quo concilio Alexander papa tertius constituit, quod "cum præbendas, ecclesias, seu quælibet officia in aliqua ecclesia "vacare contigerit, non diu maneant in suspenso, sed "infra sex menses personis, qui digne administrare "valeant, conferantur. Si autem episcopus, ubi ad eum "spectaverit, conferre distulerit, per capitulum ordine"tur; quod si ad capitulum electio pertinuerit, et infra "præscriptum terminum hoc non fecerit, episcopus "secundum Deum, cum religiosorum virorum consilio "exequatur: aut si omnes forte neglexerint, metropo"litanus de episcopis[1] secundum Deum absque illorum "contradictione disponat."[2] Hujus ergo dispositionis auctoritate, et privilegii sui munimine a Cœlestino papa tertio ecclesiæ Eboracensi indulto, asserebant præfatus decanus et capitulum Eboracense, quod ad illos spectat donatio prædicti archidiaconatus et aliorum reddituum vacantium in ecclesia Eboracensi, quos archiepiscopus suus non dederat in fixum Lateranensis concilii terminum; sed officiales Eboracensis archiepiscopi, scilicet, magister Gyrardus de Rowelle, et magister Honorius,[3] appellaverunt contra privilegium illud, et appellationem, quam dominus eorum archiepiscopus in recessu suo fecerat pro statu ecclesiæ suæ, renovaverunt coram legato et toto concilio; et quamvis in privilegio illo continebatur, "remota appellatione," tamen legatus detulit appellationi officialium Eboracensis archiepiscopi.

The archbishop's officials appeal against this, and the legate defers to them.

Illness of the king of Scots.

Eodem anno Willelmus rex Scottorum ægrotavit, in villa sua quæ dicitur Clacmanan; et statuit Othonem

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[1] *episcopis*] ipsis, D. I. Benedict also has *episcopis;* but Gervase reads *ipsis*, which is the reading approved by the editors of the *Concilia*, and gives the best sense.

[2] *disponat*] See the decree of the Lateran Council of 1179, Vol. ii., p. 185.

[3] *Honorius*] Made archdeacon of Richmond in 1198, by the archbishop, but refused installation by the dean.

filium Henrici ducis Saxoniæ, nepotem Ricardi regis Angliæ, sibi successurum in regnum Scottorum, ita quod ipse Otho filiam suam primogenitam[1] in uxorem cum regno duceret. Et quamvis rex plures haberet qui voluntati suæ in hoc consentirent, tamen comes Patricius[2] et alii multi contradixerunt, dicentes quod filiam suam non reciperent reginam, quia non erat consuetudo regni illius, quod mulier regnum illud haberet, quamdiu frater vel nepos esset in progenie sua, qui regnum de jure habere posset. Et paulo post per Dei misericordiam rex Scottorum de illa convaluit infirmitate, manens in eodem proposito, quod habebat, de filia sua maritanda prædicto Othoni cum regno suo.

A.D. 1195. He wishes to marry Otho of Saxony to his daughter and make him his heir, but the barons forbid.

Recovery of the king.

Eodem anno Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, apostolicæ sedis legatus, et totius Angliæ justitiarius, deposuit Robertum abbatem de Tornai, reclamantem, et ad præsentiam domini papæ appellantem: et in carcere et in vinculis eum tenuit per annum et per[3] dimidium anni apud Gloucestre.

The abbot of Thorney deposed.

Eodem anno prædictus[4] archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ justitiarius, misit per totam Angliam hujusmodi formam juramenti, videlicet;

Judicial measures of the archbishop.

Edictum regium.

" Quod omnes homines regni Angliæ pacem domini regis " pro posse suo servabunt; et quod nec latrones nec robatores " nec eorum receptatores erunt,[5] nec in aliquo eis consentient; " et quod cum hujusmodi malefactores scire poterunt, illos " pro toto posse suo capient, et vicecomiti liberabunt; qui " nullo modo deliberentur nisi per dominum regem, vel capi- " talem justitiam suam: et si illos capere non poterunt, eos " ballivis domini regis, quicunque fuerint, scire facient. Le- " vato autem clamore insequendi utlagos, robatores, latrones, " aut eorum receptatores,[6] omnes sectam illam plene facient

Proclamation for the capture and trial of malefactors.

Hue and cry

[1] *primogenitam*] Margaret, afterwards married to Hubert de Burgh. See below, p. 308.

[2] *Patricius*] Earl of Dunbar.

[3] *per*] om. D. I.

[4] *prædictus*] præfatus, G.

[5] *erunt*] om. D. I.

[6] *receptatores*] receptores, I.

A.D. 1195. "pro toto posse suo; et si quem viderint, vel manifestum "fuerit sectam illam non fecisse, vel sine licentia se ab ea "subtraxisse,[1] eos tanquam malefactores ipsos capient, et vicecomiti liberabunt, non deliberandos nisi per regem, aut ejus "capitalem justitiam. Milites vero ad hoc assignati facient "venire omnes de ballia sua coram se a quindecim annis "et ultra; et jurare facient quod pacem domini regis, ut "supradictum est, servabunt; et quod nec utlagi, nec robatores, nec latrones, nec eorum receptatores erunt, nec in "aliquo eis consentient; et quod sectam, ut prædictum est, "plenam facient, et quod si cum malefactione aliquem[2] ceperint, militibus in ballia sua super se positis, et ad hoc assignatis, eum liberabunt, qui eum vicecomiti liberabunt[3] custodiendum; similiter si aliquem viderint, vel eis notum "fuerit, levato clamore insequendi malefactores prædictos, qui "sectam non fecerit, vel a secta illa se subtraxerit sine licentia, eum tanquam malefactorem ipsum capient, et militibus "prædictis liberabunt, vicecomiti liberandum, et custodiendum, "ut ipsum malefactorem; nec liberandum nisi per præceptum "domini regis vel ejus capitalis justitiæ."

Knights assigned to receive the oaths of all over fifteen to maintain the king's peace.

Effect of this provision.

Ad hæc igitur exsequenda missi sunt per singulos comitatus Angliæ viri electi et fideles, qui per sacramentum fidelium hominum de visnetis multos ceperunt, et carceribus regis incluserunt. At multi inde præmuniti et sibi male conscii fugerunt, relictis domibus et possessionibus suis.

After June 24.

The emperor sends Richard a crown, and charges him to invade Philip's dominions.

Eodem anno, post Nativitatem Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, Henricus Romanorum imperator misit Ricardo regi Angliæ coronam magnam auream, et valde pretiosam, in mutuæ dilectionis signum; mandans ei in fide quam illi debebat, et sicut obsides suos diligebat, ne perirent, quod ipse terram regis Franciæ hostiliter invaderet, et ipse imperator succursum ei faceret competentem ad injurias sibi a rege Franciæ factas ulciscendas; sed rex Angliæ, timens quod in hoc mandato aliquid proditionis lateret, misit ad imperatorem Willelmum Eliensem[4] episcopum, cancellarium suum, ad in-

Richard hesitates.

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[1] *subtraxisse*] substraxisse, I.
[2] *aliquem*] aliqua, D. I.
[3] *liberabunt*] ad, ius. B. D. I.
[4] *Eliensem*] om. B. D. I.

quirendum qualem succursum, et quantum, et ubi, et quando imperator ei faceret contra regem Franciæ. Notum enim erat regi Angliæ, quod prædictus imperator super omnia desiderabat, ut regnum Franciæ Romanorum imperio subjaceret; et exinde conjiciebat rex Angliæ, quod si imperator et rex Franciæ confœderarentur, totum in detrimentum suum redundaret. Rex vero Franciæ sciens quod cancellarius regis Angliæ per terram suam transiret, apposuit apprehendere illum; sed fraudatus a desiderio suo mandavit regi Angliæ treugam dissolutam; et statim concurrentes utriusque exercitus damna fecerunt hinc et inde maxima, in[1] interfectione hominum, et in rapinis, et in incendiis. Rex autem Franciæ videns se nequaquam defendere posse contra regem Angliæ, castella multa Normanniæ subvertit, quæ rex Angliæ postmodum refirmavit, et fortiora fecit quam prius fuerant.

A.D. 1195. July. The chancellor sent to inquire what help the emperor will give.

Philip tries to arrest him, and announces that the truce is broken.

Philip destroys several castles in Normandy.

Quadam autem die, ante subversionem castelli de valle Rodoli, prædicti reges venerunt ad colloquium prope castellum illud, et dum colloquerentur, cecidit magna[2] pars murorum castelli per suffossores regis Franciæ. Quod rex Angliæ videns, relicto colloquio, impetum fecit in exercitum regis Franciæ, et rex Franciæ cum suis versus est in fugam; et cum transiret pontem, pons corruit, et ipse cum gente sua pene submersus est in Secana fluvio; sed vix tandem ulteriorem ripam attingens ibidem in ripa fluminis castra metatus est. Et rex Angliæ ad castellum Rodoli rediit, et multos de familia regis Franciæ cepit; et congregans exercitum magnum de omnibus terris suis cismarinis et transmarinis, intravit terram regis Franciæ in pluribus locis, et fecit stragem magnam ex obstantibus, et segetes non maturas messuit, et vineas et arbores fructiferas exstirpavit, et villas combussit.

Conference at Vaudreuil.

Narrow escape of Philip.

Capture of Vaudreuil.

Richard invades France.

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[1] *in*] om. D. I.

[2] *magna*] maxima, B. D. I. Richard of Devizes states that the breach of the truce occurred in July; p. 196.

De adventu imperatoris Affricæ in Hispaniam.

A.D. 1195. July. The emperor of Morocco invades Spain, wins a great battle, and besieges the king of Castile in Toledo.

Eodem anno, ex occasione dissensionis quæ erat inter Philippum regem Franciæ et Ricardum regem Angliæ, Boyac Almiramimoli, imperator Africanorum, magno congregato exercitu, intravit fines Christianorum qui[1] sunt in Hispania; et expugnavit eos, et cepit civitates et castella et munitiones eorum, et comminuit omnia, et Aldefonsum regem Castellæ devicit in prælio campestri,[2] et a campo fugatum obsedit in Toleto civitate sua; sed nihil ibi proficiens cum exercitu suo inde recessit.

Terms of peace arranged between Richard and Philip.

Quod cum rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ audissent, convenerunt ad colloquium de pace inter eos facienda, in quo inter eos convenit in hunc modum: quod Lodowicus, filius et hæres regis Franciæ, duceret in uxorem sororem Arturi ducis Britanniæ, neptem præfati regis Angliæ; et ipse rex Angliæ quieta clamaret eis et hæredibus eorum Gysortium, et Neafle, et Baudemunt, cum Wougesin[3] Normannico, et Vernun, et Yveri,[4] et Pasci, et insuper daret eis viginti millia marcarum argenti; et hæc contra rex Franciæ quieta clamaret regi Angliæ omnia quæ sibi petebat in comite de Engolismo, et redderet ei comitatum de Albemarlia, et comitatum de Auco, et castellum de Arches, et alia castella multa, quæ ceperat super eum in Normannia et in aliis terris suis per guerram. Sed hæc omnia dilationem ceperunt usque ad octavas Omnium Sanctorum, propter prohibitionem Romanorum imperatoris, qui prohibuerat regi Angliæ ne ipse pacem cum rege Franciæ faceret, nisi de consensu et consilio suo. Præ-

Peace deferred until Nov. 8.

[1] The battle was fought July 18.

[2] *qui*] quæ, B. I.

[3] *Wougesin*] Veugesin, B. D. I.

[4] *Yveri*] Yvere, B. D. I. The terms of peace were drawn up on the 7th of May, between Issoudun and Charroux, and confirmed by Richard between Gaillon and Vaudreuil the same year. They are given in the Fœdera I. 66, "ex rotulo in Thesaurar.;" of which there is a copy in the Trésor des Chartes.

terea rex Angliæ in eodem colloquio[1] reddidit Philippo regi Franciæ Alesiam sororem suam, quam ipse mox dedit in uxorem Johanni[2] comiti de Pontif.

A.D. 1195. August. Alais at last surrendered.

Interim pagani, terram Sanctii[3] regis Portugalensis devastantes, venerunt ad abbatiam de Alkubaz, et monachos de ordine Cisterciensi ibidem Deo servientes, et eis resistentes, interfecerunt, et procedentes inde venerunt ad aliam domum ejusdem ordinis; et monachi exeuntes eis obviam, ceciderunt ad pedes paganorum, vitam et misericordiam postulantes, et pagani miserti illorum vitam donaverunt illis; et audientes vitam et conversationem illorum, laudaverunt eos, dicentes quod salvarentur in ordine illo, si mulieres haberent. Est enim sciendum quod summa paganorum religio est luxuria.

Massacre of monks by the Saracens in Portugal.

They spare a monastery for the good lives of the monks.

Eodem anno Hugo[4] Lincolniensis episcopus dedit Ricardo regi Angliæ M. marcas argenti, pro libertate Lincolniensis ecclesiæ redimenda: rex vero, ex consuetudine regum Anglorum prædecessorum suorum, petiit ab episcopo Lincolniensi singulis annis unum mantellum furratum de sabelinis, et pro hujus mantelli quieta clamantia in perpetuum ab ipso rege et hæredibus suis, prædictus Lincolniensis episcopus dedit regi præfatam pecuniam, et recepit a rege cartam suam de quieta clamantia.

Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, frees his church from the annual tribute of a furred mantle.

Interim Willelmus Eliensis episcopus, et cæteri nuncii regis Angliæ, qui missi fuerant ad imperatorem, redierunt, dicentes quod forma illa pacis, quæ inter ipsum et regem Franciæ formata erat, non placebat im-

The bishop of Ely reports that the peace displeases the emperor.

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[1] *in eodem colloquio*] Rigord gives the date of the marriage of Alais, Aug. 20.

[2] *Johanni*] The count of Ponthieu who married Alais was not John, but his son William III., who succeeded him in 1191; and died in 1221, leaving a daughter by Alais named Mary.

[3] *Sanctii*] Sanxii, G.

[4] *Hugo*] The history of this transaction is given by the biographer of S. Hugh, in the *Magna Vita*, edited by Mr. Dimock, pp. 183–188. Mr. Dimock mentions the existence of a copy of the act of release, in the Registrum Remigii, at Lincoln, and giving the date Le Mans, June 23, 1194: note, p. 185.

A.D. 1195. The emperor remits 17,000 marks of the ransom.

peratori, quia ignominiosum esse videbatur imperatori, si rex Angliæ quicquam quietum clamaret quod in potestate sua non erat: et ad recuperandum quod rex Angliæ amiserat per captionem suam, perdonavit ei imperator de redemptione sua septemdecim millia marcarum argenti.

Item colloquium inter Philippum regem Franciæ et Ricardum regem Angliæ.

Nov. 8. Conference of Richard and Philip at Verneuil.

Adveniente igitur termino colloquii, quod statuerunt inter se rex Angliæ et rex Franciæ, convenerunt prope Vernolium in octavis Omnium Sanctorum; et appropinquante hora colloquii, rex Angliæ appropiavit, ut cum rege Franciæ loqueretur; sed Willelmus Remensis archiepiscopus venit obviam ei, et dixit ex parte regis Franciæ, quod non oporteret eum ita[1] festinare, quia rex Franciæ adhuc cum suis in consilio erat. Credidit itaque illi rex Angliæ, et reversus est ad locum unde venerat, et exspectans usque ad horam nonam noluit diutius exspectare; sed appropiavit, ut cum rege Franciæ loqueretur; et Philippus Belvacensis episcopus dixit ei coram rege Franciæ: "Dominus noster[2] rex "Franciæ calumniatur te de fide læsa et perjurio, quia "jurasti, et fidem dedisti, quod venires hodie ad colloquium hora tertia, et non venisti, et ideo ipse te "defidat:" et sic finito colloquio uterque rex reversus est in terram suam.

The bishop of Beauvais accuses Richard of treachery in not coming earlier.

Nov. 10. The French burn Dieppe.

Et tertia die sequenti homines regis Franciæ faciebant in Normannia, et in aliis terris regis Angliæ, violentas prædationes cum tumultu: et venientes ad villam de Depe, quam rex Angliæ paulo ante reædificaverat, combusserunt eam, et naves quæ in portu erant, injecto igne Græco, in cineres redegerunt.

Philip comes to Issoudun.

Deinde Philippus rex Franciæ, post multos variosque bellorum casus, venit cum exercitu suo ad Yssoudun,[3]

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[1] *ita*] om. B. D. I.
[2] *noster*] om. B. D. I.
[3] *Yssoudun*] Ysoudun, D. I.

et villam cepit, et castellum obsedit. Quod cum regi Angliæ nunciatum esset, qui tunc temporis morabatur in Normannia apud Vallem Rodoli, omnibus aliis negotiis suis prætermissis, trium dierum itinera in unum concludens venit Yssoudun,[1] et castellum suum, quod rex Franciæ obsederat, intravit. Confluebat ergo ad eum undique armatorum copiosa multitudo. De cujus adventu rex Franciæ valde territus, petiit ab eo licentiam recedendi inde cum exercitu suo sine impedimento; quod cum ei negatum fuisset, petiit colloquium habere cum rege[2] Angliæ, et factum est ita.

A.D. 1195. November. and takes it.

Richard comes to the rescue.

Philip asks for a parley.

In colloquio autem illo mediantibus archiepiscopis et episcopis, et viris utriusque partis quampluribus, præstitum est sacramentum hinc et inde, quod ab illo die, videlicet a die Sabbati proxima post festum Sancti Nicholai, pacem et concordiam inter se et homines suos et terras suas haberent, usque ad festum Sancti Hilarii proximo sequens; et tunc convenirent apud Lovers, ad pacem et finalem concordiam inter eos faciendam in majori audientia suorum. Et quia Nativitas Domini instabat, et prædicti reges non habebant in partibus illis, quod in tanta solemnitate regalibus expensis sufficeret, reversi sunt in regiones suas. Et rex Angliæ perrexit inde Pictavim; et fuit ibi in Nativitate Domini, quæ secunda feria evenit.

Dec. 9. Truce made until Jan. 13, when the kings are to meet at Louviers.

Richard goes to Poictiers for Christmas.

Interim Aldefonsus rex Castellæ congregato exercitu, in sola virtutis Dei misericordia fiduciam habens, commisit prælium cum exercitu paganorum, et eos confecit, et maximam illorum partem gladio interfecit, et cæteros a finibus suis fugavit.

Victory of the king of Castile.

Eodem anno canonici Eboracensis ecclesiæ sæpe et multum sollicitaverunt Hugonem Lincolniensem episcopum, ut ipse sententiam interdicti et suspensionis proferret in Gaufridum Eboracensem archiepiscopum.

The canons of York pray for a sentence against the archbishop.

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[1] *Yssoudun*] Ysoudun, D. I. | [2] *cum rege*] om. Savile.

A.D. 1195. The bishop of Lincoln refuses to suspend him, and the canons complain to the pope.

Constabat enim quod prædictus archiepiscopus non comparuit in conspectu domini papæ ad terminum sibi constitutum. Quibus præfatus Lincolniensis episcopus respondit, quod mallet suspendi quam archiepiscopum illum suspendere. Quo audito præfati canonici miserunt nuncios suos Romam ad Cœlestinum papam, conquerentes quod Lincolniensis episcopus, et cæteri judices sui delegati, non processerunt secundum formam apostolici mandati.

Death of the bishop of Worcester.

Eodem anno obiit Henricus Wigornensis episcopus;[1] cui successit in episcopatu illo Johannes de Constantiis, Rothomagensis ecclesiæ decanus.

Death of William de Fortibus.

Eodem anno obiit Willelmus de Forz, comes Albemarliæ; cui successit in comitatu illo Baldewinus de Betun, dono Ricardi regis Angliæ; et duxit uxorem comitissam Albemarliæ.[2]

Death of Isaac of Cyprus;

Eodem anno obiit Ysakius quondam imperator Cypri, quem Ricardus rex Angliæ expugnavit.

and of Guy of Lusignan.

Eodem anno obiit Gwido quondam rex Jerusalem, cui rex Ricardus Angliæ vendiderat insulam Cypri.[3] Quo defuncto, Aymery[4] frater suus factus est dominus Cypri.

New marriage of Philip.

Eodem anno Philippus rex Franciæ duxit sibi in uxorem filiam ducis de Genest[5] in Alemannia:

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[1] Henry de Soilli; see above, p. 15. He died Oct. 24, 1195, and his successor was consecrated Oct. 20, 1196. Gerv., 1597.

[2] *comitissam Albemarliæ*] Hawisia, daughter of William I., son of king Stephen; she was married first to William Mandeville, earl of Essex, who died in 1189. According to the Chronicle of Meaux Abbey, ed. Bond, vol. i., p. 91, Baldwin of Bethune was her second husband; and William de Fortibus her third. But this account, which I have followed in a note on Benedict of Peterborough, ii. 92, is wrong; for Baldwin was alive until 1211. The *Art de Verifier les Dates* gives Hawisia four husbands, William Mandeville, Geoffrey de Fortibus, Baldwin of Bethune, and William de Fortibus.

[3] *Cypri*] de Cypri, D. I.

[4] *Aymery*] Haymeri, G. Amalric II., king of Jerusalem, 1197–1205; king of Cyprus, 1195–1205: he was the fourth husband of queen Isabella.

[5] *Genest*] Berthold V., duke of Merania, margrave of Istria, and duke of Dalmatia, 1187–1204. It is not easy to say which of his widely scattered territories is re-

quo facto Cnut rex Dacorum, frater prædictæ Botildæ reginæ Francorum, conquestus est Cœlestino papæ de injuria quam præfatus rex Franciæ fecerat sorori suæ, qui eam dimisit sine causa cognita. Conquestus est etiam de Willelmo Remensi archiepiscopo, qui sine auctoritate apostolica, sedens pro tribunali, divortium fecit inter prædictum regem Franciæ et Botildam sponsam suam, sine cognitione causæ. Conquestus est etiam de Stephano [1] de Noyun, et Philippo Belvacensi, et Reginaldo Carnotensi, et Gwidone [2] Aurelianensi, et Rotrodo [3] de Chacluns episcopis, et de Roberto de Drues, et Lodowico de Blais,[4] et Theobaldo de Campania, et Stephano [5] de Neverz comitibus, et de Simone Castellano de Insula, et Petro de Maynil, et Valtero camerario regis Franciæ, baronibus; qui juraverunt coram Remensi archiepiscopo, quod prædicta Botilda, et filia comitis de Haynou,[6] quæ fuerat uxor prædicti regis Franciæ, ita affines erant in consanguinitate, quod idem Philippus rex Franciæ nulla ratione debuit aut potuit præfatam Botildam habere uxorem. Et quamvis prædictus rex Dacorum paratus esset probare, illos falsum dixisse adversus eam testimonium, et quod divortium illud nullum fuit, nec teneri debuit; tamen, propter favorem regis Franciæ, noluit eum Cœlestinus papa in hac parte exaudire.

A.D. 1195. Complaint of the queen to the pope, against the bishops who pronounced the divorce.

The pope favours the king of France.

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presented by the word in the text. His daughter, commonly called Agnes, is named Maria by Rigord, who dates the marriage in June 1196.

[1] *Stephano*] of Nemours, 1188–1221.

[2] *Gwidone*] Henry of Dreux was bishop of Orleans from 1186 to 1198.

[3] *Rotrodo*] of Perche, 1190–1201.

[4] *Blais*] Bleis, B. I.

[5] *Stephano*] Properly Peter of Courtenay.

[6] *Haynou*] Hanov, B. Hanou, I. The names are summed up in D; "de aliis episcopis et comitibus "et baronibus, et aliis viris quam- "pluribus."

A.D. 1195. Dec. 25.

Septimus annus regni Ricardi regis Angliæ.

Richard keeps Christmas at Poictiers.

Anno gratiæ millesimo centesimo nonagesimo sexto, qui est annus septimus regni Ricardi regis Angliæ, idem rex fuit apud Pictavim die Natalis Domini, quæ feria secunda evenit. Et Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ justitiarius, et apostolicæ sedis legatus, fuit eodem die apud Eboracum, missus ex parte regis loqui cum Willelmo rege Scottorum de matrimonio contrahendo inter Othonem filium Henrici ducis Saxoniæ, nepotem Ricardi regis Angliæ, et Margaretam filiam suam. Convenerat enim inter Ricardum regem Angliæ, et Willelmum regem Scotiæ, quod idem rex Scotiæ daret prædicto Othoni Margaretam filiam suam in uxorem cum toto[1] Loennais; et quod rex Angliæ daret Othoni, et filiæ regis Scotiæ, et hæredibus eorum, totam Northymbriam et comitatum Carleoli;[2] et rex Angliæ haberet in custodia totum Loennais[3] cum castellis suis; et rex Scotiæ haberet in custodia totam Northymbriam et comitatum Carleoli[4] cum castellis suis. Sed quia regina Scottorum tunc temporis prægnans erat, noluit rex Scotiæ stare prædictæ conventioni, sperans quod Dominus daret ei filium.

The archbishop of Canterbury at York.

Proposed marriage of Otho of Saxony.

Dec. 29. Election of Philip of Poictiers as bishop of Durham.

Eodem anno, quinto Natalis Domini die, Bertramnus,[5] Dunelmensis ecclesiæ prior, occurrit Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo apud Alvertonam; et ibi coram eo elegit magistrum Philippum clericum et familiarem Ricardi regis Angliæ, in Dunelmensem episcopum.

Letter of the pope to the Dean of York.

Eodem anno[6] Cœlestinus papa, ad instantiam nunciorum decani et canonicorum Eboraci, in hac forma scripsit prædicto Simoni, Eboracensis ecclesiæ decano;

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[1] *toto*] om. I.

[2] *Carleoli*] Cardeoli, D. I.

[3] *Loennais*] Loenais, B. Leonais, D. I.

[4] *Carleoli*] Cardeoli, D. I.

[5] *Bertramnus*] Bertrannus, I. He was prior of Durham from 1188 to 1209.

[6] *Eodem anno . . . . decano*] omitted in B. D. I., with the letters following.

Epistola Cœlestini papæ ad Simonem decanum Eboracensem, de administratione Eboracensis diocesis sibi commissa. A.D. 1195. Dec. 23.

"Cœlestinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio "Simoni, decano Eboraci, salutem et apostolicam benedic"tionem. Cum universalis ecclesiæ regimen nobis licet in"sufficientibus, Divina favente gratia, sit commissum, et "singularum ex eis casibus præcavere teneamur, et utilitati"bus providere: illud nobis est summo opere præcavendum, "ne inde ecclesiæ in temporalibus vel spiritualibus detri"mentum incurrant, unde ipsarum honorem et commodum "credimus procurare. Cum enim pensatis personarum meritis, "et diligenter inspectis, aliquis juxta suorum exigentiam "meritorum per nos fuerit suæ dignitatis potestate suspensus, "et ab ecclesiarum prælatione ad tempus amotus, ne subditis "pastoris cura privatis malignandi materia tribuatur, et "occasio litigandi, eis in tali debemus providere persona, "quæ et litigantium dirimere quæstiones, et subditorum ex"cessus corrigere noverit; et quantum sui officii debitum "patitur, et diligat et affectet. Inde est, quod cum Ebora"censis archiepiscopus, ejus actibus exigentibus, et contumacia "faciente, qui abusus patientia nostra neque a suis iniqui"tatibus destitit, nec nostro se conspectui, indulto sibi miseri"corditer termino, præsentavit, ab usu pallii, et episcopalis "officii executione, administratione quoque tam spiritualium "quam temporalium, et beneficiorum perceptione, nostra sit "auctoritate suspensus; discretioni tuæ auctoritate præsentium "duximus indulgendum, ut cum consilio canonicorum in Ebo"racensi ecclesia residentium, clericorum Eboracensis diocesis "excessus corrigere valeas; et querelantium tam clericorum "quam laicorum Eboracensis diocesis controversias, quæ "judicio exigunt ecclesiastico terminari, canonice diffinire; "canonica severitate, appellatione remota, percellens eum qui "super hoc contumaciter duxerit resistendum, donec eidem "ecclesiæ aliter fuerit sollicitudine nostra provisum. Nulli "ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ conces"sionis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire: si quis "autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipo"tentis Dei, et Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum Ejus, se "noverit incursurum. Datum Laterani, x. kalendas Januarii "pontificatus nostri anno quinto."

The pope writes to Simon of Apulia, dean of York, that since he has suspended the archbishop for contumacy, he commits to the dean the care of discipline in the church and diocese.

A.D. 1195. Dec. 23.

Epistola Cœlestini papæ universo clero archiepiscopatus Eboracensis, de suspensione Gaufridi Eboracensis archiepiscopi, et administratione concessa Simoni decano.[1]

The pope writes to the clergy of the province of York.

"Cœlestinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis "universis abbatibus, prioribus, archidiaconis, decanis, et aliis "clericis, comitibus et baronibus, et aliis in Eboracensi pro-"vincia constitutis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. "Quam misericorditer Romana ecclesia super facto Ebora-"censis archiepiscopi processerit, et honeste, si litterarum "nostrarum tenorem, quas utraque partium a sede apostolica "diversis temporibus impetravit, diligenter attenditis, vobis "poterit manifestius ac liquidius apparere. Cum enim signifi-"cantibus dilectis filiis decano et capitulo Eboraci, et non "paucis abbatibus, prioribus, et aliis ecclesiæ prælatis in "regno Angliæ constitutis, ad apostolatus nostri audien-"tiam pervenisset, dictum archiepiscopum, pastoralis officii "debito prætermisso, sæcularibus negotiis implicari, et non "Divinis obsequiis, non clericis ordinandis, non ecclesiis "dedicandis, non synodis celebrandis, non benedicendis ab-"batibus; sed venationibus et aucupitio totius animi sui stu-"dium applicare, et exercere alia quæ commisso sibi officio "pontificali et honori non modicum derogant; non statim "formavimus judicium contra eum; sed inquisitionem famæ "ipsius venerabili fratri nostro Lincolniensi episcopo, et "dilectis filiis archidiacono de Northamton, et priori de Pon-"tefracto duximus committendam; cupientes ipsum archi-"episcopum per interminationem suspensionis, si de his quæ "nobis fuerant significata constaret, vel si ea legitime com-"probari non possent, per exhibitionem canonicæ purgationis, "quam ei cum tribus episcopis et totidem abbatibus fece-"ramus indici, a suis excessibus deterrere, et ad veritatis "tramitem revocare. Verum quoniam idem archiepiscopus, "antequam citatio eorundem judicum pervenisset, ad sedem "appellavit apostolicam, dicti judices juxta litterarum nos-"trarum tenorem, spatio ei trium mensium indulto, kalendas "Junii, quo appellationem interpositam prosequi non differret, "ipsi procuraverunt pro termino assignare. Deinde vero, cum "archiepiscopus ipse iter arripuisset ad sedem apostolicam

The charges against the archbishop have been examined by proper judges.

These fixed June 1, for his appearance at Rome.

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[1] This letter is omitted in MSS. B. D. I.

"veniendi, timens ne propter inclementiam aeris aliquod per- A.D. 1195. Dec. 23.
"sonæ ipsius periculum eveniret, a nobis litteris et nunciis
"postulavit, ut statutum sibi terminum deberemus miseri-
"corditer prorogare; nos vero precibus ipsius annuentes, et
"credentes quod eo citius de suis excessibus pœniteret, quod
"nos ad audiendas petitiones suas magis propitios et faciles
"inveniret, terminum usque ad octavas Beati Martini proximo
"præteritas, prosequendæ appellationis ad ipsum purgandum
"statuimus; memoratis judicibus dantes nihilominus in man-
"datis, ut si tunc inde archiepiscopus nostro aspectui neglig-
"eret se præsentare, exinde juxta priorum litterarum tenorem
"in causa procederent, et quæ ipsis per easdem litteras man-
"data fuerant, exsequi procurarent. Cæterum memorato
"termino jam transacto, cum ad Romanam ecclesiam nec
"accesserit, nec aliquem miserit responsalem qui absentiam
"suam quolibet modo excusaret, ipsius inobedientiam et
"contumaciam attendentes, ipsum ab usu pallii, et pontificalis
"officii executione, administratione etiam tam temporalium
"quam spiritualium, ac perceptione beneficiorum, duximus
"suspendendum; memoratis judicibus per apostolica scripta
"mandantes, ut eum per totam Eboracensem diocesim et pro-
"vinciam suspensum a nobis publice statuant nunciare. Ideo-
"que universitati vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus,
"quatenus eidem archiepiscopo, vel officialibus ejus, nec in
"spiritualibus nec temporalibus præsumatis aliquatenus re-
"spondere; sed si quas inter aliquos vestrum in Eboracensi
"diocesi positorum quæstiones oriri contingat, quæ judicio
"ecclesiastico debeant terminari, ad audientiam dilecti filii
"nostri Simonis, Eboracensis decani, easdem controversias de-
"feratis, ipsius judicium recepturi humiliter, et firmiter serva-
"turi; scientes nos eidem decano de solita sedis apostolicæ
"misericordia indulsisse, ut cum consilio canonicorum suorum
"in Eboracensi ecclesia residentium excessus corrigat cleri-
"corum, et eorum ac laicorum, qui ecclesiasticam audientiam
"exigunt, in Eboracensi diocesi definiat quæstiones. Datum
"Laterani, x. kalendas Januarii, pontificatus nostri anno
"quinto."

He asked for a postponement.

The 18th of November fixed.

The archbishop failed to appear.

He is therefore suspended.

The dean of York will act as judge in cases of discipline.

A.D. 1195. Dec. 23.

Item epistola Cœlestini papæ contra Gaufridum Eboracensem archiepiscopum.[1]

Letter of the pope to the judges delegate.

The position of the Roman Church.

"Cœlestinus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili "fratri Lincolniensi episcopo, et dilectis filiis archidiacono de "Northamton et priori de Pontefracto, salutem et apostolicam "benedictionem. Cum sacrosancta Romana ecclesia super "immobile fundamentum, lapidem scilicet angularem et verum, "perpetua stabilitate fundata, de Se Ipsa Veritate dicente, "'Super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam Meam,' per Beati (S. Matt. xvi. 18.) "Petri merita ecclesiarum omnium magisterium cepit et pri-"matum; ad principem apostolorum Domino protestante, 'Si "'diligis Me, pasce oves Meas;' et non solum corporum, sed (S. John xxi. 17.) "etiam animarum, judiciariam accepit potestatem; eodem apo-"stolorum principe audiente a Domino: 'Quodcunque ligaveris "'super terram erit ligatum et in cœlis:' nos, quos non (S. Matt. xvi. 19.) "propria merita, sed sola Divina miseratio ad summi pontifi-"catus apicem evocavit, si judicia nostra recta volumus et "provida deliberatione formare, et potestate nobis tradita non "abuti, illius debemus, quantum humana permittit fragilitas, "exempla sectari, in quo sedes apostolica fundata consistit, et "a quo cæterarum ecclesiarum curam suscepit, et ligandi "atque solvendi plenitudinem potestatis. Mirabilis enim super "omnia Deus, et inscrutabilis Divini consilii altitudo, licet "incomprehensibilia sint judicia Ejus, et investigabiles viæ (Rom. xi. 33.) "Ipsius; aliquid tamen ex his, quæ in inferioribus operatur, "si recte conspicimus, nobis et aliis ecclesiarum prælatis in "forma judicii innuit imitandum, Qui cum sterilem arborem "de vinea Sua juxta illud Evangelii præceperit succidendam, "ne terram fertilem occuparet, præmisit, dicens: 'Ecce tres "'anni sunt, ex quo venio quærens fructum in ficulnia hac, "'et non invenio; succide ergo illam:' hoc siquidem nos, (S. Luke xiii. 7.) "licet minimi, et humanæ fragilitatis subjacentes defectibus, "intra nos ipsos assidua meditatione pensantes; auditis ex-"cessibus Eboracensis archiepiscopi, et de inhonesta vita et "de inutili conversatione ejus rumoribus in nostra et fratrum "nostrorum audientia recitatis, non statim formavimus judi-"cium contra eum, sed exemplo Illius, Cujus miserationes (Ps. cxlv. 9.) "super cætera opera Ejus, ut sterilis arbor pullularet in "fructus, et virorem reciperet jam amissum, non modico tem-

The pope has been very patient with the archbishop of York.

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[1] This letter is omitted in MSS. B. D. I.

A.D. 1195. Dec. 23.

" poris spatio ad correctionem ipsius, multiplicatis litteris et " mandatis, non destitimus laborare; nunc cum ad viam salutis " nostris monitis revocantes, nunc per interminationem sus- " pensionis officii et beneficii deterrentes ab iniquitatis suæ " semitis et erroris, sicut vobis, qui totam rei seriem et pro- " cessum negotii quoad ordinem agnovistis, credimus mani- " festum. Sane ad audientiam nostram ex personarum et " capituli Eboracensis ecclesiæ insinuatione pervenit, et id " ipsum dilectorum nostrorum Roberti de Eboraco et Rogeri " de Selebi et aliorum undecim abbatum Præmonstratensis " ordinis testimonia manifeste declarare videntur, quod Gau- " fridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus sacramenta injuncti sibi " officii vilipendens, venatione, aucupitio, et aliis militaribus " curis inutiliter occupatus, ordinationi clericorum, ecclesia- " rum dedicationibus, aut synodis celebrandis, nec manum nec " operam post sui promotionem adhibuit, nec abbatem aliquem " benedixit; licet tam contra clericos quam abbates ad male- " dicendum et excommunicandum linguam consueverit, juxta " motum proprium, indiscrete laxare. Libertates ecclesiæ suæ, " ac consuetudines approbatas, evacuat ac subvertit; appella- " tiones, quæ solent esse ad remedium oppressorum, ad Ro- " manæ sedis injuriam reduxit in contemptum; et plures, pro " eo quod ad nos appellationem emiserant, vinculis fecit car- " ceralibus vehementer astringi. Personas ecclesiæ suæ, post " appellationem ad nos factam, honoribus et beneficiis spolia- " vit; quosdam canonicorum appellatione contempta excom- " municationi subjecit; privilegia Romanorum pontificum in " ejus præsentia sua omnino auctoritate frustrantur; et qui " forte alias tutus esset, in ostensione privilegii nostri, optati " coram eo præsidii beneficium demeretur. Cum contingit ali- " quem ad subtractam sibi ecclesiam vel possessionem per " judices delegatos auctoritate nostra restitui, eum, per quem " judicium debuerat executioni mandari, statim sentiet inimi- " cum. Plures enim taliter restitutos destituit, et ecclesias " suas per ministros suos violenter aggrediens fores earum " fregisse, et eos proponuntur per violentiam expulisse; quam- " plures etiam reatum perjurii fecit perniciose incurrere; ipsos " ab obedientia, quam archidiaconis suis canonice servandam " juramento promiserant, quadam necessitatis violentia retra- " hendo; præterea majorem ecclesiam cum multitudine arma- " torum aggrediens, fores capituli per violentiam confringi " et asportari fecit, et bona canonicorum et clericorum plu- " rium, qui res suas tam in ecclesia quam in thesauraria ibi " deposuerant, fecit per potentiam detineri: pro quibus om-

The charges made against him.

His neglect of duties.

His tyranny over his canons and contempt of the papal privileges.

His violence in the minster.

A.D. 1195. Dec. 23.

His improper use of patronage.

His avarice.

The examination of these charges has been made.

" nibus Eboracense capitulum ad nostram præsentiam appel- " lavit. Comperimus etiam ex testimonio prædictorum, quod " ecclesiis quandoque vacantibus, præsentatas sibi ab his ad " quos præsentatio pertinet personas idoneas non admittit; " sed eas aut pueris et minus honestis personis assignat, usus " pariter et præsentantis et instituentis officio, aut facit eas " de sola voluntate vacare, ut earum fructus usibus ipsius " applicentur; et quod sustentationi alicujus honesti clerici " debebatur, sibi non metuit retinere. Adjecerunt etiam, quod " cum spiritualia dona gratis debeant et sine pravitate dis- " tribui, frequenter cum donat ecclesiam, aut eam scindit per " partes contra statuta canonica, vel in ea sibi novam et in- " debitam retinet possessionem; et quamplures excommunica- " tos vel suspensos, non nisi pecunia interveniente absolvit: " religiosi vero et honesti viri in conspectu ejus despecti et " contemptibiles fiunt; viles et suspectæ personæ de facili " familiaritatem ejus et gratiam assequuntur. Nos vero de " rumoribus tam profanis auditis non semel, sed sæpius, et " tam prædictorum quam aliorum prælatorum in regno An- " gliæ et in Eboracensi provincia positorum litteris, nostris " auribus frequentius inculcatis, volentes eum a suis excessi- " bus deterrere, et ad exsequendum pastoralis officii debitum " revocare, inquisitionem famæ ipsius vobis duximus commit- " tendam, ut convocatis abbatibus et prioribus, et aliis eccle- " siasticis personis Eboracensis diocesis, inquireretis de præ- " missis diligentius veritatem; et si accusatores legitimi " procederent contra eum, auditis quæ proponerentur hinc " inde, et depositionibus testium redactis in scriptis, eas sigil- " lorum vestrorum signatas munimine ad sedem apostolicam " transmittere deberetis; assignato partibus termino compe- " tenti, quo ad audiendam sententiam nostro se conspectui " præsentarent. Hoc etiam eisdem litteris meminimus fuisse " insertum, ut deficientibus accusatoribus, si fama publica " faceret contra eum, purgationem ipsius cum tribus episcopis " et totidem abbatibus, sublato appellationis obstaculo, indi- " cere curetis. In qua si forte deficeret, ipsum ab archiepi- " scopali officio et administratione suspensum, nostro faceretis " conspectui præsentari; si vero archiepiscopus memoratus, " antequam citatio vestra perveniret ad ipsum, ad sedem aposto- " licam appellaret, induciis ei mensium indultis trium, si infra " eos interpositam appellationem prosequi negligeret vel dif- " ferret, ipsum ab omni pontificali officio, et archiepiscopatus " administratione, nostra nunciaretis auctoritate suspensum. " Quia vero idem archiepiscopus antequam per vos citaretur

"ad causam, sicut nobis suis litteris et nunciis intimavit, "sedem curavit apostolicam appellare, et vos ei ad prosequendam appellationem kalendas Junii pro termino assignastis, ipsius laboribus et expensis parcere disponentes, ac "timentes, si æstivo tempore ad urbem accederet, aliquod "personæ ipsius ex aeris inclementia periculum proveniret, "cum, sicut nobis intimatum fuerat, iter arripuisset ad sedem "apostolicam veniendi, et paratus existeret de objectis sibi "criminibus respondere, de solita sedis apostolicæ benignitate, "prosequendæ appellationis ab ipso usque ad octavas Beati "Martini proximo præteritas, terminum duximus prorogandum; omnia quæ fuerant contra eum impetrata usque ad "eundem terminum suspendentes, et revocantes in statum "pristinum quicquid contra eum post appellationem ad nos "interpositam priorum litterarum obtentu fuisset a nobis vel "aliis immutatum. Vobis etiam per apostolica scripta districte mandavimus, ut nisi in octavis Sancti Martini nostro "conspectui se præsentaret juxta formam primæ commissionis, "sublato cujuslibet contradictionis et appellationis obstaculo, "procedere nullatenus differretis. Verum quoniam memoratus "archiepiscopus abusus patientia nostra, nec ad Romanam "ecclesiam accessit, nec responsalem aliquem destinavit qui "vel ejus absentiam excusaret, cum eum non modicum ultra "præfixum sibi terminum misericorditer curaverimus exspectare, licet eo ipso videatur confessus de crimine, quod nostro "se conspectui præsentare neglexit; ipsum ab usu pallii et "omnis episcopalis officii executione, a ministratione quoque "tam spiritualium quam temporalium, et beneficiorum perceptione ipsius Eboracensis ecclesiæ et provinciæ duximus "suspendendum; ut sic saltem a suæ iniquitatis pertinacia "resipiscens canonicæ severitatis censuram in se non exigat "fortius exerceri. Ideoque discretioni vestræ per apostolica "scripta mandamus, atque præcipimus, quatenus eum per "omnes ecclesias Eboracensis diocesis et provinciæ suspensum a nobis publice nuncietis; omnibus clericis et laicis "ejusdem provinciæ ex parte nostra firmius injungentes, ne "ipsi archiepiscopo vel officialibus ejus in temporalibus vel "spiritualibus respondere præsumant, donec de ipso archiepiscopo aliud duxerimus statuendum. Mandamus autem, et per "vos volumus in Eboracensi diocesi nunciari, ut si forsitan "inter aliquos quæstiones moveri contingat, quas ecclesiastico "judicio conveniat terminari, ad audientiam dilecti filii nostri "Simonis, Eboracensis decani, cui, cum consilio canonicorum "in eadem ecclesia residentium, et clericorum excessus committimus corrigendos, et litigantium tam clericorum quam

A.D. 1195. Dec. 23. The postponement of the day for appearing at Rome.

The contumacy of the archbishop.

He is suspended.

The delegates are to declare the suspension.

The dean of York is to act as judge in spirituals.

A.D. 1195. Dec. 23.

"laicorum controversias decidendas, referant ipsius judicium "suscepturi humiliter, et firmiter servaturi. Adhæc omnia, "quæ auctoritate litterarum nostrarum, antequam ad vos "secundarum notitia pervenisset, super negotiis eundem archi- "episcopum contingentibus, tam restitutionibus ablatorum "quam de aliis, provide et rationabiliter statuistis, rata de- "cernimus permanere: mandantes ut, auctoritate nostra suf- "fulti, ad Eboracensem ecclesiam accedentes juxta priorum "litterarum tenorem, tam inquisitione famæ, quam restitu- "tione ablatorum canonicis facienda, nihilominus procedatis, "non impediente appellatione vel absentia archiepiscopi me- "morati, nec obstantibus litteris in primarum litterarum præ- "judicium hactenus impetratis. Ad hæc, præsentium vobis "auctoritate injungimus, quatenus sententiam excommunica- "tionis in quosdam canonicos, vicarios, clericos, et servientes "canonicorum Eboracensis ecclesiæ, ab eodem archiepiscopo "post appellationem ad nos interpositam promulgatam, irri- "tam judicetis penitus et inanem; ita tamen, ut dictos cano- "nicos, et alios in eadem sententia nominatos, ad majorem "cautelam auctoritate apostolicæ sedis absolvatis. Omnes "autem illos qui in Benedictum clericum supradicti decani, "Gualterum presbyterum, Ricardum de Semare, et quinque "de Cava clericos, et alios clericos Eboracensis ecclesiæ[1] "manus temerarias injecerunt, vel qui eis violentiam præce- "perunt inferri, tamdiu nuncietis, appellatione remota, excom- "municationis vinculo detineri, donec passis injuriam congrue "satisfecerint, et cum vestrarum testimonio litterarum ad "sedem veniant apostolicam absolvendi. Quod si omnes his "exsequendis nequiveritis interesse, duo vestrum ea nihilomi- "nus exsequantur.[2] Datum Laterani, x. kalendas Januarii, "pontificatus nostri anno quinto."

The inquiry into the charges is to be proceeded with.

The archbishop's sentences against the canons are null.

A.D. 1196.

The archbishop's officials displaced.

Harum[3] igitur auctoritate litterarum, officiales archiepiscopi Eboracensis depositi sunt; licet Hubertus Can-

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[1] *Gualterum—ecclesiæ*] For these names MS. G. has only "et alios "quamplures." This is very unfortunate, as the reading of the word given above as "Cava" is very uncertain in MS. A., the only one in which the passage is found. Savile read it "Cauel," and it may also be read "Caud." In this we may detect *Cawood*, the castle of the archbishops of York. But *Cave* is also in Yorkshire, and, on the whole, seems the safest reading.

[2] *nequiveritis — exsequantur*] om. G.

[3] *Harum, &c.—Eboraci*] omitted in MSS. B. D. I.

tuariensis archiepiscopus, apostolicæ sedis legatus, eis licentiam exercendi officium suum retribuerat; qui eos prius suspenderat, quia noluerunt eum hospitari apud Eboracum tanquam legatum. Tradita est ergo omnis potestas Simoni decano Eboraci, secundum apostolici formam mandati; et regis ministri omnes res et possessiones præfati archiepiscopi regiis incluserunt marsupiis. A.D. 1196. The dean becomes all-powerful.

Interim Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus in hac forma scripsit officialibus archiepiscopatus Eboraci;[1]

Epistola Huberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, apostolicæ sedis legati.

"Hubertus, Dei gratia Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius "Angliæ primas, et apostolicæ sedis legatus, dilectis in Christo "filiis officialibus archiepiscopatus Eboraci, salutem in Domino. "Litteras domini papæ in hæc verba suscepimus: 'Cœlestinus "'episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri Huberto "'Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, et apostolicæ sedis legato, salu-"'tem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ex parte tua in audi-"'entia fuit nostra propositum, quod multi sunt in Anglia, "'qui ut sepulcrum Domini visitarent, et illi terræ sanctæ, in "'qua steterunt pedes Domini, subsidium opportunum con-"'ferrent, crucem Dominicam assumpserunt; et licet votum "'possint perficere, tamen ab executione ejusdem se sub-"'trahunt, in suarum periculum animarum. Sunt etiam qui-"'dem qui, licet crucem susceperint, pro paupertate tamen "'et corporis debilitate, vel[2] alia justa causa, emissum votum "'non possunt, sicut convenit, adimplere. Verum quia quid "'super his agendum sit circa nos duxit fraternitas tua con-"'sulendos, auctoritate tibi præsentium respondemus, per apo-"'stolica scripta tibi mandantes, quatenus omnes illos qui vo-"'tum tale emiserunt, sicut dictum est, et ad illud explendum "'propriæ suppetunt facultates, nisi ex justa causa omitten-"'dum, eos ad exsequendum, quod gratis vovisse dicuntur, "'per censuram ecclesiasticam, appellatione remota, compel-"'las. Cæterum de his, qui paupertate et corporis debili-

January. The archbishop writes to the officials of the see of York. He has received letters from the pope, dated Jan. 12, 1196, urging a crusade.

Persons who have made the vow are to be compelled to fulfil it.

[1] This letter is omitted in MSS. B. D. I.

[2] *vel*] non, A.

A.D. 1196. January.

" 'tate, vel alio justo impedimento, votum quod emisisse " 'noscuntur, non possunt, sicut convenit, adimplere; volumus " 'ut, cum super his tibi fuerit veritas declarata, pœnitentia " 'congrua eis injuncta, licentiam eis tribuas remanendi; eis- " 'dem firmiter injungens, ut quam cito exsequendi votum " 'suum libera eis fuerit attributa facultas, id exsequi sine " 'dilatione aliqua non postponant. Hi vero quos pro infir- " 'mitate corporis tibi constiterit nullatenus posse in propria " 'persona votum suum prosequi, unam personam idoneam, " 'vel plures, secundum quod facultates eorum suppetierint, " 'ultra mare transmittant in suis expensis, per annum vel

The archbishop directs search to be made in the parish churches for such persons:

" 'amplius, juxta tuum arbitrium, ibidem in Jesu Christi " 'obsequio moraturos. Datum Laterani, secundo idus Janu- " 'arii, pontificatus nostri anno quinto.' Quoniam igitur " vovere et non reddere periculosum est, cum ex votis quæ " solemniter emissa fuerint, non impletis, consequens sit, " et Deum offendi, et nihilominus in domo Ejus scandala " suboriri: litterarum, quas transcribimus, auctoritate vobis " præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus per singulas parochiales " ecclesias archiepiscopatus Eboraci, de his qui pro visitando

their names to be given in before Mid-lent Sunday, March 31.

" sepulcro Domini crucem assumentes, vota sua Domino non " solverint, diligenter et sollicite inquiratis; sub intermina- " tione anathematis generaliter inhibentes, ne in præjudicium " scrutinii hujus vesana cujusquam taciturnitate veritas sup-

People are to be urged to fulfil their vows:

" primatur; cumque nomina singulorum, vel eorum confessio, " vel certa vestrorum inquisitio designabit; ipsa distincte no- " tata, infra Dominicam qua cantatur 'Lætare Jerusalem,' per " fidelem nuncium nobis innotescant. Ad hoc discretioni vestræ " mandantes, injungimus, quatenus causam Crucifixi constanti " patrocinio prosequentes, universos tales in diocesi Ebora- " censi caritativa velitis cohortatione, et conventione sedula " prævenire; sub specie consilii proponentes, ut fideliter im- " pleant quæ liberaliter promiserunt; ut quod Domino vove- " runt in conspectu omnis populi Ejus, cum propheta, in atriis " domus Domini in medio Jerusalem exsequantur; sicque " voluntariis eorum sacrificiis placetur Altissimus, et factis " solutionibus evacuetur importunitas scandalorum. Moneatis

and to resume the cross before Passion Sunday, April 7:

" etiam prædictos omnes et singulos, quatenus in veræ devo- " tionis signum, infra diem Passionis Dominicæ proximo futu- " ram, crucem depositam reassumant, et eam cum reverentia " et veneratione gestantes, suam obnoxietatem, qua interius " astringuntur, exteriore signaculo protestentur, et in quibus " fructum habituri sunt plenum et abundantem, nequaquam " ex pusillanimitate spiritus erubescant. Cæterum si vel " commonitiones hujusmodi quasi vanas contemnant, vel ad

" eas quasi duras pertinaciter aures suas obturent; ne impu- A.D. 1196. January.
" nitis licentia injiciatur, certa generali faciatis assertione
" proponi, cunctos, qui citra voti solutionem crucem abjectam
" infra terminum nominatum non receperint, in sequenti Pascha
" Domini proculdubio a perceptione Corporis Christi et com- or at Easter they will be excluded from Communion.
" munione fidelium excludendos. Sed ne verba commonitionis
" hujus credantur, vel censura in irritum, vel effectu debito
" caritura, pœnam supradictam in omni forma, et ea pleni-
" tudine qua præmittitur, die prædicta contumacibus univer-
" sis volumus, et auctoritate apostolica mandamus infligi.[1] Sic
" enim ex tempestivo rigoris seminario fructus iste pullulabit
" in posterum, ut veriore trutina ponderetur[2] cum severitate
" canonica prælatorum auctoritas; et qui faciles erant ruituri
" in contemptum, securam indemnitatem minus audacter ex-
" spectent. Valete."[3]

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[1] *sed ne—infligi*] om. G.

[2] *ponderetur*] panderetur A.

[3] *ut veriore—Valete*] om. G.

END OF VOL. III.

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